

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*Chinese edition compiled by
Editorial Committee for
A Concise History of the Communist Party of China*



中央编译出版社
Central Compilation & Translation Press

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Chinese edition compiled by
Editorial Committee for
A Concise History of the Communist Party of China

Translated by
The Institute of Party History and Literature
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

中国共产党简史：英文 /《中国共产党简史》编写组编著；
中共中央党史和文献研究院译. -- 北京：中央编译出版社，2021.6
ISBN 978-7-5117-3977-3

I. ①中… II. ①中… ②中… III. ①中国共产党—党史—英文
IV. ① D23

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字（2021）第 125322 号

中国共产党简史（英文版）

出版发行： 中央编译出版社
地 址： 北京西城区车公庄大街乙 5 号鸿儒大厦 B 座 (100044)
网 址： www.cctphome.com
印 刷： 佳兴达印刷（天津）有限公司
开 本： 710 毫米 × 1000 毫米 1/16
版 次： 2021 年 6 月第 1 版
印 次： 2021 年 6 月第 1 次印刷
定 价： 190.00 元



Chairman Mao Zedong proclaims the inauguration of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China on the Tian'anmen Rostrum on October 1, 1949.



Deng Xiaoping addresses the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1984.



Jiang Zemin waves to the passing parade during the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the People's Republic of China on the Tian'anmen Rostrum on October 1, 1999.



Hu Jintao addresses the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 2009.



Xi Jinping addresses the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 2019.

CONTENTS

Chapter I The Founding of the Communist Party of China and Its Involvement in the Great Revolution.....	1
1. Various Forces Explore Ways to Rejuvenate China in Modern Times	1
2. The May 4th Movement and the Spread of Marxism in China	5
3. The Founding of the CPC and the Creation of the Platform of Democratic Revolution.....	13
4. The Rise of the First KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Climax of the Great Revolution.....	23
5. The Northern Expedition and the Worker and Peasant Movements	30
6. The End of KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Failure of the Great Revolution	35
 Chapter II The Agrarian Revolution	 44
1. Combating the Reactionary Rule of the KMT with Armed Struggle.....	44
2. Mao Zedong and a New Path for the Chinese Revolution.....	50
3. The Red Army's Victory against KMT Encirclement and Suppression Campaigns and the Establishment of Rural Revolutionary Bases	57

4. The September 18th Incident and the Central Red Army
Starting the Long March 66
5. The Zunyi Meeting and the Triumph of the Red
Army's Long March.....75
6. Fighting for a Chinese United Front against
Japanese Aggression.....87

Chapter III The Mainstay of the Chinese People's Resistance

- against Japanese Aggression..... 94**
1. The Formulation of the Party's Line of Resisting Japan on
All Fronts and Strategy of Protracted War 94
 2. Carrying out Guerrilla Warfare behind Enemy Lines and
Maintaining the CPC's Independence and Initiative
in the United Front 101
 3. Upholding the Principles of Resistance, Unity,
and Progress 108
 4. Consolidating Resistance Base Areas and Carrying Forward
the Democratic Resistance Movement..... 118
 5. Strengthening Party Building, Advancing the Adaption
of Marxism to the Chinese Context, and Launching a
Rectification Movement 127
 6. The Seventh National Congress of the CPC, the Establishment
of Mao Zedong Thought as the Guiding Ideology of
the Party, and Final Victory in the War of Resistance against
Japanese Aggression..... 134

Chapter IV The Struggle for Nationwide Victory in

- the New-Democratic Revolution..... 144**
1. Peace Negotiations in Chongqing and the Struggle
for Peace and Democracy 144

2. Victory against the KMT's Offensive and the Formation of a Second Front	151
3. The People's Liberation Army Shifts to the Strategic Offensive.....	156
4. Formulating and Implementing the Program for Nationwide Victory and Consolidating and Expanding the People's Democratic United Front	161
5. The Decisive Battles and the Downfall of the Reactionary KMT Regime.....	168
6. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC and Preparation for the Establishment of the New China	178

Chapter V The Founding of the People's Republic of China

and the Establishment of the Socialist System..... 188

1. The Founding of the People's Republic of China and the Consolidation of the Nascent Reign of the People.....	188
2. The War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea, Land System Reform, and Other Democratic Reforms	199
3. Restoration of the National Economy and the Expansion of Pursuits in Development	210
4. The Party's General Line for the Transitional Period and the Beginning of Large-Scale Planned Economic Development	222
5. The Completion of Socialist Transformation and the Establishment of the Socialist System	228

Chapter VI Explorations and Setbacks in Socialist Development..... 238

1. The Eighth National Congress of the CPC and a Strong Start to Chinese Socialist Development.....	238
2. Arduous Explorations on the Socialist Road.....	246
3. Socialist Development amid Twists and Turns.....	264

Chapter VII A Turning Point in History and the Beginning of

Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.....	280
1. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee: A Turning Point in History	281
2. Completing the Task of Setting Things Right.....	291
3. Rural Reform, the Creation of Special Economic Zones, and the Beginning of Reform and Opening Up	297
4. The 12th National Party Congress and Full-Scale Socialist Modernization.....	310
5. The 13th National Party Congress and the Establishment of the Party's Basic Line in the Primary Stage of Socialism.....	328
6. Adjustments to the National Defense Strategy	335
7. Conception of One Country, Two Systems	337
8. Adjustments to Foreign Policy	341
9. Weathering Political Disturbances and Completing Economic Rectification	344
10. Deng Xiaoping's Southern Talks	357

**Chapter VIII The Launch of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics
into the 21st Century.....**

into the 21st Century.....	363
1. The 14th National Congress of the CPC and the Establishment of the Socialist Market Economy	364
2. Stronger Macro Regulation and a Soft Landing for Economic Growth.....	370
3. The 15th National Congress of the CPC, Confirmation of Deng Xiaoping Theory as the Party's Guiding Ideology, and Deeper Progress in Reform and Opening Up.....	373
4. The Formulation and Implementation of Cross-Century Development Strategies	386

5. The Development of Political Culture and Advanced Culture and the Achievement of Moderately Prosperous Living Standards Overall.....	395
6. Actively Advancing Military Transformation with Chinese Characteristics	405
7. The Return of Hong Kong and Macao and the Expansion of Cross-Strait Exchanges.....	409
8. Creating a New Pattern of Comprehensive and Multilayered Foreign Relations	415
9. Advancing the Great New Project of Party Building	418

Chapter IX Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese

Characteristics under New Circumstances..... 428

1. The 16th National Congress of the CPC, the Establishment of the Theory of Three Represents as a Guiding Ideology of the Party and the Introduction of a Program of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects	429
2. Promoting Sustainable Economic and Social Development	434
3. The Party's 17th National Congress and a New Blueprint for Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects.....	447
4. Responding to Major Challenges and Deepening Reform and Opening up	452
5. Historical Missions of the Armed Forces at the New Stage in the New Century	471
6. Moving forward with One Country, Two Systems and the Cause of China's Peaceful Reunification.....	475
7. Standing by Peaceful Development and Cooperation	481
8. Making Party Building More Effective and Establishing the Scientific Outlook on Development as a Guiding Ideology of the Party	484

Chapter X Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era..... 494

1. The 18th National Party Congress and the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation	494
2. Promoting the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan	510
3. Pursuing Coordinated Implementation of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy	539
4. Comprehensively Promoting National Defense and Military Modernization	564
5. Adhering to the Principle of One Country, Two Systems and Promoting National Reunification	577
6. Advancing Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics and Building a Human Community with a Shared Future	590
7. The Party's 19th National Congress, Establishing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the Party's Guiding Ideology, and Securing a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects	608
8. Upholding Overall Party Leadership and Strengthening the Party More Effectively	622
9. New Strides in the Development of the State System and Governance System	643
10. Advancing Various Undertakings while Responding to Risks and Challenges.....	658
11. Completing the Goal of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Launching a New Journey toward Becoming a Modern Socialist Country in All Respects.....	682

Conclusion..... 702

Index 709

Chapter I

The Founding of the Communist Party of China and Its Involvement in the Great Revolution

One night in July of 1921, the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) opened in secret in a small two-story residence in Shanghai's French Concession. This moment gave birth to a completely new party of the proletariat whose actions were to be guided by Marxism and Leninism. This was a truly groundbreaking event—a momentous occasion which, like a torch held aloft in the darkness, brought light and hope to the deeply distressed Chinese people. From that moment on, the Chinese people have had in the Party an anchor for their struggles to achieve national independence and liberation, to make their country prosperous and strong, and to realize happiness and contentment, and their mindset changed from passivity to taking the initiative.

1. Various Forces Explore Ways to Rejuvenate China in Modern Times

Over the course of several millennia, the Chinese people created an enduring and splendid civilization, making a marvelous contribution to humankind and becoming one of the great peoples of the world. Following the advent of modern times, however, owing to the aggression of Western powers and the corruption of China's feudal rulers, China

was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. As the land of China was laid to waste and the people descended into misery, the Chinese nation experienced suffering of unprecedented proportions.

From 1840 onwards, Western powers launched numerous wars of aggression against China (most famous are the Opium War of 1840–1842 involving Great Britain, the Second Opium War of 1856–1860 with Great Britain and France, the Sino-French War of 1884–1885, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, and the war of 1900 against the aggression of the Eight-Power Allied Forces). Through these wars and other methods, Western powers forced China to cede territory and pay out indemnities, and they greedily extracted privileges of all kinds from China. Britain carved away Hong Kong, Japan occupied Taiwan, and czarist Russia seized the northeastern and northwestern parts of the country. Over one billion taels of silver were extracted from China in war indemnities, even though the Qing government generated just over 80 million taels of annual revenue at the time.

Through unequal treaties of increasingly harsher terms, Western powers obtained many important privileges in China, such as the right to set up ports and concessions, open mines and factories, build railways, establish banks and businesses, build churches, station troops, demarcate spheres of influence, and enjoy consular jurisdiction and unilateral most-favored-nation treatment. Hundreds of unequal treaties and conventions, like an all-encompassing net, entrapped China politically, economically, militarily, and culturally. As a result, it was utterly helpless in the face of endless demands, and while it encountered reproach at every turn, Western powers had their way in the country on the strength of their treaties. They ran China's trading ports, customs, foreign trade, and transport lines and dumped large quantities of their goods in China, treating it as a market for their products and a base for extracting raw materials.

The old summer palace, Yuanmingyuan, was razed to the ground by British and French troops; the Beiyang Fleet was completely annihilated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895; and the forces of the eight imperialist powers—Britain, the United States, Germany, Japan, Russia, France, Italy and Austria burned, killed, raped, and looted its way through Beijing in 1901. Such atrocities became indelibly etched in the memory of the Chinese nation. More and more, the Qing government, representing the interests of China's landlord class and comprador bourgeoisie, became little more than a tool for foreign capitalist rule of China, a traitorous and corrupt regime strangling all vitality from the country. The conflicts between imperialism and the Chinese nation, and between feudalism and the people, thus became the principal conflicts of modern Chinese society. As the Chinese people were reduced to extreme misery, the prospect of imminent destruction loomed for the Chinese nation.

It was at this point that national rejuvenation became the greatest dream of the Chinese people in modern times, and the quest to achieve national independence and liberation, to make the country prosperous and strong, and to realize happiness and contentment became the historic tasks of the Chinese people. The Chinese nation enjoys a glorious tradition of constant self-improvement, and it would never halt the struggle to defend its independence, dignity, and civilization. Many brave men and women stepped forward and devoted their lives to the cause of national progress prior to the founding of the Communist Party of China, working unceasingly to alter the destiny of their motherland. However, failure was the ultimate outcome of each of their struggles—of the wars of resistance against foreign aggression, the peasants' revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in the mid-19th century, the Westernization Movement designed to adopt Western technology while maintaining Chinese systems, the Reform Movement of 1898

aimed at seeking prosperity, and the Yi He Tuan Movement at the turn of the century which developed into a general anti-imperialist patriotic movement, having begun at the lower strata of society. Lacking a scientific theory, a correct approach, and social forces upon which they could rely, many noble patriots were left to bitterly regret these repeated failures.

Then the Revolution of 1911 erupted in the October of that year, leading to the overthrow of the Qing government and the founding of the Republic of China. Monarchical dictatorship, which had ruled China for more than 2,000 years, was finally brought to an end. However, the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not change the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Chinese society or the miserable fate of the people. It was unable to accomplish the historic task of realizing national independence and the people's liberation. Yet it did pioneer a national democratic revolution in modern Chinese history in the truest sense of the term, opening the floodgates to progress and promoting the spread of democratic and republican ideas. A great wave of intellectual emancipation was sparked, and social change swept the country under the tremendous influence of the revolution, permanently undermining the stability of reactionary rule.

Reality, however, can sometimes be incredibly cruel. The fruits of the 1911 Revolution were seized by the Northern Warlords led by Yuan Shikai, with imperialist support. In a matter of just months, the nascent bourgeois republic had perished. After the death of Yuan Shikai, the Northern Warlords split into the Zhili, Anhui, and Fengtian cliques. Under the manipulations of imperialists, the country was thrown into a state of internecine warfare between various warlord regimes. Under the autocratic rule of the feudal warlords, China was reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society.

The immense efforts and innumerable sacrifices of the revolution

yielded nothing more than a faux republic. After the Revolution of 1911, China tried various forms of government, including a return to monarchy, a parliamentary system, a multiparty system, and a presidential system. Various political forces and their representatives came to the fore, but none could pinpoint the right solution that would change the nature of old Chinese society and transform the fate of the Chinese people. As a result, China remained fractured, impoverished, and weak. Foreign powers were still running roughshod over the country and profiting at its expense, and the Chinese people continued to live in misery and humiliation.

History had shown that without the guidance of advanced theories, and without the leadership of advanced political parties that were armed with these theories and were willing to follow the trend of history, shoulder its heavy responsibilities, and make great sacrifices, the Chinese people would not be able to defeat the various reactionary factions that oppressed them, and the Chinese nation would not be able to change its fate of oppression and subjugation.

China needed a force to lead the mission of national rejuvenation. This assignment would fall on the shoulders of China's working class, the representative of the advanced productive forces.

2. The May 4th Movement and the Spread of Marxism in China

The New Culture Movement and the Influence of the Russian October Revolution on China

The founding of the Republic of China did not bring the national independence, democracy, and social progress that people longed for. Hope was thus supplanted by profound despair. Since they found the

old road impassable, people began to look for new ways out of their plight. Some progressive intellectuals began by reviewing the lessons of the Revolution of 1911. They determined to launch a new enlightenment movement, one that would eliminate obscurantism, awaken the nation, and free people's minds from the shackles of feudalism. Known as the New Culture Movement, this campaign became a harbinger for great social change.



• *Youth Magazine* founded by Chen Duxiu.

The New Culture Movement was born in Shanghai in September 1915 with the launch of *Youth Magazine* (later renamed *New Youth*) by Chen Duxiu. In 1917, Chen became the Dean of Liberal Arts at Peking University, and the editorial office of *New Youth* was moved to Beijing. The New Culture Movement was thus based around Peking University and the *New Youth* publication.

The movement made “Mr. Democracy” and “Mr. Science” its icons. Advocates used evolutionary theory and the emancipation of personality as their main weapons to violently attack Confucius and other “sages of the past.” They advocated a new morality and new literature and railed against those of the past. They promoted a vernacular writing style over the classical style. By criticizing Confucianism, they shook the dominance of feudal orthodoxy, opened the gates to new ideas, and generated a surge of ideological revolution in Chinese society.

The New Culture Movement still took bourgeois democracy as

the plan for saving the nation. However, the inherent problems of the capitalist system were already evident in Europe and America, the birthplace of these ideas. World War I had served to only magnify these insurmountable problems in a most extreme way. The repeated failures of Chinese attempts to learn from the West led Chinese progressives to question the feasibility of a bourgeois republic on Chinese soil. Yet again, Chinese progressives' explorations of plans for saving the nation reached an important historical crossroads.

It was at this point, in 1917, that the salvoes of the October Revolution brought to China the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. In the scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism, Chinese progressives saw a solution to China's problems. The October Revolution was also a call to resist imperialism, a painful, solemn, and deeply meaningful cry in the ears of the Chinese people, who had for so long been tyrannized by imperialist powers. This prompted Chinese progressives to lean toward socialism and inspired them to gain a serious understanding of Marxism, the guide of the October Revolution. As a result, a group of intellectuals with incipient communist ideas emerged in China in support of the Russian October Revolution.

Li Dazhao was the first in China to embrace the October Revolution and one of the first to disseminate Marxism in China. Beginning in July 1918, he published articles arguing that the October Revolution was the forerunner of a 20th century world revolution and a new dawn for all humankind. His articles included "A Comparison of the French and Russian Revolutions," "The Victory of the Common People," and "The Victory of Bolshevism," which enthusiastically praised the victory of the October Revolution. Li predicted that an irresistible tide had been set in motion by the October Revolution and that the future would surely see "a world of red flags." After the May 4th Movement, he worked even harder to promote Marxism, and published the article "My View on

Marxism.” This piece provided a systematic introduction to Marxist theory and had widespread influence among intellectual circles. This was a sign of the systematic way in which Marxism was now being disseminated in China. Li Dazhao also wrote other articles, including “More on Problems and Doctrines,” in which he criticized anti-Marxist ideas and argued that Marxism was suited to China’s needs.

Why did the October Revolution that erupted in Russia in 1917 call forth such a strong response in China? In large part, it was down to the changes that were sweeping Chinese society. While radical changes were taking place in the thinking of Chinese intellectuals, profound shifts were also quietly occurring in China’s social structure. The country’s national capitalist economy had developed rapidly during World War I, as the Western imperialist countries, busy fighting at close quarters on the European battlefield, temporarily slackened their economic aggression against China. This saw the Chinese working class and national bourgeoisie grow in strength. On the eve of the May 4th Movement of 1919, industrial workers numbered about two million and were becoming an increasingly important force in society.

China’s working class is a great revolutionary class born in modern China. In addition to its basic qualities—its association with the most advanced form of economy, its strong sense of organization and discipline and its lack of private means of production—the Chinese proletariat has many other outstanding qualities. For example, it was more resolute and thorough in revolutionary struggle. Under the historical conditions of China as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the Chinese proletariat was the fundamental driving force behind the Chinese revolution. Meanwhile, there was a rapid increase in the number of students enrolled in various new types of schools, and a great many teachers also emerged from such centers of learning, along with many journalists, thereby helping to create a larger contingent of intellectuals

than there had been in the period of the Revolution of 1911. This cohort was also in possession of more advanced ideas.

These factors made the rise of a great new people's revolution inevitable.

The May 4th Movement: The Dawn of the New-Democratic Revolution

The immediate trigger for the May 4th Movement was China's diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference.

In the first half of 1919, the victorious Allied Powers of World War I held a "peace conference" in Paris. At the conference, the Chinese delegation put forward seven proposals (including the abolishment of foreign spheres of influence in China and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country) and called for the cancellation of the Twenty-One Demands¹ and the related notes exchanged between China and Japan. The Conference rejected China's just requests and stipulated that Germany should transfer concessions in Shandong Province to Japan. The Northern Warlord government, capitulating under imperialist pressure, was prepared to sign such a peace treaty. When the news reached China, it sparked outrage among people from all walks of life. On May 4, more than 3,000 students in Beijing gathered in front of Tian'anmen Square to demonstrate. The protesters shouted slogans such as "Defend Chinese sovereignty against external aggressors and get rid of internal traitors," "Annul the Twenty-One Demands," "Return Qingdao to China," and "Punish the traitors Cao Rulin, Zhang Zongxiang, and Lu Zongyu."² Breaking through multiple barriers erected by reactionary military

¹ The Twenty-One Demands were set forth in 1915 by Japan whose purpose was to destroy China. Some of these unreasonable demands were designed to confirm Japan's dominant position in Shandong, the southern part of the three provinces of the Northeast, and eastern Inner Mongolia.

² The three pro-Japanese bureaucrats in the Northern Warlord government.



- Peking University students march on Tian'anmen during the May 4th Movement.

police, the crowd assembled in front of Tian'anmen Gate. The May 4th Movement, which stunned people in China and around the world, had erupted.

During the movement, the Chinese working class also entered the political arena as an independent force. From June 5 onwards, workers in Shanghai went on strike in solidarity with students, and within a few days, the number of striking workers reached 60,000 to 70,000. Strikes followed in Beijing, Tangshan, Hankou, Nanjing, and Changsha, and merchants in many large and medium-sized cities also staged strikes. As strikes were ongoing in three different arenas—workplaces, schools, and markets, the May 4th Movement reached a climax. The struggle swept across the country, engulfing over 100 cities in more than 20 provinces.

Although initiated by intelligentsia, the May 4th Movement evolved

into a nationwide mass movement with the participation of the working class, petty bourgeoisie, and bourgeoisie. As a result of public pressure, the Northern Warlord government released the students it had taken into custody, and announced the dismissal of Cao Rulin, Zhang Zongxiang, and Lu Zongyu. On June 28, the Chinese delegates refused to sign the Paris Peace Treaty.

The May 4th Movement was an epoch-making event in the history of modern Chinese revolution, in that it signaled the dawn of a new-democratic revolution. With a revolutionary nature in diametrical opposition to imperialism and feudalism, a progressiveness that sought the truth for saving the country and making it strong, and broad-based participation from people of all ethnic groups and walks of life, the May 4th Movement promoted progress in Chinese society, the extensive circulation of Marxist ideas around China, and the integration of Marxism with the Chinese workers' movement. It helped develop the ideology and the cadres for the founding of the CPC. Out of the Movement grew the great May 4th spirit, which features patriotism, progress, democracy, and science as its main inspirations with patriotism at its core. This movement was a milestone in the history of the Chinese nation's quest for independence, development, and progress in modern times.

The Spread of Marxism in China

In the period before and after the May 4th Movement, the practical lessons of the Paris Peace Conference made Chinese progressives see that the imperialist powers were working together to oppress the Chinese people. This contributed directly to the further spread of socialist ideas in China. In March and April 1920, *The East* and other periodicals published the first declaration of the Soviet Russian government to China, in which it announced that all privileges (enjoyed by czarist Russia in China)

would be abolished, thus creating further impetus for the spread of socialist ideas in China. The study and promotion of socialism gradually became the norm among the progressive intelligentsia.

Under these circumstances, many progressive intellectuals from different backgrounds came to Marxism by different routes, having carefully considered the alternatives.

Li Dazhao played a major role in the early stage of the Marxist movement in China. He edited no.5, vol.VI of *New Youth*, a special issue devoted to Marxism in 1919. He also helped to start a new column, "the Study of Marx," in the Beijing-based *Chen Pao*.

Chen Duxiu, one of the intellectual leaders of the New Culture Movement, also turned to Marxism. He warned that China should not take the path followed by Europe, the United States, and Japan after the May 4th Movement. Chen declared it necessary to establish a state of the laboring classes by means of revolution.

Mao Zedong enthusiastically praised the victory of the October Revolution in the *Xiangjiang Review*, of which he was the editor-in-chief, declaring that it would spread worldwide and that the Chinese should follow its example. After he came to Beijing for the second time, he eagerly sought out and studied communist works, helping establish his faith in Marxism. Many years later he recalled, "By the summer of 1920 I had become, in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist."

Some veteran members of the Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League) also began to turn to proletarian socialism. Many years later, Dong Biwu recalled how he and others had joined Sun Yat-sen in the revolution. "The revolution forged ahead, but Sun Yat-sen failed to get hold of it and, as a result, it was snatched by others. We therefore began to study the Russian pattern."

Guided by Marxism, Chinese progressives devoted themselves to the practice of mass struggle. At the beginning of 1920, some revolutionary

intellectuals in Beijing visited the residential areas of rickshaw workers to investigate their desperate living conditions. Deng Zhongxia and others went to Changxindian to tell workers about the revolution and establish contacts with them. In this way, the advanced intellectuals helped connect Marxism with the Chinese workers' movement.

3. The Founding of the CPC and the Creation of the Platform of Democratic Revolution

The Establishment of Early Communist Party Organizations and Their Activities

With the dissemination of Marxism in China and the emergence of progressives who embraced its ideas, the conditions were ripe in terms of ideology and personnel for founding the Communist Party of China. The task of establishing a working-class political party was put on the agenda.

The idea of establishing a communist party in China was first mooted by Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao. They realized that to transform China using Marxism it would be necessary to establish a proletarian party to take charge of the revolution. To avoid persecution from the reactionary warlord government, Chen Duxiu moved secretly from Beijing to Shanghai in February 1920. He was escorted on his trip by Li Dazhao, during which the two discussed the establishment of communist party organizations in China.

In March 1920, Li Dazhao established the Society for Marxist Studies at Peking University, which was not only the first group to study and research Marxism in China but also an important preparatory organization for the founding of the Communist Party of China. In April, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) sent a plenipotentiary Grigory

N. Voytinsky to China, along with others. The group met Li Dazhao in Beijing and Chen Duxiu in Shanghai to discuss the establishment of a communist party in China. These discussions materially contributed to the CPC's creation.

The first early communist party organization was established in Shanghai, a core city with the greatest concentration of workers in China. In May 1920, Chen Duxiu founded the Society for the Study of Marxism to discuss the doctrine of socialism and the transformation of Chinese society. That August, an early communist party organization was set up in the editorial office of *New Youth* in Shanghai, with Chen Duxiu as secretary. In November, the Communist Party organization drew up the "Manifesto of the Communist Party of China," which stated that "the aim of the Communists is to create a new society in accordance with the communist ideal." This early organization proved to be an initiator of the CPC and served as a key liaison point for Chinese Communists in various places.

In October 1920, another communist party organization was founded in Beijing by Li Dazhao and others, which was known as "Communist Party Group" at the time. At the end of the year, the decision was made to set up a Beijing branch of the communist party with Li Dazhao as secretary.

The early organizations of the CPC in Shanghai and Beijing actively worked to lend impetus to the founding of CPC organizations in other parts of the country. From the autumn of 1920 to the spring of 1921, with the support of the first two organizations in Shanghai and Beijing, communist party organizations were formed in Wuhan by Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu, and Bao Huiseng, in Changsha by Mao Zedong and He Shuheng, in Jinan by Wang Jinmei and Deng Enming, and in Guangzhou by Tan Pingshan and Tan Zhitang. In Japan and France, communist party organizations composed of Chinese students and progressive overseas

Chinese were also established.

After their founding, these early communist party organizations primarily carried out the following activities: studied and promoted Marxism and examined China's practical problems; denounced anti-Marxist ideas and enabled a host of progressives to turn to Marxism by helping them draw a clear line between socialism and capitalism and scientific socialism and other forms of socialism; carried out publicity and organizational work among workers, enabling them to receive Marxist education and raise their class consciousness; and established Socialist Youth League organizations which organized the study of Marxism for their members and arranged for them to take part in concrete struggles, thus cultivating reserve forces for a communist party.

The Communist Manifesto played an important role in the theoretical preparations for the founding of the CPC. In February 1920, to translate The Communist Manifesto, Chen Wangdao secretly returned to his home in Yiwu County, Zhejiang Province. So devoted was he to his mission that he once dipped a sticky rice dumpling into his ink bowl instead of brown syrup. Oblivious to his mistake, Chen declared the snack to be "sweet enough." The truth is indeed extremely sweet. This was a vivid example of the thirst among Chinese Communists for the truth of Marxism and their firm belief in the ideals of communism. The Chinese translation of The Communist Manifesto, which was published in August 1920, was a major event in the history of the dissemination of Marxism in China.

The CPC's First National Congress

In July 1921, the First National Congress of the CPC opened at 106 Wangzhi Road (now 76 Xingye Road) in the French Concession of

Shanghai.¹

The delegates in attendance at the meeting were Li Da and Li Hanjun from Shanghai, Zhang Guotao and Liu Renjing from Beijing, Mao Zedong and He Shuheng from Changsha, Dong Biwu and Chen Tanqiu from Wuhan, Wang Jinmei and Deng Enming from Jinan, Chen Gongbo from Guangzhou and Zhou Fohai from Japan; and Bao Huiseng



• Site of the First National Congress of the CPC in Shanghai.

¹ It was verified many years later that the exact date of the CPC's First National Congress was July 23, 1921. In June 1941, the CPC Central Committee issued the Instruction of the Central Committee on the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the CPC and the 4th Anniversary of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, officially recognizing July 1 as the founding date of the CPC. From then on, July 1 was fixed as the anniversary of the CPC's founding.

(sent by Chen Duxiu).¹ They represented more than 50 CPC members across the country. Henk Sneevliet (alias Maring) and V. A. Nikolsky attended as representatives of the Communist International. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao did not attend the Congress due to their busy schedules.

To escape the attention of spies and the searches mounted by the French Concession police, the final session of the congress was held on a pleasure boat on South Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province.

The First National Congress decided that the name of the new party would be “the Communist Party of China” and adopted its first program. The program consisted of the following points: The revolutionary army shall join hands with the proletariat in overthrowing the bourgeois regime; and the Party shall accept the dictatorship of the proletariat until the end of class struggle, abolish capitalist private ownership, and align itself with the Third International. The CPC made socialism and communism its goals and revolution the means for achieving them as soon as it was established.

The First National Congress decided to set up the Central Bureau as a temporary leading body for the CPC’s central leadership. The Congress elected the Central Bureau with Chen Duxiu as its secretary.

The First National Congress formally declared the founding of the CPC. The CPC’s founding was an inevitable product of the historical development of modern China, of the Chinese people’s tenacious struggle for survival, and of the journey toward the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. As the party of the most advanced class in China—the working class, the CPC represents not only the interests of the working class, but also those of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation as a whole. From

¹ Zhang Guotao surrendered to the Kuomintang in 1938 and was expelled from the CPC. Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fohai seriously violated Party discipline and were expelled from the Party shortly after the First National Party Congress. They turned traitors during the War of Resistance against Japan.

the beginning, it followed Marxist theory as its guide for action, and it made it its mission to work for the happiness of the Chinese people and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The founding of the CPC was a groundbreaking event in the history of the Chinese nation, with tremendous, far-reaching significance. The most important reason for the repeated setbacks and failures of the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism and feudalism in modern times was the absence of a strong and advanced political party to act as a leading core with the power to unify. The birth of the CPC fundamentally changed this situation.

Both sites of the First National Congress, in Shanghai and on the Red Boat on Lake Nanhu in Jiaxing, are the birthplaces of the CPC, the places from where the Party's dream set sail. The very act of founding the CPC was a demonstration of the Party's pioneering spirit, indomitability, and devotion to the public good and the people's interests. These qualities, which underpin the revolutionary spirit of China, are also important elements of the Party's "Red Boat spirit." It was by only adhering to this spirit and carrying it forward that the CPC could create miracle upon miracle, that it could build a new society, become the world's largest political party, and bring profound change to China and have a profound impact on the world.

The CPC's Second National Congress and the Formulation of the Platform of the Democratic Revolution

After the founding of the CPC, the Party's most important task was to apply scientific theories to observe and analyze China's actual conditions. At the time, the most prominent problem in China was the conflict between China's warlords, which was growing in ferocity under the manipulation of the imperialists. The Party was deeply aware that, given the volatile situation, it would have no chance of realizing its ideals

if it could not overthrow the regimes of the warlords and imperialists.

The Second National Congress of the CPC was held in Shanghai in July 1922. The Congress was attended by 12 delegates, representing 195 CPC members nationwide.

Through an analysis of China's economic and political situation, the Congress revealed the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Chinese society and pointed out that the maximum program of the CPC was to realize socialism and communism, while the minimum program in the present stage was to defeat the warlords, overthrow the oppression of international imperialism, and unify China into a genuine democratic republic. The Congress pointed out that in order to achieve its anti-imperialist and anti-warlord revolutionary goal, a "democratic united front" must be formed with all revolutionary parties and bourgeois democrats in the country.

Just a year after its founding, the CPC proposed an explicit anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist program of democratic revolution, the first of its kind in China. The Party ensured that this program was very quickly spread far and wide. As calls of "down with the imperialist powers; down with the warlords" became the common cry among the people, it became clear that only the CPC, armed with Marxism, could point the way forward for the Chinese revolution.

The Second Congress adopted the CPC's first Constitution, which contained specific provisions on the conditions for membership, the CPC's organizations at all levels, and its discipline, all explicitly based on the principle of democratic centralism. This was of great importance for strengthening the Party. The Congress adopted a resolution confirming that the CPC was a branch of the Communist International.

The Congress also adopted a resolution stating that the CPC was a party composed of the most revolutionary elements of the proletariat, and that it was "a party struggling for the proletarians." It stressed that

all of its campaigns must reach out to the people and must never alienate them. This resolution proved to be highly significant in initiating the worker and peasant movements in the early days of the CPC.

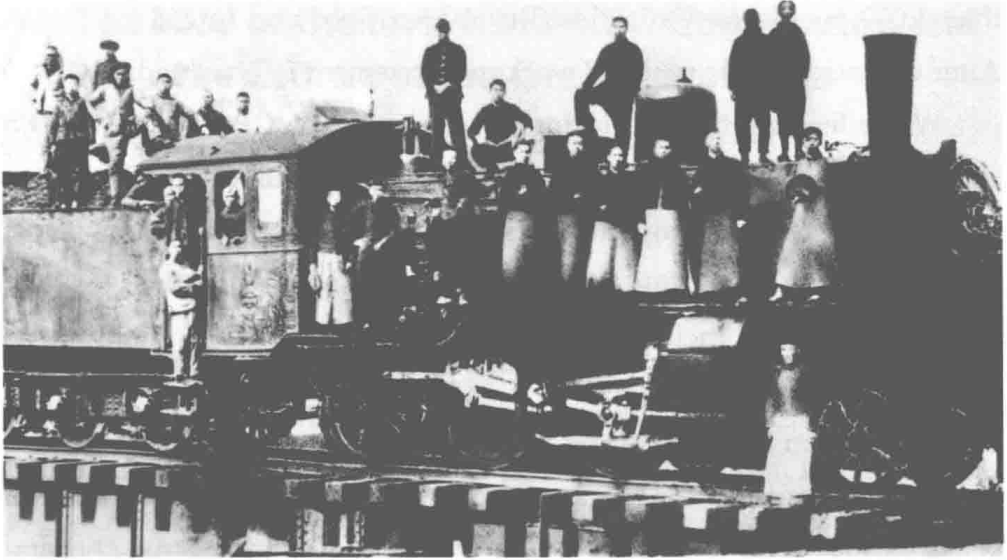
The Second CPC National Congress elected the Central Executive Committee with Chen Duxiu selected as committee chairman.

The First Upsurge of the Workers' Movement and the Initial Development of the Peasant Movement

After its founding, the CPC strove to organize and lead the workers' movement, establishing the Secretariat of the Chinese Labor Organization in August 1921 as a headquarters for openly leading the movement. The Secretariat published the *Labor Weekly*, organized workers' schools and industrial unions, and launched strikes. This increased the CPC's influence among workers and across society generally.

Under CPC leadership, the first upsurge of the Chinese workers' movement began with the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike in January 1922 and ended with the Beijing-Hankou Railway strike in February 1923. Over these 13 months, China was swept by more than 100 strikes, involving over 300,000 people. The railway workers and coal miners' strike in Anyuan and coal miners' strike in Kailuan were hallmarks of this upsurge, fully demonstrating the power of the working class when well-organized.

There were more than 17,000 workers at the Anyuan mine and railway. During the autumn and winter of 1921, Mao Zedong, then the Party branch secretary of Hunan Province, visited Anyuan on a fact-finding mission. Li Lisan travelled to Anyuan after this to organize the workers there. On May 1, International Labor Day, 1922, a trade union, the Anyuan Mine and Railway Workers' Club, was established. In early September, Mao Zedong returned to Anyuan to organize a strike. He was followed by Liu Shaoqi. The strike began on September 14, with



• Members of the Preparatory Committee of the Anyuan Mine and Railway Workers' Club.

workers demanding protection for their political rights, wage increases, and other conditions. Thanks to the valiant struggle of the workers and the sympathy and support they won from people of all walks of life, the mine and railway authorities were forced to meet most of their demands, bringing the Anyuan strike to a victorious conclusion.

On February 4, 1923, workers of the Jinghan (Beijing-Hankou) Railway went on strike to fight for the establishment of the Jinghan Railway Trade Union. On February 7, backed by imperialist forces, the warlord Wu Peifu deployed soldiers and police officers to violently suppress the strike. Reactionaries tied Lin Xiangqian, president of the Jiang'an Branch of the Union in Hankou (a Communist Party member), to a pole and tried to force him to call the strikers back to work. Refusing to surrender, Lin died a hero's death. Shi Yang, a union legal adviser (also a Communist Party member), was also killed. Having been struck by three bullets, he shouted "Long live the workers!" three times before he died. In the February 7th Massacre, 52 people lost their lives, more than 300 were injured, more than 40 were arrested and imprisoned, while more

than 1,000 people were dismissed from their jobs and forced into exile. After the incident, the national workers' movement fell to a nadir.

While leading the revolutionary struggle, the CPC began, too, to strengthen itself. It started to establish primary-level organizations in industrial and mining enterprises. It also welcomed into its ranks a number of outstanding figures who had emerged as the workers' struggle unfolded, including Su Zhaozheng, Shi Wenbin, Xiang Ying, Deng Pei, and Wang Hebo.

In addition to focusing on the workers' movement, the CPC also initiated peasant movements in the countryside. In September 1921, a peasants' meeting was held in Yaqian Village, Xiaoshan County, Zhejiang Province, at which the first of a new kind of peasants' organization was founded. In July 1922, Peng Pai established the first secret peasant association in his hometown of Haifeng County, Guangdong Province. By May 1923, peasant associations had been established in Haifeng, Lufeng, and Huiyang counties, and had a combined membership of more than 200,000. In September of the same year, inspired by the workers' movement in Shuikoushan, peasants in Baiguo of Hengshan County, Hunan Province, established the Yuebei Peasants and Workers Association under CPC leadership. It launched a series of struggles and raised the first flag of the peasant movement in Hunan Province. In addition, the CPC also led the youth and women's movements.

Both the worker and peasant movements, which had been launched and organized under CPC leadership, but particularly the workers' movement, demonstrated the firm revolutionary commitment and great fighting capacity of the Chinese working class. As a result, the CPC expanded its influence throughout the country, allowing for its cooperation with other revolutionary forces in launching a great nationwide revolution.

4. The Rise of the First KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Climax of the Great Revolution

The Third National Congress of the CPC and the Establishment of KMT-CPC Cooperation

Chinese Communists saw from the failure of the Beijing-Hankou Railway strike that revolutionary forces in China were far less powerful than their imperialist and feudal counterparts. The CPC recognized the importance of forming the broadest possible united front. It thus decided to take positive steps to unite with the Kuomintang (KMT), which was led by Sun Yat-sen.

At that time, Sun Yat-sen had become disheartened by a series of setbacks resulting from his policy of relying on warlords to fight warlords. Having witnessed the influence of the CPC-led workers' movement, Sun saw that it was an emerging and vibrant revolutionary force that he must cooperate with. In January 1923, the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued the Resolution on the Relationship between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, which gave support for cooperation between the two parties.

The Third National Congress of the CPC was held in Guangzhou in June 1923. The Congress was attended by more than 30 delegates, representing 420 CPC members.

The Congress made an accurate assessment of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary position and the possibility of reorganizing the KMT, and decided that CPC members should join the KMT in an individual capacity in order to realize cooperation with it. It was clearly stipulated that while Party members were to join the Kuomintang as individuals, the Party itself should maintain its political, ideological, and

organizational independence.

At the Congress, the Party's Constitution, adopted at the Second Congress, was revised for the first time to stipulate that those who wished to join the Party must complete a probationary period and that members may withdraw from the Party of their own free will.

The Congress elected a Central Executive Committee and set up the Central Bureau, of which Chen Duxiu was chairman.

After the Congress, KMT-CPC cooperation was accelerated. CPC organizations at all levels mobilized their members and young people to join the KMT and actively promoted the National Revolutionary Movement nationwide. In early October 1923, at the invitation of Sun Yat-sen, Soviet representative Mikhail Borodin arrived in Guangzhou. Sun Yat-sen appointed Borodin to the KMT's organizational instructor post, and later the position of political advisor. The reorganization of the KMT soon entered the implementation phase.

The First National Congress of the Chinese KMT was held in Guangzhou in January 1924. Among the 165 delegates at the opening ceremony, more than 20 were CPC members. Li Dazhao was appointed to the presidium of the Congress by Sun Yat-sen.

The Congress adopted the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Chinese Kuomintang. The document contained a new interpretation of the Three Principles of the People, which were rechristened the New Three Principles of the People. "Nationalism" now referred to anti-imperialism; "Democracy" stressed the democratic rights shared by all ordinary people; and "People's Livelihood" incorporated the major principles of "equalizing land rights" and the "regulation of private capital."

Shortly after the Congress, Sun Yat-sen also put forward the slogan "Land to the tiller." The political program of the Congress was consistent with certain basic principles of the CPC's political program

for democratic revolution, and as such, it became the political basis for the first instance of KMT-CPC cooperation. The Congress confirmed the principle that CPC members should join the KMT on an individual basis.

The Congress elected the Central Executive Committee of the KMT. Ten Communists, including Li Dazhao, Tan Pingshan, and Mao Zedong, were elected as members or alternate members of the Central Executive Committee, accounting for about a quarter of the total. After the Congress, CPC members with important posts in KMT headquarters included: Tang Pingshan, director of the Department of Organization; Lin Boqu, director of the Department of Peasantry; and Mao Zedong, acting director of the Department of Publicity.

The Congress also established the Three Great Policies—alliance with Russia, cooperation with the CPC, and assistance for peasants and workers, marking the start of the first instance of KMT-CPC cooperation.

A New Revolutionary Landscape and the Fourth National Congress of the CPC

Soon after KMT-CPC cooperation began, the revolutionary forces of the country, centered on Guangzhou, opened a new phase of revolution against imperialism and feudal warlords.

KMT-CPC cooperation helped restore and develop the workers' movement. In July 1924, in the Shamian Concessions in Guangzhou, several thousand workers staged a political strike to protest against a new police regulation, issued by the British and French authorities, denying Chinese citizens free access to the concessions. Chinese police also participated in the strike, which lasted for over a month and ended in victory. In May of the following year, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions was founded at the Second National Labor Congress in Guangzhou.

The peasant movement was also developing steadily. Peasants in

various counties of Guangdong launched peasant associations and organized self-defense armies to fight local tyrants, evil gentry, and corrupt officials. Beginning from July 1924, six sessions of the Peasant Movement Institute were held in Guangzhou, presided over by Communists Peng Pai and Mao Zedong. The institute helped train a number of leading activists for the peasant movement. In addition, the student movement and the women's movement also grew.

In order to foster a backbone force for armed revolution, the KMT decided at its First National Congress, at the suggestion of the Communists, to establish an army officer school—the Whampoa Military Academy. The CPC sent a large number of its members, members of the Socialist Youth League, and revolutionary youths from all over the country to study at the academy. There were 56 CPC and Socialist Youth League members among the academy's first group of enrollees, representing one tenth of the total.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the KMT and CPC, the ideas of the National Revolution spread across the country from south to north on an unprecedented scale. In October 1924, General Feng Yuxiang of the Zhili clique of the Northern Warlords staged a coup and overthrew the Beijing government, which was controlled by the warlords Cao Kun and Wu Peifu. After taking over Beijing and Tianjin and reorganizing his army into the National Army, Feng sent a telegram to Sun Yat-sen inviting him to come north to “discuss state affairs.” In November, Sun Yat-sen left Guangzhou to travel north. He promoted the idea of holding a national assembly and abolishing unequal treaties along the way. People's organizations from all over the country sent him telegrams expressing their support for him. The trip grew into a broad-based publicity campaign.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the growing revolutionary movement, the CPC held its Fourth National Congress in Shanghai in

January 1925. The Congress was attended by 20 delegates, representing 994 CPC members in the country.

The great historical achievement of the Fourth National Congress was that it discussed the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution and called for an alliance of workers and peasants. It enriched the content of the democratic revolution, pointing out that while opposing international imperialism, it was necessary to also oppose feudal warlord politics and feudal economic relations. This showed that the CPC's understanding of Chinese revolution had greatly improved, based on its review of the practical experience gained since its founding, particularly during the previous year of KMT-CPC cooperation.

The Congress also decided to strengthen CPC organizations throughout the country, expanding its numbers and consolidating discipline. It specified branches as the basic organizations of the CPC.

The Congress revised the section of the Party Constitution dealing with Party branches to stipulate that Party branches may be organized wherever there are three or more Party members.

The Congress elected the Central Executive Committee, which in turn elected the Central Bureau with Chen Duxiu as the general secretary.

On March 12, 1925, Sun Yat-sen passed away in Beijing. Following Sun's death, the anti-communist right-wingers of the KMT sprang back into action, resulting in a deeper split between the left and right wings of the KMT. The united front based on KMT-CPC cooperation was now facing a much more complex situation. This proved to be a great trial for Chinese Communists.

The May 30th Movement and the Unification of the Guangdong Revolutionary Bases

The nationwide Great Revolution culminated in a workers' strike against foreign capitalists in Shanghai in May 1925.

On May 15, 1925, a Japanese capitalist at the Naigai No.7 Cotton Mill shot dead Gu Zhenghong, a worker and CPC member. On May 30, workers and students took to the streets in Shanghai under the leadership of the CPC. British constables in the Concession suddenly opened fire on Nanjing Road, killing 13 people, students and workers among them, and injuring countless others. This atrocity, which became known as the May 30th Massacre, shocked the entire country. Over the next few days, another series of incidents occurred in Shanghai and other places where British and Japanese soldiers and police fired on common people.

The May 30th Massacre enraged people all over China. Fury over imperialism, which had for many years built among the Chinese people, suddenly erupted, sparking strikes by workers, students, and merchants. The CPC Central Executive Committee established the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions, and at the same time set up the Shanghai United Committee of Workers, Merchants, and Students to provide stronger leadership for the movement, which drew about 17 million people from all over the country. Roars of “Down with imperialism” and “Abolish unequal treaties” rang out all across the country, from bustling cities to remote towns. The massacre triggered a national wave against imperialism that surged across the nation with unstoppable momentum. This is remembered in history as the May 30th Movement.

The Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike, involving 250,000 people, was an important component of the May 30th Movement. Striking workers established the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike Committee, with CPC member Su Zhaozheng as chairman, and imposed a blockade on Hong Kong. The strike lasted for 16 months. The over 100,000 organized strikers who had gathered in Guangzhou became a strong pillar of the Guangzhou Revolutionary Government.

The CPC grew considerably during its leadership of the May 30th Movement. It expanded from less than 1,000 members at the beginning

of the year to 10,000 at the end. New CPC organizations were established in many places in the country. To adapt to the new situation arising from the climax of the Great Revolution, the CPC Central Executive Committee promptly put forward the idea of “transforming itself from a small organization to a centralized mass party” in a very short time. It also stressed the importance of education and training for CPC members and set up an advanced CPC school in Beijing to train cadres.

Under the favorable conditions, the KMT and the CPC worked together to unify the revolutionary bases in Guangdong. In 1925, after two eastern expeditions and a southern expedition, the troops of the warlord Chen Jiongming and the troops of the warlord Deng Benyin were eliminated; a rebellion staged by the troops under the command of Yang Ximin and Liu Zhenhuan in Guangzhou was quelled. These actions unified the Guangdong revolutionary bases and created a far more reliable rear base from which to launch the Northern Expedition.

In addition, the CPC also made an attempt to create armed forces directly. Sun Yat-sen gave his support to Zhou Enlai and the Guangdong Regional Committee of the CPC to reorganize the armored corps of the headquarters of the Army and Navy Grand Marshal's Office into a revolutionary armed force under direct CPC leadership, with members of the CPC and Communist Youth League as its mainstay. In early 1926, an independent regiment was established within the Fourth Army of the National Red Army (NRA) under the command of CPC member Ye Ting.

The revolutionary movement in the North prospered due to the hard work of Li Dazhao and other Communists. At the beginning of 1924, the northern workers' movement gradually rose out of the despondency which ruled in the aftermath of the February 7th Massacre to recover and gain momentum. Workers held many strikes in Beijing, Qingdao, and Tangshan. In October 1925, at an enlarged meeting, the CPC Central Executive Committee stressed the importance of work in the North and

decided to strengthen leadership over the revolution there. After the meeting, the CPC Northern Executive Committee was established with Li Dazhao as secretary.

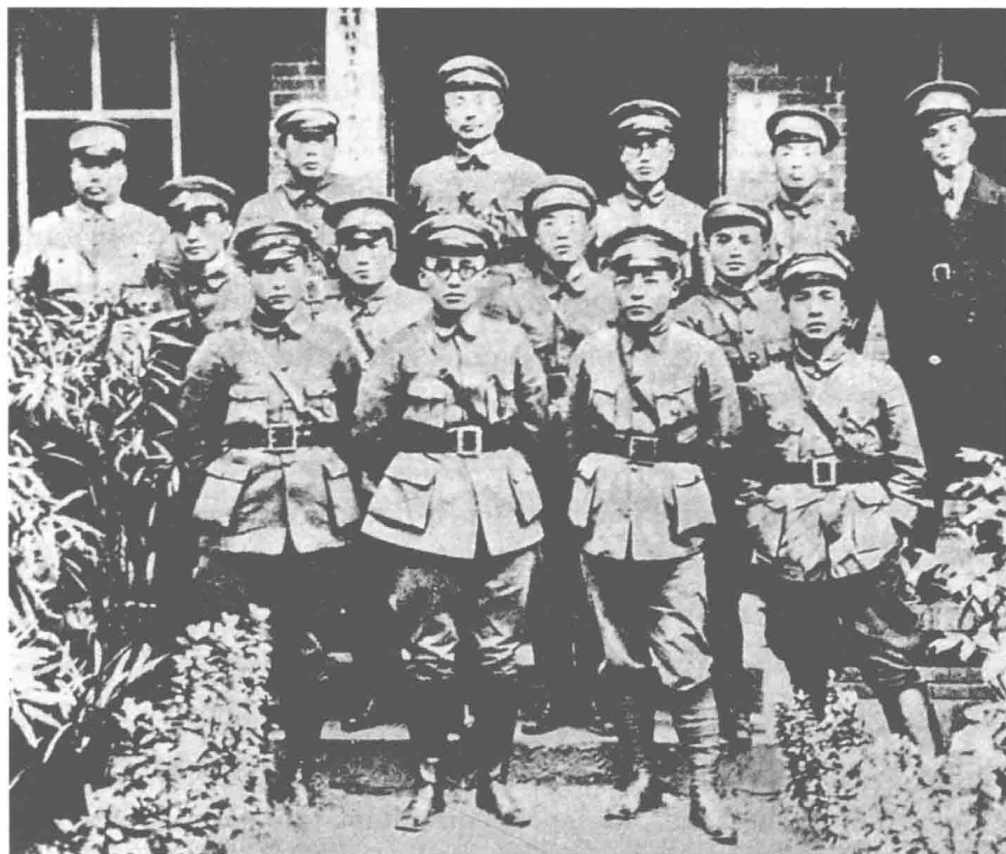
By July 1926, more than ten local committees and dozens of special and independent branches had been created in Beijing, Tianjin, Tangshan, Taiyuan, and Northern Manchuria, with more than 2,000 CPC members. Li Dazhao and the Party organizations in the North also worked to win over Feng Yuxiang and his National Army, and launched a movement for tariff autonomy. These struggles demonstrated an awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the people of the North and dealt a blow to the reactionary government of Duan Qirui who controlled Beijing.

5. The Northern Expedition and the Worker and Peasant Movements

The Victorious March of the Northern Expedition

In July 1926, the National Revolutionary Army launched the Northern Expedition. The direct targets of the expedition were the imperialist-backed Northern Warlords, mainly Wu Peifu, Sun Chuanfang, and Zhang Zuolin, who had 700,000 troops under their direct control. The National Revolutionary Army under the Nationalist Government totaled around 100,000 men.

Vastly outnumbered, the NRA, under the guidance of Soviet advisers, opted for a strategy of concentrating its forces to eliminate enemy units one by one. With strong support from the locals along the way, the Northern Expeditionary Army won sweeping victories. In September, the army occupied Hanyang and Hankou. On October 10, it conquered Wuchang and wiped out the main force of Wu Peifu. The Army in Jiangxi eliminated the main force of Sun Chuanfang and



• CPC members who engaged in political work in the Northern Expeditionary Army (pictured here in Nanchang).

occupied Jiujiang and Nanchang in early November. It seized Fuzhou in Fujian Province without a fight in December. The Army then made a plan to seize Zhejiang and Shanghai and gather its forces in Nanjing. In February 1927, it occupied Hangzhou and the whole province of Zhejiang. In March, it occupied Anqing and Nanjing and entered Shanghai. By this time, the Northern Expeditionary Army held all of the area south of the Yangtze River.

While the Northern Expeditionary Army was building a tremendous victory, the Feng Yuxiang-led National Army, with the help of the Soviet Union and the CPC, moved south in September 1926, after taking a mass pledge in Wuyuan County, Suiyuan. In November, they took control of

Shaanxi and Gansu provinces and prepared to move eastward out of Tongguan in support of the Northern Expeditionary Army.

The Northern Expedition was carried out under the anti-imperialist and anti-warlord slogans of the Communist Party. During the march of the Northern Expedition, members of the CPC and the Communist Youth League put their lives at risk and played a pioneering role, especially the independent regiment led by CPC member Ye Ting. The regiment, the first to enter Wuchang, matured into a heroic and battle-hardened unit of the Fourth Army, which was known as the "Iron Army." The Communists made great contributions to the army's political work and efforts to mobilize workers and peasants. Under the leadership of the Guangdong Regional Party Committee, the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike Committee of Guangdong organized 3,000 men into transport, propaganda, and medical teams to follow the troops north. The CPC Hunan Regional Committee mobilized workers and peasants to act as guides, deliver messages, transport equipment, and give medical aid. The committee also organized peasant self-defense corps to join in the fighting. Such enthusiasm was rarely seen in previous wars in China.

The great success achieved by the Northern Expedition in a short period of time was attributable to the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC.

The Upsurge of the Worker and Peasant Movements in Hunan, Hubei, and Jiangxi

After the victorious march of the Northern Expedition, the worker and peasant movements expanded at an unprecedented scale. The most remarkable developments occurred in Hunan, Hubei, and Jiangxi provinces.

It was in these provinces that the peasant movement first rose to prominence. In November 1926, Mao Zedong became the secretary of

the Peasant Movement Committee of the CPC Central Committee. The peasant movements in Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, and Henan were the main focus of Mao's work. From the summer of 1926 to January of the following year, the membership of peasant associations surged from 400,000 to 2 million in Hunan. Once the peasants were organized, they started to take action, launching an unprecedented rural revolution. As Mao Zedong pointed out at the time, "The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside. The Revolution of 1911 did not bring about this change, hence its failure. This change is now taking place, and it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution."

Landlords, gentry, and the KMT right-wing were horrified by the flourishing peasant movement. They attacked the movement, labeling it a "movement of riffraff" and "utterly appalling!" At the beginning of 1927, Mao Zedong conducted a 32-day investigation into the peasant movement in Hunan. In his subsequent "Report on an Investigation of



- The KMT Central Executive Committee's Peasant Movement Institute in Wuhan during the Great Revolution. The institute was run by Mao Zedong.

the Peasant Movement in Hunan,” he sharply refuted various fallacies inside and outside the CPC condemning the movement. He discussed the great significance of the rural revolution, and argued that all revolutionaries should stand in front of the peasants and lead them, not stand behind them and criticize them, much less stand opposite to them and oppose them. He emphasized that the Party should rely on the poor peasants, who were the “vanguard of the revolution” and unite with the middle peasants and other forces that could be won over. The Party should work to establish peasant associations and peasant armed forces so that the peasant associations could take over all power in the countryside. Then they should reduce rents and interest and redistribute the land.

In the cities, the worker movement was also on the rise. In September and October 1926, the Hunan and Hubei provincial federations of trade unions were established. By January 1927, there were 700,000 union members in the two provinces. The Jiangxi Provincial Federation of Trade Unions was also formally established. These three provinces applied the experience of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike to organize armed workers’ pickets. In Changsha, Wuhan, Jiujiang, and other cities, workers held large-scale strikes, most of them successful. With the mass anti-imperialist struggle in full swing, the Nationalist Government was prompted to take back the British Concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang in February 1927.

Encouraged by the victorious advance of the Northern Expedition and the upsurge of the worker and peasant movements, the CPC Central Committee and Shanghai Regional Committee began in October 1926 to organize armed uprisings involving Shanghai workers. The first two were defeated. Thereafter, the CPC Central Committee and Shanghai Regional Committee jointly established a supreme body to command the uprisings. Known as the Special Committee, its members were

Chen Duxiu, Luo Yinong, Zhao Shiyan and Zhou Enlai, with Zhou also serving as chief commander. Under its direct leadership, the Shanghai workers successfully staged a third armed uprising on March 21, 1927. On the 22nd, the Provisional Municipal Government of Shanghai Special City was established. It was the first revolutionary regime to be established by the people in a major city under CPC leadership.

The third armed uprising of the Shanghai workers was a major feat of the Chinese workers' movement during the Great Revolution and the culmination of the movement's development during the Northern Expedition.

6. The End of KMT-CPC Cooperation and the Failure of the Great Revolution

Crisis in the Great Revolution and the Fifth National Congress of the CPC

Though the powerful revolutionary movement was spreading like wildfire, a crisis was lurking beneath its success.

The by now formidable Chiang Kai-shek, encouraged and backed by the imperialist powers, made a series of moves to suppress the Communists. In March 1927, he ordered the KMT army to arrest Chen Zhanxi, a Communist Party member who was the chairman of the Ganzhou Federation of Trade Unions and vice chairman of the Jiangxi Provincial Federation of Trade Unions. The enemy tried to force Chen to disband the trade unions and suspend the worker-peasant movement. Chen declared that they could cut off his head and drain his blood, but he would never disband the trade unions. As he died a heroic death, Chen cried out, "Long live the Communist Party of China!"

As the Northern Expedition marched toward victory, Chiang's anti-

communist activities were becoming increasingly blatant. However, at the crucial juncture of the Great Revolution, the principal leaders of the CPC Central Committee made the mistake of compromising and making concessions.

On March 24, 1927, the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied Nanjing. That afternoon, British and American warships on the Yangtze River attacked Nanjing under the pretext of protecting their countries' citizens. Heavy casualties among Chinese soldiers and civilians resulted. The Nanjing Incident accelerated Chiang Kai-shek's collusion with the imperialists. On the 26th, Chiang travelled to Shanghai and held a series of secret meetings with imperialists, plutocrats from Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and gang leaders. In early April, Chiang hosted another secret meeting in Shanghai and made the decision to resort to violence to "purge" the party and launch a surprise attack on the CPC.

On April 12, Chiang started a counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai. In the early hours of the morning, a large number of Green Gang members disguised as workers charged out of the foreign concessions and launched surprise attacks on workers picket corps stationed at the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions and other locations. The 26th Army of the NRA, under the pretext of mediation, seized the weapons of the pickets. On the 13th, 100,000 workers and citizens of Shanghai staged a mass meeting. After the meeting, they marched to demand the release of arrested workers and the return of the firearms seized from the pickets. When the procession reached Baoshan Road, the 26th Army suddenly appeared and opened fire on the crowd, killing more than 100 people on the spot and wounding countless others. By April 15, more than 300 Shanghai workers had been executed, more than 500 had been imprisoned, and more than 5,000 were missing. This incident, which caused great shock both at home and abroad, became known as the April 12th Counterrevolutionary Coup.

After the KMT reactionaries launched the counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai, mass arrests and executions of CPC members and revolutionaries occurred in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, and Guangxi provinces, all in the name of “purging the party.” In Guangdong alone, more than 2,000 people were killed, including outstanding Communist Party members such as Xiao Chunü, Xiong Xiong, and others. Zhang Zuolin, a warlord of the northern Fengtian clique, also arrested and killed large numbers of Communists and revolutionaries.

On April 6, one of the CPC’s main founders and leaders, Li Dazhao, was arrested. Li struggled heroically against the enemy; he kept the Party’s secrets safe and did his utmost to cover for and save other arrested comrades. In his “Autobiography in Prison,” he swore boundless loyalty to the revolution. He wrote, “Since I entered school, I have been devoted to the cause of national liberation. I have been dedicated to the practical pursuit of my convictions and aspirations, having no time to appraise the merits and demerits.” On the gallows of the enemy, Li went to his death unflinchingly. His commitment to the original aspiration and the mission of Communists and his loyalty to the Party’s cause serve as a paragon of firm ideals and convictions.

Chen Yannian, Secretary of the Jiangsu Party Committee, also suffered cruel torture in prison, but his iron will would not allow him to give in to the enemy. On the execution ground, when ordered to kneel by the executioner, Chen loudly replied that true revolutionaries were honorable and upright and looked death calmly in the face. He would rather die standing tall than on his knees. Holding his head high, Chen went to his death a hero.

In the face of the ferocious White terror, the acting secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee, Zhao Shiyan firmly asserted that as a militant party, the CPC must fight as long as it exists; one cannot

be considered a Party member if he or she is unwilling to take part in struggles. After he was arrested, Zhao made an uplifting declaration, stating that righteous Chinese had absolutely no fear of sacrifice and the CPC would ultimately win victory. He went bravely to his execution, sacrificing his youth and blood for the great cause of national rejuvenation.

While Xiao Chunü was teaching at the Peasant Movement Institute and the Whampoa Military Academy, he told his students that people should be like burning candles, providing light and heat to keep others warm throughout their lives. During the White terror, Xiao laid down his life, just like a candle burning itself out to illuminate the revolutionary path for others.

The April 12th Counterrevolutionary Coup signaled the Great Revolution's turn from climax to defeat.



- Communists and revolutionaries are arrested and executed on the orders of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang also ordered the dissolution of revolutionary and progressive organizations.

On April 18, Chiang Kai-shek set up a separate “National Government” in Nanjing, representing the interests of big landlords and the bourgeoisie. At this point, there were three opposing regimes in the country: the Beijing government headed by Zhang Zuolin, the Nanjing National Government headed by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Wuhan National Government, which continued to support KMT-CPC cooperation.

The Fifth National Congress of the CPC was held in Wuhan from April to May, 1927—the most critical juncture of the Great Revolution. The Congress was attended by 82 delegates, representing 57,967 CPC members nationwide.

The Congress elected a new CPC Central Committee. The subsequent First Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Committee elected the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, with Chen Duxiu as General Secretary. It also elected the CPC’s first central body for discipline inspection—the Central Supervisory Commission. These actions were of great historical significance for strengthening the CPC.

After this meeting, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the revision of the Party Constitution in accordance with the requirements set forth by the Fifth National Congress. The Congress formally proposed the organizational principle of democratic centralism in the CPC. The revised Party Constitution set forth, for the first time, this principle and the relationship between the CPC and the Youth League. It also mentioned for the first time the requirement that applicants for Party membership must have reached the age of 18.

Although the Congress introduced a series of principles which were correct, such as the proletariat struggling for leadership of the revolution, establishing a revolutionary democratic regime, and carrying

out agrarian revolution, it did not set forth effective specific measures on how the proletariat should gain leadership over the revolution, how to lead the peasants in implementing the agrarian revolution, and especially how to establish revolutionary armed forces under the Party's leadership. This made it difficult to accomplish the task of saving the revolution.

The Failure of the Great Revolution and Its Lessons

After the Fifth CPC National Congress, the crisis in the jurisdiction of the Wuhan National Government worsened. In Hubei, Hunan, and Jiangxi, revolutionary groups were banned and worker and peasant leaders were arrested. On May 21, 1927, Xu Kexiang, a KMT reactionary officer, killed more than 100 Communists and revolutionaries while disarming workers' pickets in Changsha. This became known as the May 21st Incident. In its aftermath, Hunan was enveloped in White terror.

On July 15, Wang Jingwei convened an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee, at which he formally broke with the CPC—an action he termed “splitting with the Communists.” Mass arrests and executions of CPC members and revolutionaries followed. KMT-CPC cooperation broke down completely, and the Great Revolution jointly launched by the two ended in failure. A large number of great sons and daughters of the Chinese nation lost their lives in the bitter and bloody struggle against the reactionaries. According to incomplete statistics, more than 310,000 CPC members and other revolutionaries were killed between March 1927 and mid-1928.

Revolutionaries were not cowed by the White terror, however, even though the blood of their comrades seemed to flow around them like rivers. Xia Minghan, a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Hubei Provincial Committee, steadfastly held to his faith after he was thrown in jail. In a letter to his wife, he wrote, “I will keep fighting to

realize my dream. I vow to spread the truth." A poem penned by Xia contained the lines "Beheading is nothing to me as long as my doctrine is true." His righteous vows showed that the ideals of Communists could not be extinguished, nor could their beliefs.

The Great Revolution was a people's revolutionary movement that was predominantly made up of workers and peasants but also had the participation of the national bourgeoisie and the upper petty bourgeoisie. With a scale and form different to that of the Revolution of 1911, the Great Revolution set a whirlwind swirling across the vast territory of China and dealt a stunning blow to the country's imperialist forces. It had, in the main, overthrown the reactionary rule of the Northern Warlords and spread the idea of democratic revolution around the country on an unprecedented scale. It triggered an awakening among the Chinese people and promoted China's social progress. It educated and trained up revolutionary classes and built popular support for the CPC-led Agrarian Revolutionary War to come.

During the Great Revolution, CPC organizations developed rapidly, and the CPC grew stronger. In the six short years from the early days of the CPC's founding up to the failure of the Great Revolution, all areas of the country, save Xinjiang, Qinghai, Guizhou, Tibet, and Taiwan, had established CPC organizations or played host to CPC activities. The CPC had grown from just over 50 members to a party with considerable popular support and close to 58,000 members. It led more than 2.8 million workers and 9.7 million peasants.

In the early and middle stages of the Great Revolution, the line of the CPC was basically correct; its members and officials were riding high with enthusiasm and scored great victories. The failure of the Great Revolution was objectively due to the strength of counterrevolutionaries, the serious destabilization of the bourgeoisie, and the sharp divisions in the united front, which saw both the Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei

cliques turn against the revolution. Subjectively speaking, the failure was also down to the CPC's infancy. The Party lacked the political experience to cope with complicated environments and failed to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of the Chinese revolution.

The lessons learned from the rise and fall of the Great Revolution were that the CPC would need to not only establish a united revolutionary front but also preserve its own independence. This demanded the implementation of a policy of "unity and struggle," as it fought for proletarian leadership of the revolution. Furthermore, given the realities in China at the time, armed struggle and the establishment of an army under the CPC's direct command and control would be necessary for victory in the revolution. It was also necessary to resolve the peasant land problem in order to fully mobilize peasants in joining the revolution and expanding its ranks. It was necessary for the CPC to strengthen itself and improve democratic centralism in the Party. The Party needed to not only develop its organization and the size of its membership but also consolidate its organization and the quality of its membership. Only by correctly understanding and resolving these problems could the CPC lead the Chinese revolution to success.

Although the Great Revolution ultimately ended in failure, its historical significance is enduring. The revolution proved to be a rehearsal for the victorious revolution to come. During this period, Chinese Communists carried out vigorous revolutionary work, waged a great struggle against imperialism and feudalism nationwide, and wrote a poignant chapter in the history of the Chinese revolution. Whether it was during the upsurge of the Great Revolution or under the specter of White terror, Chinese Communists always demonstrated a dauntless spirit of self-sacrifice, a revolutionary spirit of choosing death over surrender, and a willingness to brave all dangers for the highest interests of the country

and the nation. For this, they earned the trust of the people.

Through the Great Revolution, the CPC learned profound lessons both positive and negative in nature. It began exploring in practice ways to adapt Marxism to the Chinese context. It put forward the basic ideas of the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, and began to understand the importance of carrying out agrarian revolution and developing revolutionary armed forces. Through the Great Revolution, the Chinese people's consciousness grew significantly. All this prepared the necessary conditions for advancing the Chinese revolution to a new stage—the Agrarian Revolutionary War.

Chapter II

The Agrarian Revolution

After the failure of the Great Revolution, the nation was in the throes of the KMT's White terror. The newly established CPC was facing tests, the severity of which it had never faced before. In spite of the bloody massacres committed against the CPC by reactionaries, the CPC and the Chinese people would not cower, nor would they suffer defeat or extermination. Picking themselves up and wiping away the bloodstains, they buried their dead and prepared to continue fighting.

1. Combating the Reactionary Rule of the KMT with Armed Struggle

The Nanchang Uprising, the August 7th Meeting, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and the Guangzhou Uprising

After Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei's betrayal of the revolution, the political situation at home began to nosedive. China was awash with blood and the Chinese revolution stood at a critical juncture.

In the midst of a harsh struggle and with the bitter lessons of spilt blood, the Party realized that without revolutionary armed forces, it could not overcome the armed counterrevolutionaries. It could not accomplish the important task of leading the Chinese revolution, it could not win the Chinese revolution, and it could not change the fate of the

Chinese people and the Chinese nation. Presenting unarmed resistance would like sitting on the sidelines and watching the whole of China fall to darkness.

On August 1, 1927 under the leadership of the Front Committee of the CPC Central Committee with Zhou Enlai as its secretary, He Long, Ye Ting, Zhu De, and Liu Bocheng took command of more than 20,000 troops who were directly under the control or influence of the Party. They fired the first shots of armed resistance against KMT reactionaries in Nanchang. After over four hours of fierce fighting, the insurgent forces captured the city. Then, as planned, they withdrew and headed for Guangdong. In early October, the Front Committee met defeat in the Chaozhou-Shantou area of the province. A section of this force relocated to the Haifeng-Lufeng area, where they joined up with local armed peasants. The larger force, however, moved into southern Hunan to carry out guerrilla warfare under the guidance of Zhu De and Chen Yi.

The sound of gunfire in Nanchang was like thunder splitting the night sky. The Nanchang Uprising was the start of the CPC's journey to independently lead the revolutionary struggle, to build a people's army, and to seize political power by force. It was the prelude to a new era of the Chinese Revolution. From that moment for on, the people's army under CPC leadership would always remain heroically engaged in the historical mission to seek liberation and happiness for the Chinese people and guarantee independence and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. The people's army has always and has been bound by fate to the Chinese people and the Chinese nation.

On August 7, 1927, the CPC Central Committee held an emergency secret meeting in Hankou, Hubei Province, which became later known as the August 7th Meeting. At the meeting saw the establishment of the general policy of agrarian revolution and armed resistance against the KMT reactionaries. The policy was the right choice for the Party to take

in the wake the sacrifices of so many of its members. Attending the meeting, Mao Zedong emphasized in his speech: "In the future, we must pay great attention to military affairs. It must be understood that political power lies in the barrel of a gun."

The August 7th Meeting was a turning point. Suffering under theoretical disarray and disorganization, the meeting showed the CPC a way out. It saved the Party and the revolution. The meeting represented the turning point

for the Chinese revolution as it learned from the failure of the Great Revolution and onward to the rise of the Agrarian Revolutionary War.

Following the August 7th Meeting, the Party dispatched a large number of officials to different areas to restore and revamp local Party organizations and launch armed uprisings.

Mao Zedong was sent to Hunan as a special envoy of the Central Committee where he conveyed the guidelines of the August 7th Meeting, reorganized the CPC Hunan Provincial Committee, and lead the Autumn Harvest Uprising. With Mao as secretary, the Front Committee of the CPC Hunan Provincial Committee organized over 5,000 soldiers from all units who would participate in the uprising into the First Division of the Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army. On September 9, the First Division launched the Autumn Harvest Uprising on the Hunan-Jiangxi border. After the insurgents' assault on the key city of Changsha



• Site of the August 7th Meeting in Hankou.

was repelled, Mao made a swift decision to abandon the original plan, and instead led his troops to Wenjiashi in Liuyang County. It was there that he chaired a meeting of the Front Committee and presented a plan to look for a foothold in the mountainous rural areas where enemy rule was weak. The strategy proved to be a decisive moment in the Chinese people's revolution as it initiated the strategic shift from attacking big cities to advancing into rural areas.

On September 29, the famous Sanwan Reorganization took place at the village of Sanwan in Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province, under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The uprising forces were reorganized. A Party branch was established in every company; soldiers' committees were founded at each level; and a democratic system was instituted to ensure that all officers and soldiers were politically equal. These changes put paid to the failed tactics and poor conduct which had existed in former uprising armies. The reorganization at Sanwan established the Party's leadership over the army on an organizational level. It was an important start in the endeavor to build a new type of people's army led by the proletariat.

On December 11, Zhang Tailei, secretary of the CPC Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, alongside Ye Ting and Ye Jianying, initiated and led the Guangzhou Uprising. CPC forces occupied most of urban Guangzhou, and established the Soviet Government. However, vastly outnumbered, they were defeated on the third day. Zhang Tailei and many other revolutionaries heroically lost their lives during the fighting. Zhou Wenyong and Chen Tiejun, a revolutionary couple in the uprising, were unfortunately arrested. In February 1928, they were married in a tragic ceremony at the execution ground in Honghuagang, Guangzhou before dying as martyrs.

The Guangzhou Uprising was yet another case of heroic opposition to the KMT reactionary clique's policy of mass murder. However,

experience had shown that the military superiority of the new warlords of the KMT in key cities had made revolutionary victory through armed urban uprisings and attacks on big cities impossible.

By early 1928, the CPC had led a series of armed uprisings. The major flashpoints included the Haifeng and Lufeng Uprising, the Qiongya Uprising, the Huang'an and Macheng Uprising, the Donggu Uprising, the Yiyang and Hengfeng Uprising, the Wan'an Uprising, the Southern Hunan Uprising, the Sangzhi Uprising, the Western Fujian Uprising, the Queshan Uprising, and the Weinan and Huaxian Uprising. Most of these ended in failure, owing to the military superiority of the enemy, CPC leaders pursuing the wrong policies, and poor timing. However, the unwillingness to relent makes it clear that the fire of revolution could not be extinguished by counterrevolutionary military repression, for it was just, and in line with the demands of the people at large. Some CPC forces managed to survive in remote mountainous villages that straddled the borders of several provinces. From these remote outposts, they engaged in guerilla warfare and laid the foundations for the Red Army and revolutionary bases.

The Sixth National Congress of the Party

In spite of the string of armed uprisings staged by the Party during this period, the revolution was not without its problems. As the CPC was a fledgling, politically immature party, disagreement and controversy persisted within its ranks on major questions such as the nature of Chinese society and the nature, driving force, and future of the Chinese revolution. Therefore, the holding of a national congress became a pressing task for the Party. It was in the face of the KMT's ruthless White terror campaign tearing through the country, and after obtaining the agreement of the Communist International, that the Central Committee decided that the Sixth National Congress of the CPC would convene in the Soviet Union.

From June to July 1928, the Congress was convened in a suburb of Moscow. 142 delegates attended in total. The Congress passed resolutions concerning political, military, and organizational affairs and the Soviet Government. The Party Constitution was revised and a new Central Committee was elected.

The Congress offered an astute analysis of the nature of Chinese society. It pointed out that China was still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and that during that time, the Chinese revolution would remain a bourgeois democratic revolution. The Congress held that, politically, China found itself in trough between two revolutionary upsurges. The first had passed and the second wave was yet to arrive. The Congress expounded that the Party's general line was to win over the people. The Party would shift the focus of its work from concentrating purely on the organization of uprisings to concentrating on long-term difficult work among the people. The Congress decided to prioritize winning over the people its primary task and saw the "Leftist" tendency as the main threat to be opposed. This was a major change for the guidelines of Party work.

Adopted by the Congress, the Party constitution set out in detail the content of democratic centralism, and made new provisions in such areas as the Party membership management system and the Party's organizational structure.

The general line of the Sixth National Party Congress was on the whole the correct. It unified the thinking of the entire Party in the midst of great confusion. After the Congress, by implementing that line, the Party revived and rebuilt its organizations and led the people through the struggle. The Chinese revolution recovered and began to grow again.

2. Mao Zedong and a New Path for the Chinese Revolution

The Establishment of a Revolutionary Base Area in the Jinggang Mountains and the March to Southern Jiangxi and Western Fujian

After the failure of the Great Revolution, the road to success in the Chinese revolution was lay in the battles of the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De.

After the Sanwan Reorganization, Mao Zedong was the first to lead the revolutionary army into the Jinggang Mountains, situated at the middle section of the Luoxiao Mountains along the Hunan-Jiangxi border. Mao Zedong chose that location for a revolutionary base because the CPC enjoyed strong popular support in the area, Party organizations and peasant associations already existed in the Hunan-Jiangxi border counties since the Great Revolution. Some of the old peasant armies here were willing to unite with the workers and peasants revolutionary army and the area was a natural fortress. Moreover, the surrounding counties had a self-sufficient agricultural economy, which would make it easy for the troops to raise money and supplies. The base was located on the Hunan-Jiangxi border, far from the center of KMT rule. The conflicts between Hunan and Jiangxi warlords ensured that KMT control over this area was weak.

Seizing on the opportunity of a schism in the ruling class, Mao injected his energy into building up the Party, the army, and political power in the area. The first Red Government was established in the Hunan-Jiangxi border area in November 1927. It was known as the Chaling County Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Government. A military offensive against the Jinggang Mountains area by the KMT Army in Jiangxi was defeated in mid-February 1928. At the point of that success,

the base area in the Jinggang Mountains had been completed and Party organizations on the border had been gradually set up.

Mao Zedong called the workers and peasants revolutionary army to change its tactic so that it would no longer concentrate solely on fighting and would instead focus on three objectives. The army would fight to destroy the enemy, overthrow local tyrants and raise funds, and consolidate popular support. In April 1928, Mao reviewed the army's experience in gathering public support before prescribing the Three Rules of Discipline and Six Points for Attention. These points of attention would later be expanded to become Eight Points for Attention. The Points explained what it was to be a people's army. They were an essential guide to handling army-civilian relations as well as relations within the army itself. The framework would prove indispensable to the Communist army's efforts to eliminate their enemy.

In late April of 1928, Zhu De and Chen Yi led the remaining troops from the Nanchang Uprising, and over 10,000 men of the southern Hunan uprising peasant army into the Jinggang Mountains area to join up with Mao's forces. The forces of Zhu, Chen, and Mao combined to form the Fourth Army of the Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army (later renamed the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army). Zhu was made commander, and Mao Party representative and secretary of the military commission. Thereafter, the army would come to be known as the "Zhu-Mao Red Army." In May, the First Party Congress of the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area selected the CPC Special Committee of the Hunan-Jiangxi Border Area, appointing Mao Zedong as its secretary.

Contemplating the victories over the KMT army in Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, Mao and Zhu summed up the basic principles of guerrilla warfare as follows: "When the enemy advances, we retreat, when the enemy camps, we harass. When the enemy tires, we attack, and

when the enemy retreats, we pursue.” They led the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army, with barely four regiments to fight against eight, nine—as many as 18 KMT army regiments. Fearlessly, and against all odds, the Red Army managed to expand their bases.

The success of the battles in the Jinggang Mountains base area were inextricably tied to the agrarian revolution. In the early stages of the founding of the base area, land was distributed in a number of places on a trial basis. From May to July 1928, when the base area was gradually consolidated, a movement to distribute land swept the counties in the border region. At the end of the same year, a Land Law for the Jinggang Mountains was promulgated. On receiving their very own parcel of land, the majority of poor peasants recognized that the Red Army was fighting on their behalf. They began to enthusiastically support the development of the army and the base area all round. This popular support would become the social foundation that ensured the survival and development of the revolutionary base area in the Jinggang Mountains.

The success of the Jinggang Mountains base area sparked the establishment of further armed independent regimes of workers and peasants, and blazed the right and an up to that point untraveled path for the Chinese revolution—the way of surrounding the cities from the countryside and taking political power by force. The invaluable heritage of the Jinggang Mountains period is the Jinggang Mountains spirit, the most important characteristics of which are firm belief, hard work, a determination to seek truth from facts, the courage to break new ground, an ability to depend on the people, and the will to succeed.

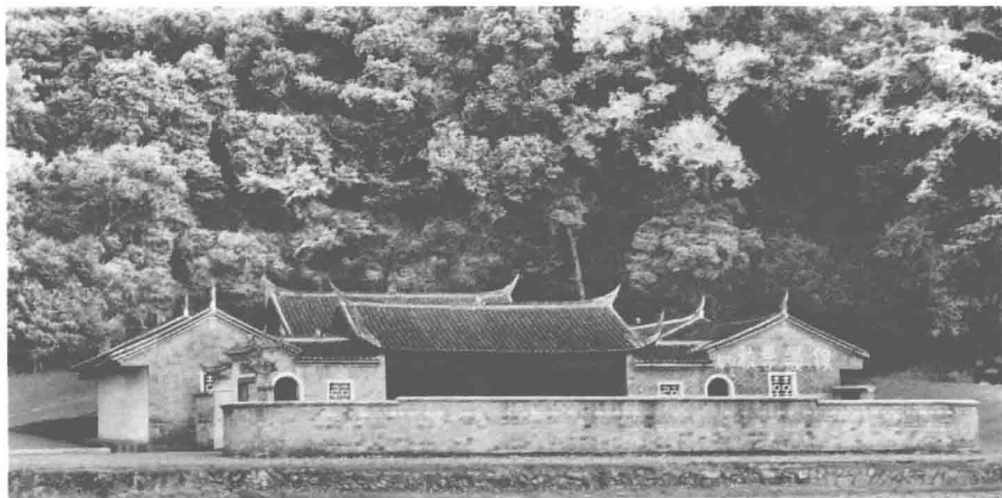
In December 1928, 30,000 KMT troops in Hunan and Jiangxi, launched an attack in five columns on the Jinggang Mountains. In January 1929, Mao Zedong, Zhu De, and Chen Yi led the main forces of the Fourth Red Army in an attack on southern Jiangxi. They then joined up with the main forces of the Fifth Red Army, which had broken

out from a KMT encirclement attempt in the Jinggang Mountains, and proceeded to western Fujian. In the spring of 1930, bases were established in southern Jiangxi and western Fujian, and Soviet governments were set up in southwestern Jiangxi and western Fujian. These governments laid the foundation for the establishment of the Central Revolutionary Base later on. They also inspired, and provided a model for the Red Army's future guerilla warfare campaigns and for the establishment of bases elsewhere.

The Gutian Meeting and the Program for Building the Party and the Red Army

The Gutian Meeting took place at a life-and-death moment for the Red Army. It was at a point while the Fourth Red Army engaged in battle in the southern Jiangxi and western Fujian regions when there arose a difference in opinion regarding the development of the army among the leadership. Non-proletarian thinking, such as a tendency to consider matters from a purely militaristic point of view, bandit mentality, and the vestiges of warlordism was gaining some ground among the ranks. Low on morale and wanting in unity after the eighth Party congress, the Fourth Red Army failed to take the East River. The army was facing a severe test.

In December 1929, the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Red Army also known as the Gutian Meeting was held at Gutian, Shanghang County, Fujian. At the meeting, a new CPC Fourth Red Army Front Committee was established, with Mao Zedong as its secretary. Fulfilling a request in a September letter from the Central Committee, the meeting adopted the Gutian Meeting Resolution which Mao Zedong had drafted. The resolution on correcting mistaken thinking within the Party was the most important part. The Gutian Meeting Resolution also established the principles for strengthening the Party ideologically and strengthening the army politically.



• Site of the Gutian Meeting in Fujian.

With regard to Party building, the Resolution was a concentrated expression of the Party's unique ideology-focused approach. The document expounded on the critical importance of strengthening ideological education within the Party, and pointed out the manifestations, sources of non-proletarian thinking within the Party and the ways to correct it. In addition to this the Resolution pointed out the task of strengthening the Party's organizational structure, setting forth the requirement of "practicing democracy under centralized guidance," while calling for close attention to the qualifications of newly recruited Party members, and so on.

With regard to the development of the army, the Resolution specified that the Red Army was an armed force that carried out the political mission of the revolution, and so it must absolutely follow the Party's leadership and wholeheartedly implement the Party's program, line, and policies. The Resolution criticized any purely militaristic point of view that set military affairs against politics. The Resolution repeated that the Red Army must carry out the three tasks of fighting, raising funds, and guaranteeing public support, while stressing the need to strengthen the

Army's political work, and political education in particular.

The Gutian Meeting Resolution was a framework document for building the CPC and the Red Army, while also representing a milestone in the history of the Party and the people's army of China. The Gutian Meeting established the Marxist principles necessary for strengthening the Party and the army, the guidelines, principles and systems for the political work of the army, and the principles and directions necessary for solving the fundamental problem of building a new people's proletarian army from an army composed mainly of peasants. The Meeting revived the army. The framework for political work which was set out at the Gutian Meeting played a decisive role in the survival and development of the army.

The total leadership of the Party over the army is the everlasting life force of the people's army. This fundamental leadership principle and system, which began in the Nanchang Uprising, before it was reinforced in the Sanwan Reorganization, and later crystalized at the Gutian Meeting, was and remains the political DNA and fundamental advantage of the people's army. It is a principle that completely distinguishes the People's Liberation Army of China (PLA) from all other armies gone by. Thousands upon thousands of revolutionary soldiers have remained true to the Party, and its rise in the face of frustration and hardship to go forth and become an iron army that would not be defeated, that would not be broken.

After the establishment of the principles for strengthening the Party and the army, the Red Army welcomed a great opportunity for development. In June 1930, the Red Army units in southwest Jiangxi and western Fujian were merged into the First Red Army Corps, a 20,000 strong force. In August, the First Red Army Corps and the Third Red Army of more than 30,000 soldiers led by Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan were combined into the First Red Army, with Zhu De in the role

of commander-in-chief. Mao Zedong took the office of secretary of the General Front Committee and general political commissar. The First Red Army became one of the most powerful fighting units in the National Red Army.

After leading the troops of the Autumn Harvest Uprising to the Jinggang Mountains, responding to doubts within the Party about the sustainability of the revolution with members asking "how long exactly will the red flag fly," and considering the realities of China's revolution, Mao Zedong pragmatically clarified the success of a revolution in agricultural China would depend on an armed uprising. He explained the objective and subjective conditions for the long-term existence and development of Red political power, and set forth the logic for an armed independent regime of workers and peasants. In his article "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," he pointed out that the establishment and expansion of the Red Army, the guerrilla forces, and the Red areas were undoubtedly the most important steps toward accelerating the revolutionary tide which was sweeping the country. This led to the idea of surrounding the cities from the countryside and taking political power by force. The article summarized the experience of the Party in leading the Red Army and the struggles which it had overcome in the base areas following the failure of the Great Revolution. The article is a creative record of the development of Marxism in China.

After the failure of the Great Revolution, the Chinese Communists embarked on a path of encircling cities from countryside positions and seizing state power using armed force. It was the adoption of this unique tactic that led to the revival of the Chinese revolution and gradually toward victory.

In a semi-colonial and semi-feudal China in which the Great Revolution had failed and the enemy's forces were far superior, unlike the October Revolution in Russia, in China, the Chinese Communists

could not secure nationwide victory in the revolution by occupying major cities first. Instead, they needed to establish revolutionary bases in the countryside to consolidate revolutionary forces, and then when conditions were ripe, they would seize the cities and secure final and national victory.

The plan to encircle cities from countryside positions was a unique strategy that was conceived under the guidance of CPC leadership, and in a period of collective struggle. Mao Zedong made the greatest contribution to the implementation of this strategy. Not only was Mao the first to propose transforming the countryside into the foundation of the armed struggle, but he led the building of the Jinggang Mountains base area, while creatively solving essential issues to the maintenance and development of the rural bases. Mao also developed lucid theoretical framework to plot the course of the Chinese revolution.

3. The Red Army's Victory against KMT Encirclement and Suppression Campaigns and the Establishment of Rural Revolutionary Bases

The Revolution Turning the Corner

In the two years which followed the Sixth National Party Congress, Party organizations were revived and developed thanks to decisive changes in Party work. According to statistics from the enlarged Third Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee, by September 1930, nationwide Party membership had surpassed 122,300. By the end of that year, the Party had already reestablished 17 provincial Party committees (also known as provincial work committees) in addition to numerous special Party committees, municipal Party committees, and county Party committees. The Party had accumulated rich experience working

underground during the tough struggle in KMT-controlled areas. It was under the direct leadership of Zhou Enlai that the Special Tasks Section of the CPC Central Committee was established in November 1927. The section played an important role in safeguarding the security of the Central Committee, in rescuing comrades who had been captured by the enemy, in punishing traitors, gathering intelligence, connecting telecommunications to the Soviet areas, and in supporting the Red Army's fight at revolutionary base region.

To the significant benefit of the army's development, the Party Central Committee strengthened its leadership of Red Army units and the work being carried out in revolutionary bases in rural areas. By March 1930, the Red Army had 13 divisions with more than 62,000 men across the country. In addition to bases in southwest Jiangxi and western Fujian led by Mao Zedong and others, other important revolutionary bases included the western Hunan-Hubei base, Hubei-Henan-Anhui base, Hunan-Jiangxi base, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi base, Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi base, the Zuoyoujiang base in Guangxi Province, and the Dongjiang and Qiongya bases in Guangdong Province. The creation and development of revolutionary bases made an indispensable contribution to the progress of the revolution.

In western Hunan and Hubei, in early 1928, He Long and Zhou Yiqun arrived at Honghu in Hubei and Sangzhi in western Hunan. They organized several peasant guerilla factions into a new revolutionary army and integrated them into the Fourth Army of the Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army. In July 1930, the Fourth Army rendezvoused in Gong'an, Hubei, with the Sixth Red Army, which was expanded from the various guerrilla forces from western Hubei. Their combined forces expanded to more than 10,000 men to form the 2nd Red Army Corps, with He Long as the commander-in-chief and Zhou Yiqun as the political commissar. The Western Hunan-Hubei Soviet Government was then

established.

In Hubei, Henan, and Anhui, Red Army guerrillas developed rapidly. They were initially divided across the Hubei-Henan border base, Southeast Henan base, and the Western Anhui base. The Central Military Commission assigned Xu Xiangqian to take charge of military command in the Hubei-Henan border area. In early 1930, the Central Committee decided to set up the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Border Special Committee, appointing Guo Shushen as secretary to lead the three bases and set up the First Red Army. The First Red Army was the predecessor of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Central Bureau and the Fourth Front Red Army.

On the return of Peng Dehuai and Teng Daiyuan's Fifth Red Army from Hunan and Hubei provinces to return to the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi area, their forces were combined with local guerillas and expanded to become the Third Red Army Corps, with Peng Dehuai as the commander-in-chief and secretary of the front committee, and Teng Daiyuan as the political commissar. Reorganization established the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi revolutionary base.

In the western Guangxi, Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Yunyi, Wei Bachun and other representatives of the Central Committee led a part of the Guangxi army and local peasant army under the guidance of the Party in launching the Baise Uprising and Longzhou Uprising in December 1929 and February 1930, respectively. They established the Seventh Red Army and the Eighth Red Army, with Li Mingrui as the commander-in-chief of both and Deng Xiaoping as the political commissar. This heralded the creation of the Zuoyoujiang Revolutionary Base.

The Red Army's Campaigns against KMT Encirclement and Suppression

With the KMT ruling clique galled by the tenacity and the rapid growth of the Red Army and the revolutionary bases, Chiang Kai-shek

concentrated his forces to launch several encirclement and suppression campaigns against the Red Army in the base areas.

The focus of the KMT army's encirclement and suppression campaigns was the central revolutionary base area and the First Front Army of the Red Army led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Beginning in October 1930, Chiang gathered over 100,000 troops to mount the first encirclement and suppression drive against the central revolutionary base area. The First Front Army, a force of more than 40,000 servicemen adopted a tactic of luring the enemy deep into its territory, which allowed it to wipe out 13,000 enemy troops and smash the first encirclement and suppression campaign.

Not long after this first success for the Red Army, Chiang Kai-shek launched a second encirclement and suppression campaign against the central revolutionary base area with 200,000 servicemen under his command. The First Front Army of the Red Army stuck to the tactic of luring the enemy deep into the base. From May 16 to 31, 1931, the Red Army won five successive battles in, sweeping across 350 kilometers of territory from the sides of the Gan River in Jiangxi Province to Jianning County in Fujian Province to eliminating over 30,000 enemy troops. The second of the MTS's encirclement and suppression campaigns had been repulsed and the central revolutionary base area further expanded. In his triumphant poem, Mao Zedong vividly illustrated the inspiring victory, "In fifteen days we have marched seven hundred *li* / Crossing misty Gan River and green Fujian hills / Rolling back the enemy like a mat."

In June 1931, Chiang Kai-shek personally took up the post of commander-in-chief of the encirclement and suppression army and mobilized 300,000 troops in a third attempt. Within three months, the First Front Army of the Red Army had wiped out over 30,000 enemy troops and defeated the third campaign. Soon after, the southern Jiangxi and western Fujian base areas were joined together to cover an area of

more than twenty counties.

On December 14, 1931, feeling the pressure of Red Army victories, a mass of over 17,000 men from the 26th Route Army of the KMT army defected to the Red Army in Ningdu County, Jiangxi. They were reorganized as the Fifth Army Group of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army. The event sent shock waves through the KMT army.

At the same time, the campaigns against encirclement and suppression in other base areas were also victorious.

In the Hubei-Henan-Anhui base area, between the winter of 1930 and the summer of 1931, the Red Army defeated two of the KMT army's encirclement and suppression campaigns. In November 1931, following Central Committee orders, the Fourth Red Army and the 25th Red Army in the Hubei-Henan-Anhui base were merged to form the Fourth Front Red Army with Xu Xiangqian as commander-in-chief and Chen Changhao as political commissar. The force was made up of nearly 30,000 men.

Victories over KMT encirclement and suppression campaigns were also won in western Hunan-Hubei, northeastern Jiangxi, Hunan-Jiangxi, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, Qiongya, and other base areas. Around the same time, Liu Zhidan, Xie Zichang, Xi Zhongxun, and other founders of the Northwest China Red Army established the Shaanxi-Gansu border base area and northern Shaanxi base area (later developed into the Shaanxi-Gansu base area, and also known as the northwest base area). These additions changed the face of the revolutionary base area map. Base areas in both the South and the North subsequently played a critical role in driving the Chinese revolution forward.

During the fights against encirclement and suppression, the Red Army developed strategies and tactics such as focusing on wiping out the enemy's effective strength, concentrating forces to destroy enemy units one by one, "fighting only when victory was possible and retreating

when it was not," and that of pinpointing the enemy's weak points while on the move in order to secure quick victories. These strategies and tactics were part of a greater people's war strategy. As a solution for defeating a strong enemy while using inferior forces and weapons, these tactics are considered to be an outstanding contribution to Marxist military theory.

The Agrarian Revolution and the All-Round Development of Base Areas

The agrarian revolution was one of the pillars of China's new-democratic revolution and a concrete testimony to the Party's efforts to accomplish its founding aspirations and mission. The Party led China's peasants to overthrow local despots and distributed land between them to ensure their liberation from feudalism and to safeguard fundamental interests of the people. Just as the newly formed Red Army and rural revolutionary base areas began to develop, an agrarian revolution was sweeping the country.

In the southern Jiangxi and western Fujian base areas, Mao Zedong provided a series of policies and principles to spur on the agrarian revolution. In April 1929, Mao presided over the drafting of the Land Law for Xingguo County. He altered the wording of the Land Law for the Jinggang Mountains so that "the confiscation of all land," was changed to "all public land and all land belonging to the landlord class shall be confiscated." In July, under Mao's guidance, the resolution adopted at the First Congress of the Party in western Fujian included provisions to ensure that the land of owner-peasants would not be confiscated, and clauses stimulating that land would be confiscated from those who have too much and given to those who have too little. In this way, the land of western Fujian, covering more than 150 square kilometers, was distributed, with more than 600,000 poor peasants receiving land.

In February 1930, under the principle of fair distribution based on population size, land was distributed across six counties including Xingguo, and in parts of Yongfeng. In February 1931, Mao Zedong wrote the peasants' land into law by revising the Land Law for the Jinggang Mountains, which previously only allowed peasants to use, but not sell land.

At the same time, an agrarian revolution was taking place in other revolutionary base areas in northeastern Jiangxi, western Hunan-Hubei, Hubei-Henan-Anhui, Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, in addition to Youjiang in Guangxi and Qiongya in Guangdong.

In just over three years, agrarian revolution saw a set of pragmatic lines, policies, and methods begin to take shape. Such policies included the policy to depend on poor peasants and farmhands, to team up with middle peasants, and to limit the powers of rich peasants. There was a push to abolish the landlord class, transform the feudal land ownership system into a system in which peasants owned the land. Townships became the central unit for the fair distribution of land according to population size, in consideration for those who had already worked on a given area of land. Land was taken from those who had too much and given to those who had too little. Areas of fertile land were acquired by the state and given to those who had none.

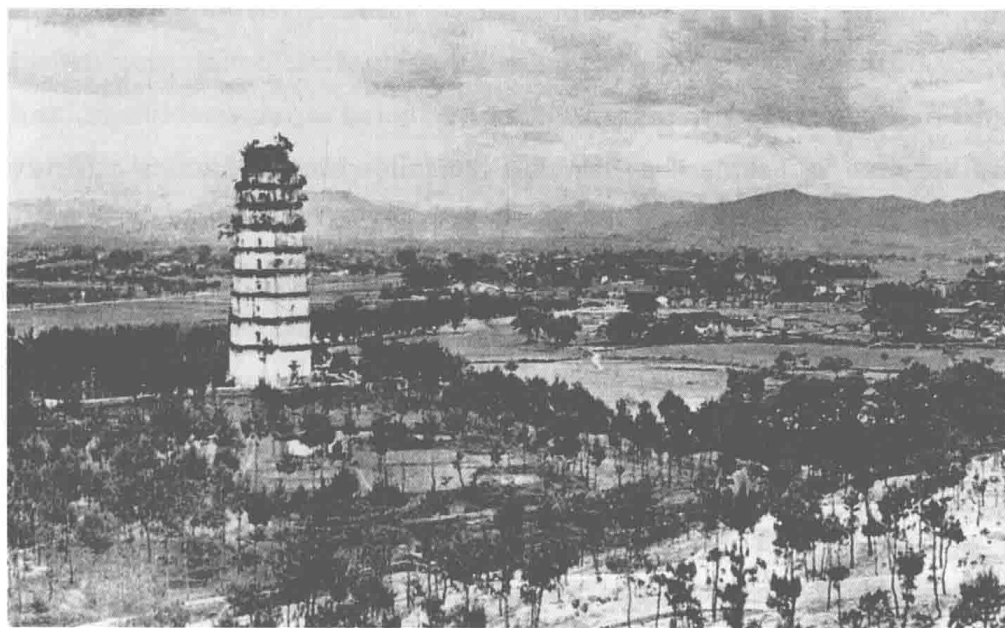
Such political and economic reforms enabled peasants to quickly identify the negative aspects of KMT control and the positive aspects of Communist political power, while spurring their enthusiasm for revolution. Peasants supported the agrarian revolution and they supported the CPC. They joined the Red Army in their droves, and devoted themselves to the repulsion of encirclement and suppression campaigns. They supported the front line and encouraged the Red Army. It was in this way that a close bond between the Party, the military and the people was formed. As the base areas and the Red Army continued

to develop, the First National Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic was held in Ruijin, Jiangxi, in November 1931. The Congress elected the Chinese Soviet Republic's Central Executive Committee and announced the establishment of a Provisional Central Government. Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Central Executive Committee and chairman of the People's Committee.

The Chinese Soviet Republic was the first national democratic regime of workers and peasants in the history of the nation. For the CPC, it was an important experiment in regional governance. It may be said that the founding of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic strengthened central government's direct authority over the various base areas. Its impact on the makeup of Chinese politics was undeniable. The provisional government consolidated China's political structure and Party building in general, while promoting the economic, cultural, and educational development in the base areas.

The Chinese Soviet Republic implemented a system of congresses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, and elected Soviet governments at all levels. In such a way representatives of the worker and peasant classes could enter the government and have the means to manage their own affairs. From November 1931 to January 1934, three democratic elections were held in the central revolutionary base area. Detailed electoral rules were also promulgated. In many places voter turnout exceeded 80 percent. Other base areas also convened congresses of workers, peasants, and soldiers at all levels to elect Soviet governments.

Soviet governments attached importance to clean government and to the establishment of a judicial system. In December 1933, the Central Executive Committee issued a directive to punish corruption and waste. Corruption cases were investigated and those involved punished severely. In 1934, an auditing system was established, which played an important role in standardizing fiscal revenue and expenditure,



- Ruijin in Jiangxi—seat of the Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Central Government during the Agrarian Revolutionary War.

investigating corruption and waste, and in promoting clean government. The Provisional Central Government promulgated more than 120 laws and decrees to build legal system that was notably egalitarian and modern in nature.

The Soviet government led soldiers and civilians in base areas in a drive to develop the economy to break the economic blockades of the enemy. Progress was made in agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, post and telecommunications, banking, and finance. Under extremely difficult conditions, great strides were taken in culture and educational work. A variety of schools were opened across the base areas in an effort to train cadres and specialized personnel for a range of different fields.

The Party itself was also improved. The number of Party members continued to grow and organizations at all levels were improved. A strong work ethic marked by industry, integrity, self-discipline, and close

ties with the public was developed among cadres across the Soviets. The spirit of the Soviet areas was characterized by firm belief, pragmatism and dedication to the people, integrity, hard work, excellence, and selflessness. Still remembered today, the following popular ballad truly reflects the spirit of the Soviet areas, "Cadres of the Soviets with their fine work style / Carry their rations on the road to work / By day, straw-sandaled, they work for the revolution / At night they visit poor peasants in the mountains."

The vibrant existence of those in the rural CPC led revolutionary base areas stood in sharp contrast to the tragic lives of the poor in KMT controlled regions. The CPC bases offered a glimpse of hope to Chinese people who had been trapped in an abyss of suffering.

4. The September 18th Incident and the Central Red Army Starting the Long March

The September 18th Incident and Movement to Resist Japanese Aggression and Save the Nation

Late in September 18, 1931, on the pretext of protecting territory that they had stolen from China by means of an unfair treaty, the Japanese Kwantung Army attacked Beidaying, where the Chinese army was garrisoned, and Shenyang City. The attack is known as the September 18th Incident. By the following day the Japanese army had occupied Shenyang. By February 1932, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang provinces were under Japanese control. In March, a puppet regime which governed the state of Manchukuo—as the Japanese called the region—was founded in Changchun, Jilin, with Puyi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty, as "Executive."

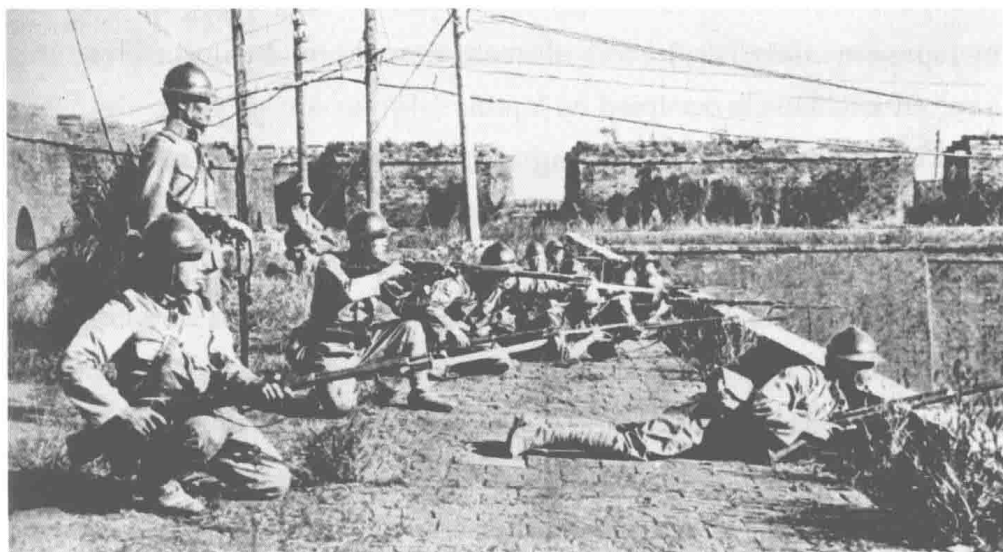
The September 18th Incident was the inevitable result of the policy

of expansion and aggression in China that had long been implemented by Japanese militarists. Japan's ultimate aim was to transform China into a colony exclusively occupied by Japan.

The nation's untold suffering triggered an unprecedented national awakening. After the September 18th Incident, the conflict between China and Japan gradually became the principal conflict within the nation's borders. Class relations in China were evolving, and a movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation surged across the country. In Shanghai, 35,000 dock workers held general strikes in protest against Japan. Workers and other members of the laboring masses in Nanjing, Tianjin, Beiping, Hankou, and other cities launched petitions, raised funds, made donations, and boycotted Japanese goods. Young students, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, and leading figures in the intellectual world all called for resistance against Japan and for democracy.

The CPC was the first to take up the sword in armed resistance against Japanese aggression. In September 1931, the CPC Central Committee issued the Declaration on the Brutal Occupation of the Three Northeastern Provinces by the Japanese Imperialists, which called for unequivocal opposition to the land grab. The CPC Provincial Committee of Manchuria instructed local Party organizations to resist Japanese aggression. The CPC Central Committee sent Zhou Baozhong, Zhao Yiman, and others to the northeast to strengthen Party organizations there. By early 1933, guerrilla units had been set up in Bayan, Hailong, Ning'an, Tangyuan, and Hailun and in southern and eastern Manchuria. These units would eventually become the main armed resistance force battling Japanese aggression in northeast China.

Besides signaling the beginning of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, the resistance effort of the Chinese people in the Northeast was also a prelude to the Global War



- Japanese troops perched on Shenyang's city wall fire down on the city below, September 19, 1931.

against Fascism.

The KMT government repeatedly compromised and offered concessions in the face of the Japanese invasion of northeast China. In July 1931, Chiang Kai-shek established a policy of attending to internal unrest before resisting foreign invasion. When the September 18th Incident took place, the KMT government sent the following telegraph to the Northeast Army warning them that in order "To prevent the incident from escalating, you must stick to absolute non-resistance." Such appeasement encouraged the Japanese imperialists to launch more brazen large-scale attacks against China.

At what was a critical moment in the national crisis, schisms began to appear within the KMT. Ma Zhanshan, Li Du, and other generals of the Northeast Army were able to resist Japanese aggression in northeast China. On January 28, 1932, when the Japanese army attacked Shanghai, the 19th Route Army under the command of Jiang Guangnai and Cai Tingkai fought heroically. In spite of these success stories, the KMT

government's basic policy was still to sue for peace, leading it to sign the Wusong-Shanghai Armistice Agreement and Tanggu Agreement with the Japanese aggressors at the expense of China's sovereignty. In Zhangjiakou, Feng Yuxiang organized the Chahar People's Counter-Japanese Alliance Army. The army was later sabotaged by the KMT government and forced to disband.

The CPC's Work in Areas under KMT Rule and the Left-Wing Cultural Movement

After the September 18th Incident, the crisis in China was looking increasingly grave. Despite the extremely difficult circumstances of the day, Party members in KMT-controlled areas persevered in their fight and made full use of legal means in their work.

In March 1930, the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers was established in Shanghai. Left-wing cultural leagues of Chinese social scientists, dramatists, artists, and educators followed, along with left-wing cultural groups in the film and music industries. This new left-wing, CPC led cultural army, spread the word of Marxism and gave birth to revolutionary art and literature. The result was an influential left-wing cultural movement. To spread Marxism in China, left-wing social scientists completed and published the first complete Chinese translations of classic Marxist works. The works included volume I of Marx's *Capital*, Engels' *AntiDühring*, Marx's *A Critique of Political Economy*, and Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

Some Party members kept in close contact with patriotic progressives such as Soong Ching Ling and Lu Xun in order to promote the movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation, and oppose the autocratic rule of Chiang Kai-shek. Lu Xun penned a large number of incisive articles ruthlessly exposing the dictatorial nature of the ruling clique of landlords and compradors, their subservience to foreign

powers, their shameful non-resistance, and their brutal encirclement and suppression campaign against writers and artists. Mao Zedong paid Lu Xun this tribute, "The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

Left-wing cultural workers also made efforts to cooperate with the middle-of-the-roaders in their fight. Some articles by Lu Xun, Qu Qiubai, Mao Dun, Zhou Yang and others were published in the *Shen Bao's* supplement *Free Talk* and the monthly *Literature*. Mao Dun's famous novel *Midnight* was published in January 1933 and reprinted four times in three months. Communists such as Xia Yan, Yang Hansheng and Tian Han produced a large number of progressive films, which were well received in KMT-controlled areas. Even the KMT's media marveled at the momentum spread of left-wing culture, "It spread like quicksilver and made inroads at every crack."

Inspired by the strong atmosphere of resistance against Japanese aggression and a desire to protect the nation, the *March of the Volunteers*, scored by Nie Er with lyrics provided by Tian Han, was an instant hit across the nation. The song became the most inspirational piece of the time, and proved vitally important to the effort to mobilize the people to fight the Japanese and for national salvation. The song's lyrics relate how, "The Chinese people have reached a most dangerous time; Every person is being compelled to send a final roar." The song is a powerful and heartfelt expression of the grief and anger of the whole nation. The song was able to ignite strong patriotic passion of all the Chinese people as it celebrated the heroic spirit of a will to defend the motherland to the death. It has thus become a monumental symbol of the great patriotic spirit.

The left-wing cultural movement in the KMT-controlled areas during this period produced a strong team of revolutionary cultural workers and played an important role in promoting resistance against Japanese aggression for national salvation.

The Failure of the Fifth Campaign against Encirclement and Suppression

The enlarged Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee was convened in January 1931 in Shanghai. Pavel Mif, secretary of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International Executive Committee directly intervened in the meeting. Despite lacking in practical experience for struggle, Wang Ming was elected to not only the CPC Central Committee but also the Political Bureau. For the four years following his election the Party's leading organs would be dominated by "Left" leaning dogmatism.

After the Session, the Party's work in the areas under the KMT rule suffered disruption and Party organizations were seriously damaged. Both the Central Committee and the Political Bureau in Shanghai had lost more than half of their members. An Interim Political Bureau of the Central Committee (Provisional Central Committee) was set up with Bo Gu (Qin Bangxian) taking on overall responsibility in the second half of September 1931. This was done in accordance with instructions from the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International Executive Committee.

At the end of 1932, Chiang Kai-shek brought together more than 30 divisions to launch a fourth encirclement and suppression campaign against the central revolutionary base area. Still suffering from the aforementioned dogmatism, Mao's leadership was called into question and he was wrongly relieved of his executive post in the Red Army. Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, building on previous experience of successful resistance against encirclement and suppression, smashed the KMT army's campaign yet again. They set a precedent by ambushing the enemy with large troop formations for the first time in the Red Army's history.

In the second half of 1933, Chiang Kai-shek launched a fifth campaign of encirclement and suppression against the revolutionary base areas. He assembled one million troops for an assault on the Red Army in different areas. 500,000 KMT troops began their attack on the central revolutionary base area in late September.

Bo Gu had handed the military command over to Otto Braun (Chinese name Li De), a military adviser sent by the Communist International. Braun did not understand the actual situation in China and applied the experience of formal positional warfare. He advocated "engaging the enemy outside the gates." But after his attack failed to get off the ground, he shifted to a strategic policy of passive defense and tactics of short swift thrusts, and fought positional warfare and fortress warfare against well-equipped enemies. These tactics only served to make the Red Army increasingly passive.

Between mid to late April 1934, the KMT army concentrated its forces in an attack on Guangchang, the north gate of the Central Soviet Area. Due to tactical and strategic errors, after 18 days of fierce fighting, the Red Army had suffered heavy casualties, and Guangchang finally fell.

In order to tie the enemy down and ease the pressure on the central revolutionary base area, the Seventh Army Group of the Red Army was reorganized as the Northern Counter-Japanese Advance Force in early July 1934. The Advance Force entered the Fujian-Zhejiang-Anhui-Jiangxi border area, where it joined forces with the Tenth Division of the Red Army which was led by Fang Zhimin to form the Tenth Red Army Group. However, in late January 1935, the newly formed force sustained heavy losses after being intercepted and pursued by a far superior KMT force. Fang Zhimin was captured and executed in August. In prison, he wrote patriotic articles, such as *Lovely China* and *Honest Poverty*. Fang declared that "the enemy can only cut off our heads; they can never

shake our faith," He also shared his vision for the future when he stated that "China has bright and praiseworthy future," and predicting that "the mother who gave birth to us will be decorated most beautifully and will join hands with all the mothers of the world on an equal footing."

The Beginning of the Central Red Army's Long March

In early September 1934, the KMT army stepped up their attacks at the heart of the central revolutionary base area. Under such a barrage of attacks, all possibility of the Red Army turning the tide of battle disappeared. In October, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Revolutionary Military Commission led more than 86,000 troops that constituted the main forces of the Central Red Army on a long journey to enable a strategic shift. It was an unprecedented move.

As they implemented the strategic shift and aimed to break through the encirclement, the leaders of the Central Committee, who had been making "Leftist" errors, committed the error of fleeing as they retreated, so that the strategic shift was reduced to a kind of house-moving operation as they took printing machines, military industrial machines and other bulky equipment with them. The entire army of more than 80,000 people marched through narrow mountain paths. It was so overcrowded that it often took a night to cross one mountain pass.

The KMT "pursuing" army amounted to 16 divisions and 77 regiments, and four blockade lines were set up. As they broke through the fourth blockade at the Xiang River, and under attack by the KMT Hunan Army and the Guangxi Army, the Red Army troops were about to make a great sacrifice. The Red 34th Division, which was responsible for covering other Red Army units as they crossed the river, was down to fewer than 1,000 men. The division was alone and caught in the encirclement, unable to cross the river itself. Faced with a force a dozen times stronger than his own, the division's commander, Chen Shuxiang

was unperturbed. He led the whole division of fighters in fierce resistance, to build a "wall" with their flesh and blood, in a grueling battle which lasted for four days and five nights. His bravery won valuable time for other Red Army units as they crossed the Xiang River. Chen was seriously wounded and captured. As the enemy carried him away to claim for his death, he came to, and twisting his own intestines, he died a hero's death. Sadly, blocked on the east bank of the Xiang River, the 34th Division and the 18th Regiment of the 3rd Red Army Corps, finally ran out of ammunition and food and most of their members died heroically. So much martyr blood flowed into the Xiang River that the local people would say that the "Xiang River water could not be drunk for three years, and its fish could not be eaten for ten." After eventually crossing the Xiang River, the Central Red Army had been reduced to just over 30,000 troops from more than 86,000 at the outset of the Long March.

After the Xiang River Battle, a heated debate broke out about the Central Red Army's next steps. In December 1934, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting in Liping, Guizhou Province. At the suggestion of Mao Zedong, the meeting adopted a resolution to abandon the plan to rendezvous with the Second and Sixth Army Groups in northwest Hunan Province and instead march to northern Guizhou. On January 7, 1935, the Red Army captured Zunyi, a town of strategic importance in northern Guizhou. A turning point which would determine the fate of the Party and the Red Army was on the horizon.

5. The Zunyi Meeting and the Triumph of the Red Army's Long March

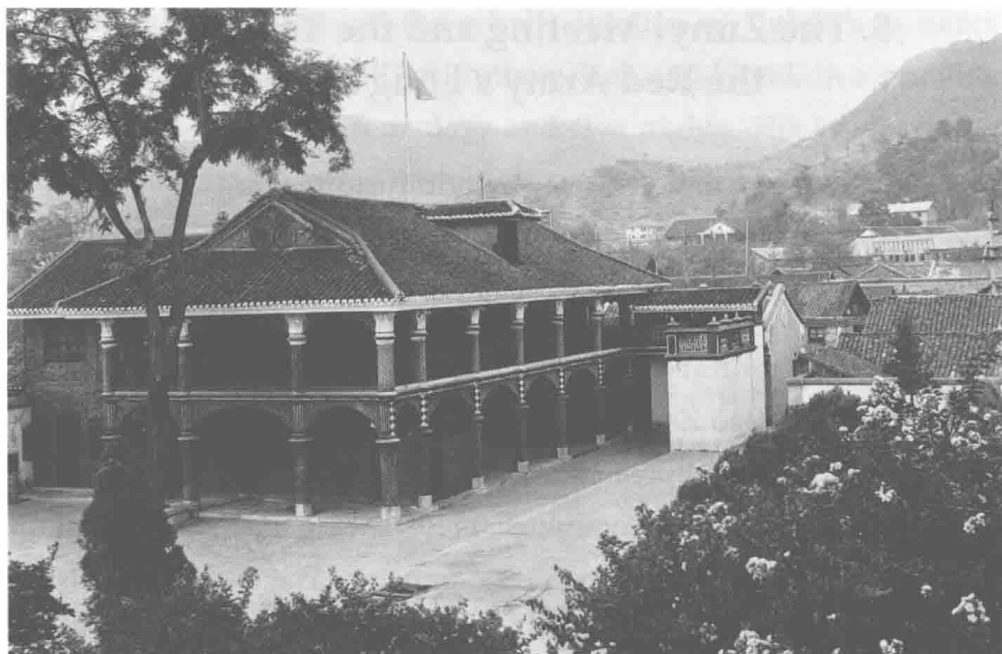
The Zunyi Meeting: A Great Historic Turning Point

In January 1935, the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Zunyi. The meeting focused on the important military and organizational issues of the time. The meeting elected Mao Zedong to the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and assigned Zhang Wentian to draft the Resolution of the Central Committee on Reviewing the Battle against the Fifth Encirclement and Suppression Campaign. The meeting abolished the three-man leadership team that had been established in preparation for the Long March.¹

Not long after the meeting, during the march to Zhaxi District, Yunnan Province, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau arranged for Zhang Wentian to take over the helm of the Party in place of Bo Gu, and made Mao Zedong an aide of Zhou Enlai in military command. Later, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Wang Jiaxiang would exercise command over the entire army.

The Zunyi Meeting was a pivotal moment in the Party's history. Held at a historical juncture after the Red Army had failed in its Fifth Campaign against KMT Encirclement and Suppression, and in the wake of the serious setbacks of the early period of the Long March, the meeting effectively established Mao Zedong as leader of the CPC Central Committee and the Red Army. The meeting also heralded the right Marxist line within the CPC Central Committee with Mao Zedong as its

¹ The CPC Central Committee set up the three-man leadership team consisting of Bo Gu, Otto Braun, and Zhou Enlai in the summer of 1934 to plan the strategic shift of the main forces of the Central Red Army.



• Site of the Zunyi Meeting in Guizhou.

representative, as the first generation of central collective leadership with Mao Zedong at its core was beginning to take shape. The meeting set the stage for the Party to independently solve the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and saved the Party, the Red Army, and the Chinese revolution at the most precarious moment. The meeting was defined by its determination to champion the truth, correct mistakes, establish the right leadership of the Party Central Committee. The assembly insisted on the creative formulation and implementation of strategies and policies that were in line with the characteristics of the Chinese revolution.

After the Zunyi Meeting, and under a command which included Mao Zedong, the Central Red Army became much more agile. As the situation changed, the direction of battle was deftly switched so as to outflank the large enemy divisions. From late January to late March 1935, the Red Army crossed the Chishui River four times. Late in March, it crossed the Wu River in the south to feign an attack on Guiyang.

Chiang Kai-shek, who was supervising operations in Guiyang at the time, hurried troops up from Yunnan to provide reinforcement. The Red Army then mounted a long-range raid on Yunnan. Its vanguard troops pressed on the provincial capital, Kunming. KMT reinforcements had to be called back from the Jinsha River to defend the city, so leaving the river exposed. The Red Army then suddenly swung back around and made a dash northward. By early May, the entire force had crossed the Jinsha River.

The Central Red Army had defended itself from encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by hundreds of thousands of KMT troops. The Red Army had foiled Chiang Kai-shek's plan to surround and eliminate it at the border of Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan, and achieved a decisive victory in its strategic shift. This victory, which was made possible thanks to changes in the central military leadership is a testament to superb military command skills of Mao Zedong.

The Red Army Marches North, and the Forces of the Three Front Red Armies Amalgamate

After crossing the Jinsha River, the Central Red Army continued north. When the army entered the Yi minority region in the Daliang Mountains, Chief of Staff Liu Bocheng participated in a sacrificial ceremony to form an alliance with Xiao Yedan (Yedan the Younger), leader of the Guoji tribe of the Yi ethnic group. With the gesture securing the army safe passage through the Yi region, the army rushed to the Anshunchang ferry port on the south bank of the Dadu River. The torrential rivers and steep mountains of Anshunchang were the setting of Shi Dakai of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's failed northward river crossing, and the reason for his eventual defeat there. Seventeen brave Red Army soldiers successfully fought their way across the river. For the main body of the army however, a quick river crossing at the ferry

section would prove impossible. Taking advantage of the fact that the enemy had not had time to destroy the Luding Bridge at the upstream of the Dadu River, the main body of the army marched upstream 170 kilometers for two straight days to the Luding Bridge, which the enemy had not yet destroyed. The 22-member strong assault team braved the intense enemy fire to climb the cables and rush across the Bridge, to triumphantly cross the natural barrier of the Dadu River.

After making the crossing, the Central Red Army scaled the Jiajin Mountains—the first trackless snow-capped mountains the soldiers had faced during their Long March. Located south of Maogong (now Xiaojin), the mountains are more than 4,000 meters above sea level and crossing them is a question of 35 kilometers. The mountains are high and oxygen is sparse. Many Red Army soldiers lost their lives while making the journey.

After the Central Red Army rendezvoused with the Fourth Front Red Army in Maogong, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting at Lianghekou in June to determine the next course of action. The CPC Central Committee decided that the Red Army should concentrate the bulk of its force on the northern offensive to establish a Sichuan-Shaanxi-Gansu Revolutionary base area. Not long after, however, Zhang Guotao called for the Red Army to retreat southward into Sichuan and Xikang instead. This proposal cast a shadow on the promising meeting of the armies.

In early August, the First and Fourth Front Red Armies were reorganized into the Left Route Army and the Right Route Army, and both armies headed north. Marching with the Right Route Army, Mao Zedong, Zhang Wentian, Zhou Enlai led the Central government agencies and the Front Command. The Left Route Army was under the leadership of Zhu De, Zhang Guotao, and Liu Bochong, who led the Red Army General Headquarters. On August 21, the Right Route Army set

off from Mao'ergai, crossing a swathe of uninhabited grasslands, to await the Left Route Army.

At this time, realizing he had a stronger Red Army than the others, Zhang Guotao maneuvered for a brazen power grab from the Party. Under all manner of pretexts, he flatly refused to march north and insisted on the Right Route Army going southward. On September 9, Zhang sent a telegram to Chen Changhao, the Right Route Army's political commissar, ordering him to lead the army south and to "thoroughly carry out intraparty struggle." After learning of events, Mao Zedong held an urgent discussion with Zhou Enlai, Zhang Wentian, Bo Gu, and Wang Jiaxiang and decided that they should set out that very night to lead the First and Third Armies and the detachment of the Military Commission north.¹ The Central Committee sent a number of telegrams to Zhang Guotao demanding that he immediately lead his troops north. The commands went unanswered. On September 12 at a place which the Zang dialect refers to as Gojê (today Gaoji Village), Têwo County, Gansu Province, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held an enlarged meeting at which judgment was passed on Zhang Guotao's errors and the part of the Red Army that was marching north was renamed the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment.

On September 17, the vanguard of the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment reached Lazikou, a natural barrier of steep cliffs and overhanging rocks on the Sichuan-Gansu border. The detachment occupied the town of Hadapu the next day. Here Mao Zedong and others learned from a newspaper about a large base area and Red Army contingent in northern Shaanxi. The 25th Red Army, which had started the Long March from the Hubei-Henan-Anhui base in November 1934, arrived in the Shaanxi-Gansu base. It rendezvoused with the local 26th and 27th Red Armies.

¹ At this time, the First, Third, Fifth, and Ninth army groups of the First Front Red Army were renamed the First, Third, Fifth, and 32nd red armies.

The three divisions combined to form the 15th Red Army Group which would go on to break encirclement and suppression from large KMT forces. Conditions were then ripe for the Party Central Committee to locate the headquarters of the Chinese revolution in the Northwest. On September 27, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau held a meeting at Bangluo Town, at which it was officially decided to press on to northern Shaanxi. Shortly afterward, the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment successfully crossed the main peak of the Liupan Mountains. Mao Zedong wrote the poem "Mount Liupan—to the tune of Qing Ping Yue" to express the invincible and fearless revolutionary spirit of the Red Army. Part of the poem reads, "Today we hold the long cord in our hands / When shall we bind fast the Grey Dragon?"

On October 19, the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment arrived at Wuqi Town in northern Shaanxi. At this point, having traveled 25,000 *li* across 11 provinces, the main force of the Central Red Army had victoriously completed its Long March. Toward the end of the Long March, Mao Zedong wrote the poem "The Long March." The poem vividly conveyed the indomitable, heroic tenacity of the Red Army soldiers as well as their optimism and revolutionary spirit. Part of the poem reads, "The Red Army fears not the March / Thousand crags and torrents, but a stroll.... / Minshan's thousand li of snow joyous crossed / Three Armies march on, not one face cross."

The Shaanxi-Gansu base area was the only revolutionary base that was completely preserved in the latter stages of the Agrarian Revolutionary War. It was also the starting point from where the main forces of the Eighth Route Army, which was established by reorganizing the Red Army, marched to the frontline of the nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. After the Shaanxi-Gansu Detachment arrived in northern Shaanxi, they regained the name of the First Front Red Army, and incorporated the 15th Red Army Group

into its ranks. From February to July 1936, the First Front Red Army embarked on the eastern and western expeditions, which resulted in the expansion of the Shaanxi-Gansu base into the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia base.

In October 1935, Zhang Guotao, opposed to moving north and still moving south, openly established a separate Central Committee with himself as chairman. The Party Central Committee telegraphed Zhang Guotao several times and ordered him to immediately dissolve his Central Committee and stop all anti-Party activities. Zhang Guotao's attempt to oppose and split the Party failed to win support within the Fourth Front Red Army. In addition, the southbound Fourth Front Red Army lost half of its members in battle. In June 1936, Zhang Guotao was forced to dissolve his Central Committee.

In November 1935, the Second and Sixth Red Army groups led by Ren Bishi, He Long, and others, which had been active in the Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou base, had also set out northwards from Sangzhi County. After overcoming a great deal of hardship and peril, they finally joined up with the Fourth Front Red Army at Garzê in early July 1936. The Central Committee ordered the Second and Six Red Army groups to combine with the 32nd Red Army to form the Second Front Red Army. He Long was appointed commander-in-chief of the new force and Ren Bishi became political commissar.

Thanks to Zhu De, Liu Bocheng, Ren Bishi, He Long, and others, and the support of many of the officers and soldiers of the Fourth Front Red Army, including Xu Xiangqian, the Second and Fourth Front Red Armies finally marched north together. On October 9, the staff of the Fourth Front Red Army headquarters reached Huining County in Gansu to join forces with the First Front Red Army. On October 22, the staff of the Second Front Red Army headquarters arrived at Jiangtaibu, Longde, Gansu Province (today part of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region),

where it, too, joined up with the First Front Red Army. The three main forces of the Red Army had joined forces.

The Long March of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army was a tremendous expedition driven by ideals and beliefs. The journey was a tremendous test of truth, which would awaken the people, and write a new chapter in Chinese history. The triumph of the Long March showed that the CPC and the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army under its leadership had become an undefeatable force.

During the First Red Front Army's 25,000-*li* march, one Red Army soldier died every 300 meters. It is said that "Revolutionary ideals are higher than the sky." The hardships, twists and turns, and deaths on the Long March tested the ideals and convictions of the Chinese Communists and proved to the world that their ideals and convictions were indestructible. The heroic Red Army soldiers fought more than 600 battles against the enemy, crossing close to 100 rivers, 40 mountains and dangerous peaks, of which 20 were covered in snow and over 4,000 meters above sea level, and traversing the vast "death trap" grasslands.

As he crossed the snowy mountains, a commander saw a Red Army soldier frozen to death in thin old clothes. The commander called for the Quarter Master for an explanation, whereupon, a tearful soldier explained that the frozen man was none other than the Quarter Master who had sacrificed himself to give clothing to his comrades. It was with such nobility that the Red Army overcame unprecedented difficulties, bravely challenged the limits of human endeavor, to write a true and miraculous epic.

The victory of the Long March was an essential contribution to the political and theoretical maturity of the Party. The Party was clearer than ever that it was only by integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete realities of the Chinese revolution and independently solving the major problems of the Chinese revolution that victory could be

secured. This is a lesson learned through sacrifice and struggle. After the Long March, the Party continued to evolve theoretically and achieved unprecedented degree of unity between itself and the Red Army in the name of the pursuit of truth.

The Red Army's Long March concluded in victory and the defeat of the enemy. The march fully demonstrated the powerful nature and purpose of the CPC. It strengthened the Party's beliefs, sowed the seeds of revolution, and expanded Party and the Red Army's influence. Throughout the march, the Red Army received enthusiastic support from the people. When they arrived at Shazhou Village in Rucheng County, Hunan Province, three female Red Army soldiers stayed in the home of Mrs. Xu Jiexiu, and when they were leaving, the soldiers gave half of their only quilt to Xu. Xu said, "What is the Communist Party? The Communist Party is such a party that will give half of its quilt to the people." The story of "half a quilt" helped people understand the Communist Party, and know that it was the Party of the people.

In a poetic description of the triumph of the Long March, which turned the tide of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong said that, "The Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history. It is a manifesto, a master class in good publicity, a seeding-machine for the Party's message." The victory announced the complete failure of reactionary KMT's attempts to wipe out the CPC and the Red Army, was a testament to the success of the strategic shift northward in order to shoulder the nation's hopes for resisting Japanese aggression. It was a turning point for the CPC and the Chinese revolution. The revolution had moved from a period of suffering setbacks to achieving victories. The victory of the Long March signaled the beginning of a new journey for the Party in which it would fight for national independence and the liberation of the people. Though small in their number, the survivors of the Long March would come to represent the essence of the Party and

become the core force in leading the War of Resistance against Japan and the People's War of Liberation into the future.

The Long March gave rise to the great Long March Spirit, which is defined as putting the fundamental interests of the people and the Chinese nation above everything else, and maintaining firm revolutionary ideals and beliefs. It is the firm belief that a just cause is bound to triumph and having the courage to fear no difficulty or sacrifice when it comes to saving the country and its people. It is independence and initiative, seeking truth from facts, and proceeding from practice. It is taking the interests of the whole nation into account, remaining disciplined, and working closely together. It is standing with the people in weal and woe, and struggling tenaciously side by side. The Long March Spirit became an inspirational force that helped push the Chinese revolution from one victory to another.

Late in October 1936, in order to open up a route to access assistance from the Soviet Union, a part of the Fourth Front Red Army received instructions from the Central Revolutionary Military Commission to cross the Yellow River to the west and prepare for a campaign in Ningxia. On November 11, in accordance with a Central Committee decision on the matter, the troops crossing the river changed their name to the West Route Army. Under extreme hardship, the troops ventured deep into the Hexi Corridor and engaged in four months of fighting. They eliminated more than 20,000 enemy troops before they were greatly outnumbered and defeated in the Qilian Mountains in March of 1937. The heroism of the West Route Army, which braved hardships and bloodshed, and its spirit of heroic sacrifice for the Party and the people was akin to the Long March Spirit. Such heroism is an important part of the revolutionary heritage of the Chinese Communists and the precious spirit of the Chinese nation.

Red Army Guerrilla Warfare in the South and the Struggle of the Northeast United Resistance Army

When the main forces of the Central Red Army were withdrawing from the base areas, the CPC Central Committee decided to set up the Central Sub-Bureau and the Central Military District of the Soviet Area, with Xiang Ying as sub-bureau secretary, commander, and political commissar of the military district. The Central Government Office of the Chinese Soviet Republic was established with Chen Yi as director.

The military units, totaling approximately 16,000, which remained in the base areas were composed of Red Army and local guerilla forces. After concealing the strategic shift of the Red Army's main force, under the leadership of Xiang Ying and Chen Yi, the troops broke through an encirclement in small groups and carried out a campaign of guerilla warfare. Losses were heavy because the Red Army was vastly outnumbered. The Central Branch of the Soviet Union then continued to lead troops in guerilla campaigns in the Fujian-Jiangxi border area and western Fujian. At the end of March 1935, Xiang Ying, Chen Yi, and others led a detachment of around 300 to the Jiangxi-Guangdong border area. There, they engaged in arduous guerilla war centered around the town of Youshan. It was then that Chen Yi wrote the following poem to express the revolutionary will and spirit of the Communists, who would never give up in the face of the grueling struggle, "The revolution is my home / Bloody suppression will end / Today I will die for my ideals / So freedom's flowers may blossom."

In the unrelenting and heroic guerilla assaults taking place in northern, eastern, and central Fujian, at the Fujian-Guangdong border area, the Anhui-Zhejiang-Jiangxi region, the southern Zhejiang, the southern Hunan, the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi region, the Hunan-Jiangxi region, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui border area, the Hubei-Henan border

area, and the Qiongya region, Party organizations and Red Army guerrilla forces depended on the support of the people.

Over the three years of the Red Army's guerilla campaigns in the South, the many officers and soldiers who had stayed behind including He Shuheng, He Chang, Mao Zetan, Wan Yongcheng, Gu Bai, and Ruan Xiaoxian laid down their lives in battle. After Qu Qiubai was captured, he remained faithful and unyielding. Before he was taken to the execution ground, he wrote a poem, part of which reads, "When the mist disappears from my eyes / I will leave this world, free, unfettered."

When he reached a lawn at the Luohan Ridge, he looked around, sat down on his knees and said to his executioners, "This must be the place, go ahead and shoot!" At the age of 36, Qu Qiubai died a hero's death, demonstrating the dauntless spirit of the Chinese Communists right up to the final moment.

After the September 18th Incident of 1931, the CPC actively organized and led the fight against Japanese aggression in China's three northeast provinces. From September 1933, the CPC Manchuria Provincial Committee reorganized the guerilla resistance forces into the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army. Led or influenced by the Party, the Northeast People's Revolutionary Army and the various guerilla resistance forces in the northeast were incorporated into the Northeast United Resistance Army in February 1936.

The Northeast United Resistance Army opened up three guerrilla zones in southeastern Manchuria, northern Manchuria, and Jidong, and by 1937, around the time when the nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression was breaking out, the same army had developed into 11 divisions comprising more than 30,000 troops. These forces carried out guerrilla warfare in a large region bordered in the south by the Changbai Mountains, in the north by the Xiao Hinggan Range, by the Wusuli River in the east, and the east bank of the Liao River in the

west. The thousands of large and small operations against Japanese and collaborationist troops crushed the enemy's punitive campaigns on multiple occasions. Their heroic fight delivered a powerful blow to Japan's colonial rule in northeast China. They pinned down a large number of Japanese troops, and provided support and encouragement for the nationwide movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation.

Many heroic figures and heroic deeds were carried out by the heroic Northeast United Resistance Army. In August 1936, before she died at the age of 31, in a final letter to her son, Zhao Yiman wrote "My dearest child! I do not need a thousand words to educate you; I will educate you with action. When you grow up, I hope you will not forget that I died for our country." Zhao Yiman's noble sentiment of "struggling for the people, not just for my family" is a vivid illustration of the great spirit of the Northeast United Resistance Army.

6. Fighting for a Chinese United Front against Japanese Aggression

The December 9th Movement and an Upsurge in Resistance against Aggression for National Salvation

Following their seizure of the Northeast, the Japanese aggressors intensified their efforts to occupy north China.

In mid-June 1935, under Japanese coercion, the KMT Central Army withdrew from Beiping, Tianjin, and Hebei Province. The whole of north China plunged into imminent danger. Beiping students cried out with grief and indignation, "North China is vast, but it no longer has space for even one tranquil reading desk!"

Under the leadership of the CPC's underground organization,

Beiping students raised a cry of protest against Japanese aggression in the form of a demonstration on December 9. The protest was put down by KMT soldiers and police. The December 9th Movement, however, quickly spread across the country. Many students and workers from large and medium-sized cities committed themselves to the movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation. Patriotic public figures and groups in Shanghai and other areas established national salvation associations which represented all of society, calling for an end to civil war and for the dispatch of troops to fight against Japan. The fight against Japanese aggression and for national salvation had grown into a nationwide mass movement.

Late in December, under the leadership of the CPC, the Students' Union of Beiping organized a publicity team for the area south of Beiping and Tianjin. The team went to the countryside in Hebei Province to spread the word on resisting Japanese aggression, and joined in solidarity with workers and peasants. The publicity team would go on to become the Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps which was established in early February 1936. The Corps rapidly expanded to include more than 20,000 members and played an important role in uniting young people in the movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation.

The December 9th Movement had unmasked Japan's conspiracy to annex north China and take over the rest of the country. The Movement delivered a blow to the KMT government's policy of compromise and concession, spurred the awakening of the Chinese nation, and marked the arrival of a climax in the Chinese people's movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation.

The Strategy for a Chinese United Front against Japanese Aggression and the Peaceful Resolution of the Xi'an Incident

The new revolutionary high tide signaled the presaged great political change in China. The mission of bringing together the various forces in resistance to Japan and creating a Chinese united front against Japanese aggression fell to the CPC.

On August 1, 1935, the CPC delegation to the Communist International drafted the Message of the Chinese Soviet Government and the CPC Central Committee Calling on All Compatriots to Resist Japanese Aggression and Save the Nation—or the August 1st Declaration, and it was published soon after. The August 1st Declaration called for an end to civil war, for the establishment of a government of national defense, and for the formation of a united counter-Japanese army to resist Japanese aggression.

In December 1935, the Central Committee's Political Bureau held an enlarged meeting in Wayaobu, northern Shaanxi Province. This meeting saw the adoption of the Resolution of the Central Committee on the Present Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party. Two days later, on December 27, Mao Zedong gave a report at the meeting of CPC activists entitled "On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism." Both the resolution and the report stated unequivocally that the Party's basic tactical task was to form a broad people's united front. The documents also criticized longstanding "Leftist" adventurism and closed-door thinking within the Party.

After the Wayaobu Meeting, the CPC Central Committee took practical steps to develop the steadily growing movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation. At the end of 1935, the CPC Central Committee sent Liu Shaoqi to north China to restore, revamp, and rebuild Party organizations there. A new chapter in the Party's

history was beginning.

In the first half of 1936, the CPC Central Committee and its delegation to the Communist International sent Feng Xuefeng and Pan Hannian to Shanghai to reestablish connections with Party organizations there that had lost contact with the Central Committee, and to expand the united front. In Shanghai, in May of the same year, a number of patriots, including Soong Ching Ling, Shen Junru, Zou Taofen, Tao Xingzhi and Zhang Naiqi, announced the establishment of the All-China Federation of All Circles for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation. The Federation called for the cessation of civil war and a unified opposition to Japanese aggression.

Around the same time, the Party further strengthened efforts to build its united front. Breakthroughs were being made with Zhang Xueliang's Northeast Army and Yang Hucheng's 17th Route Army in the northwest. By the first half of 1936, hostilities between the Red Army and the northeast and 17th route armies had virtually ceased.

However, Chiang Kai-shek's policy of prioritizing internal pacification before resisting foreign invasion had not substantially changed. On December 4, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek travelled to Xi'an to force Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng to order their troops to suppress the Communists. After their appeal for Chiang Kai-shek to resist Japanese aggression was rejected, Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng remonstrated with Chiang with force on the morning of December 12 and placed him under arrest. They also published an open telegram, setting forth eight proposals, including that of opposing civil war and calling for unity in the fight against Japan. This event, which shocked China and the rest of the world, became known as the Xi'an Incident.

Zhang Xueliang telegraphed the CPC Central Committee the night that the incident happened. The CPC Central Committee sent Zhou Enlai

to Xi'an on December 17. After a careful analysis of the situation, the CPC Central Committee, putting national unity to resist Japan above all else, independently worked out a policy to resolve the Xi'an Incident through peaceful means. Accordingly, Zhou Enlai worked with Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, and through negotiations, persuaded Chiang Kai-shek to stop the suppression of the Communists, and agree to ally with the Red Army to resist Japan.

The peaceful settlement of the incident was pivotal in the transformation of the political landscape and it played an important role in facilitating the establishment of the Chinese United Front against Japanese Aggression based on KMT-CPC cooperation. From then on, the ten-year civil war had come to a conclusion and the first steps toward domestic peace had been taken. In terms of the cause of resisting Japanese aggression, the establishment of a second period of KMT-CPC cooperation was a historical imperative.

Summing up Historical Experience and Strengthening the CPC

At this critical juncture, marked by imminent major changes in the Chinese revolutionary process and in KMT-CPC relations, the CPC Central Committee made a great effort to strengthen the Party, particularly in terms of its ideology and theory.

After the Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi, Mao Zedong and the CPC Central Committee made a prodigious effort to strengthen the Party theoretically. In December 1935, Mao Zedong presented a report entitled *On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism*, which expounded on the Party's new policies on the Chinese united front to resist Japanese aggression, and systematically explained the problems in the Party's political strategy. In December 1936, Mao Zedong's "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" summarized the debates on military issues within the Party during the Agrarian Revolutionary War,

and systematically expounded on the strategic problems in China's revolutionary war.

In the summer of 1937, in his "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," two important philosophical works on the theory of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, Mao Zedong made a point of revealing and criticizing the long-standing subjectivism and especially dogmatism from Marxist theory of cognition and dialectics, and expounded on the Party's Marxist line. These works were the seed of Marxist philosophical thought with distinctive Chinese characteristics. They provided Chinese Communists with an important ideological and theoretical weapon. The fruitful results of this theoretical evolution greatly advanced the process of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and readied the political and ideological ground for the advent of the great nationwide war of resistance.

The Party focused on strengthening its organizational structure. On the basis of the guiding principles of the Wayaobu Meeting, the Party overcame closed-door thinking, strove to recruit new Party members, and established and improved Party organizations at every level to achieve robustness in its organizations and membership.

In May 1937, the CPC Central Committee held the Representative Conference of the Soviet Areas and the Representative Conference of the White Areas, further summarizing historical experience and clarifying the Party's tasks in the period of resistance against Japanese aggression. With all areas of Party building on a healthy development track, a solid ideological, political, and organizational foundation was in place for the looming national war of resistance.

The ten years between the failure of the Great Revolution and the eve of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression was a critical decade in which the CPC struggled under extremely difficult conditions and achieved political maturity. The CPC overcame two great trials. One

was the defeat of the Great Revolution and the other was the failure of the fifth campaign against encirclement and suppression. Both events had weakened the Party greatly and brought it to the brink of destruction. However, the outstanding members of the CPC never surrendered their revolutionary optimism or indomitable perseverance. With confidence in the future, they soldiered calmly on and worked hard to survive the darkest of hours. The Party was now ready to begin anew.

The historical experience garnered of that decade proved that the strength of the Chinese Communists had come from integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of the Chinese revolution, from standing shoulder to shoulder with the people, and by adhering to the mass line alongside the principles of independence and seeking truth from facts. In those ten years, although it had made several errors arising from tendency to rashness in its guiding ideology, which caused serious setbacks in the revolution, the Party eventually overcame its mistakes by drawing on its inherent strengths. It was for this reason that the Party was able to choose the right approach in order to maintain the major revolutionary achievements of the Agrarian Revolutionary War and move forward into a new historical period of nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese aggression, despite complex realities of national and class conflicts.

Chapter III

The Mainstay of the Chinese People's Resistance against Japanese Aggression

On the night of July 7, 1937, Japanese invading troops brazenly staged the Lugou Bridge Incident (or July 7th Incident). Local Chinese troops valiantly rose up against the attack. Their stand was the beginning of a nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. The next day, the CPC sent out a telegram to the entire nation, warning that:

“Beiping and Tianjin are in peril! North China is in peril! The Chinese nation is in peril! A war of resistance fought by the whole nation is our only way out.”

A life-and-death struggle that would determine the fate of the Chinese nation had begun.

1. The Formulation of the Party's Line of Resisting Japan on All Fronts and Strategy of Protracted War

The Launch of a Full-Scale War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and Official Establishment of the Second Cooperation between the KMT and the CPC

The war of aggression against China was launched by the militarists of Japan. It was an imperialist invasion that aimed to subjugate the country and turn it into a colony exclusively occupied by Japan. By the end of July, Japanese troops had taken Beiping and Tianjin. Thereafter,

they proceeded to fan out their assault across the region of north China along the Beiping-Suiyuan, Beiping-Hankou, and Tianjin-Pukou rail lines. Their aim was to subjugate the country in just three months.

With its very existence under threat, the Chinese nation had no alternative but to come together in a war of resistance to fight for survival. Holding high the banner of resistance against Japanese aggression, the CPC issued a manifesto the day after the July 7th Incident calling on "the people of the whole country, the government, and the armed forces to work together to build a united front as solid as the Great Wall to resist Japanese aggression." It also called for the KMT and the CPC to "cooperate closely and resist the new attacks of the Japanese aggressors." On the same day, Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, and other leaders of the Red Army sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek expressing the readiness of the officers and soldiers of the Red Army to "engage the enemy to defend the country and save the nation."

To promote cooperation between the KMT and the CPC, the CPC Central Committee sent Zhou Enlai and others to present the Manifesto of the CPC Central Committee on KMT-CPC Cooperation to Chiang. On September 22, the KMT Central News Agency published this manifesto. The next day, Chiang Kai-shek made a statement, essentially recognizing the legality of the Communist Party. The CPC's manifesto and Chiang's statement signified the resumption of cooperation between the two parties and the establishment of a national united front against Japanese aggression.

In August, the Revolutionary Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued an order announcing that the Red Army was renamed the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army (the Eighth Route Army for short), which consisted of three divisions with a total of 46,000 men. The Red Army's General Front Command was renamed the Eighth Route Army's General Headquarters, with

Zhu De as commander-in-chief and Peng Dehuai as his deputy. In September, the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Revolutionary Base Area was renamed the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area, while continuing to serve as the location of the CPC Central Committee. Following this, the CPC's Red Army guerrilla forces in the eight provinces in south China (not including the Qiongya Red Army Guerrillas) were re-designated as the New Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army (the New Fourth Army for short). Ye Ting was appointed commander and Xiang Ying as deputy, with four detachments totaling 10,300 men under their command.

Only through unity could China summon strength and have any hope of achieving success. The national united front against Japanese aggression called on all parties, groups, sectors, and armies, all workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, and businessmen, and all Chinese people at home and abroad, to unite against their common enemy, and to forge a Great Wall of resistance against their aggressors.

The great patriot Soong Ching Ling issued a statement arguing that "The CPC is a political party that represents the interests of the working people including workers and peasants. Sun Yat-sen knew that it would be impossible to accomplish the mission of China's national revolution without the warm support and cooperation of the working people.... In the face of national calamity, we should leave our past enmity behind. The whole nation must unite as one to fight against the Japanese aggression and strive for final victory."

The Chinese National Revolutionary Alliance led by Li Jishen and other members of the KMT shifted its position from opposing Chiang Kai-shek and resisting Japan to supporting Chiang Kai-shek and resisting Japan. The National Socialist Party, China Youth Party, China Vocational Education Society, and Rural Construction School unanimously expressed their support for the government's resistance efforts under

CPC-KMT cooperation. Workers, peasants, and intellectuals actively participated in the struggle against Japanese aggression, national bourgeois industrialists enthusiastically donated funds and supplies, and some of them even moved their factories to the interior in spite of difficulties and dangers. China's ethnic minority groups joined with the Han people in fighting the Japanese aggressors. Many Taiwan compatriots returned to the mainland and organized various resistance groups and military forces. Compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese also joined the fight through a variety of activities. Such events, unseen in a century, signified an unprecedented awakening of the ancient Chinese nation. The armies of Japan suddenly found themselves confronted by an unexpected force, a united front comprised of the entire Chinese nation.

The Party's Policy of Resisting Japanese Aggression on All Fronts and the Strategy of Protracted War

On the question of how to resist Japanese aggression, the KMT and the CPC had proposed two very different approaches from the outset.

The Chiang Kai-shek clique pursued a line of partial resistance that involved only the government and its troops. It refused to practice democracy or to improve the lives of the people, and it did not dare to mobilize the public or look to it for support. In contrast, the CPC pursued the line of resisting Japanese aggression on all fronts. It proposed to abolish the KMT's one-party dictatorship and grant the people full democratic rights to fight Japanese aggression, and to make appropriate improvements to the lives of workers and peasants. By fully mobilizing, organizing, and arming the people, the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression would be a genuine people's war.

In August 1937, the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in Luochuan in northern Shaanxi.

The meeting adopted the Ten-Point Program of the CPC for Resisting Japanese Aggression and Saving the Nation and an outline for propaganda and agitation prepared by Mao Zedong entitled Working to Mobilize All Forces for Victory in the War of Resistance. It was stressed at the meeting that the Party must uphold the leadership of the proletariat in the united front and fully move ahead with independent guerrilla warfare, mainly in mountainous areas in the enemy's rear, and with mass movements to resist Japanese aggression in the areas under KMT rule. The Luochuan Meeting was crucial, as it was convened at the historical juncture just after the launch of the nationwide War of Resistance. The ten-point program and other resolutions adopted at the meeting marked the formal establishment of the Communist Party's line of resisting Japanese aggression on all fronts.

To mobilize and organize the people for an all-out war of resistance, the CPC needed to formulate a military strategy. At the time, many people subscribed to one of two beliefs: China would either clinch a quick victory, or it would be subjugated. But as to how the war would actually develop, whether China actually had the capability to win and if so how it would do so—these were questions that urgently needed answering.

To review the initial experience of the War of Resistance, correct various misconceptions popular at that time, and expound on the CPC's strategy of a protracted war in a systematic way, Mao Zedong delivered a long speech entitled "On Protracted War" between May and June of 1938. Mao explicitly asked, "Will China be subjugated? The answer is no and the final victory will be China's. Can China win quickly? The answer is no and the War of Resistance will be a protracted war." In his analysis, the two sides in the war possessed four basic sets of contrasting features. First, Japan was a powerful imperialist country, while China was a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Second, Japan's war of aggression

was retrogressive and barbarous, whereas China's resistance was progressive and just. Third, Japan was a comparatively small country, and it could not stand a prolonged war. China, on the contrary, was a big country and capable of sustaining a long war. Fourth, Japan would find meager international support for its unjust war, whereas China would find abundant support for its just resistance. He further explained that, due to the first set of contrasting features, the Japanese invaders would for a time run rampant, and China would be unable to quickly defeat the Japanese invasion. Because of the other features, however, China would not be subjugated and would win final victory.

In "On Protracted War," Mao Zedong predicted that for China the war would involve three stages—strategic defense, strategic stalemate, and strategic offense. He explained that while going through these three stages, China would move from inferiority to parity and then



• Mao Zedong works on "On Protracted War" in his cave dwelling in Yan'an.

to superiority in the balance of strength with Japan. The second stage would last a particularly long time, and while it would be the most trying stage, it would also be a pivotal period when the entire war situation would undergo profound change. In this stage, the CPC would adopt guerrilla warfare as its primary form of fighting, which would be supplemented by mobile warfare. The fighting in this stage would be ruthless, but guerrilla warfare would be successful. In his speech, Mao asserted, "Whether China becomes an independent country or is reduced to a colony will be determined not by the retention or loss of the big cities in the first stage but by the extent to which the whole nation exerts itself in the second. If we can persevere in the War of Resistance, in the united front and in the protracted war, China will in that stage gain the power to change from weakness to strength."

In "On Protracted War," Mao Zedong emphasized that "the army and the people are the foundation of victory," and "the richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people." He also stressed that the only way to win the war against Japan was to mobilize and rely on the masses to wage a people's war. Throughout the war, the CPC did exactly this; it drove the creation of an all-out national War of Resistance, submerging the Japanese aggressors into the mighty ocean of a people's war.

Through "On Protracted War," Mao provided a systematic analysis of the Communist Party's general strategy of protracted war and set out a program for the Communist Party to follow as it led the people in the long war of resistance. He not only predicted that China could only achieve final victory if it waged a protracted war but also outlined a whole set of feasible methods for mobilizing the people, constantly weakening the enemy, expanding its own forces, and securing final victory in the war. The article enormously enhanced the determination and confidence of the people in their war of resistance. It is rare in

history for a speech to have such a persuasive and stirring impact. The subsequent developments of the war validated Mao's predictions.

Around the same time, Mao also authored an article entitled "Problems of Strategy in the Guerrilla War against Japan," which laid particular emphasis on the strategic importance of guerrilla warfare throughout the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression.

2. Carrying out Guerrilla Warfare behind Enemy Lines and Maintaining the CPC's Independence and Initiative in the United Front

The Eighth Route Army Marching to the Front

After being reorganized as the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army, the Red Army swiftly transferred to the front line. At that point, China was in the stage of strategic defense against Japanese aggression. This stage had two major characteristics. The first was that the invading Japanese troops were striking deeper into China's vast territory along several routes, while their offensives on the front-line battlefields were reaching a climax. The second was that the Chinese people's army, led by the CPC, was waging guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines, while also gaining strength and growing rapidly.

At that time, the KMT was relatively enthusiastic about the resistance, and its troops fought the Beiping-Tianjin, Wusong-Shanghai, Xinkou, and Xuzhou campaigns, as well as the battle to defend Wuhan. A victory in the Tai'erzhuang campaign in Shandong Province shattered Japanese plans of total subjugation in three months. Nevertheless, the KMT was unable to fundamentally alter the war situation.

On December 13, 1937, the Japanese army occupied Nanjing. In the following six weeks, it carried out a horrifying and bloody slaughter.

Over 300,000 civilians and unarmed soldiers were shot dead, burned to death, buried alive, or murdered in other brutal ways. Countless women were sexually assaulted and mutilated, and innumerable children were butchered. One third of the city's buildings were destroyed, and a huge amount of property was looted. The once prosperous and bustling ancient capital of China was turned into a living hell. The Nanjing Massacre perpetrated by the invading Japanese army was one of the most appalling crimes against humanity and a dark chapter in human history. In the face of such extreme brutality and violence, the patriotic Chinese people did not surrender. They found within themselves an unprecedented determination to fight their enemy to the very end and an unwavering confidence that their war to resist Japan and save the country would prevail.

Soon after the Eighth Route Army arrived at the front line in Shanxi, it won a major victory in the battle at Pingxingguan. On September 25, 1937, the main force of the Eighth Route Army's 115th Division successfully staged the first ambush at Pingxingguan, wiping out over 1,000 troops, destroying more than 100 Japanese vehicles, and capturing a batch of supplies and weapons. Later, three divisions of the Eighth Route Army fought alongside KMT troops in the Xinkou campaign, which included a number of successful attacks, including an ambush on the Japanese transport corps at Yanmenguan and a night raid on the Japanese airport in Yangmingbu. Lasting over 20 days, the Xinkou campaign was the largest and fiercest battle in north China and an operation characterized by close cooperation between the CPC and the KMT.

The Battle of Pingxingguan was the Chinese army's first major victory achieved through its active assault on the Japanese army since the outbreak of the national war of resistance. By ending the myth that the Japanese army was invincible, it gave a major boost to the morale of

China's army and people and to the prestige of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army. After this, people believed that the CPC had not only the determination, but also the capacity to defeat the enemy. In a letter home, Zhu De wrote, "The morale of our army on all fronts has been boosted thanks to the battle. If other armies were the same as us, it would not be hard to defeat and destroy the enemy."

Having penetrated deep into enemy territory, the Eighth Route Army faced the question of how it should fight the enemy. The CPC adopted the principle that guerrilla warfare was fundamental, but that any opportunity for mobile warfare when conditions were favorable should not be lost. On this basis, the people's army led by the CPC made a major shift in its military strategy from the mobile warfare strategy used in the latter stages of the Agrarian Revolution to guerrilla warfare in the war of resistance.



• Eighth Route Army soldiers head to the front line.

Opening up Battlefields and Setting up Bases of Resistance behind Enemy Lines

After the fall of Taiyuan in November 1937, guerrilla warfare took center stage in the resistance in north China with the CPC playing the primary role in the fighting. In accordance with the decision of the Luochuan Meeting, the CPC-led army focused on engaging in strategic deployment and developing independent guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines. Confronted with an aggressive Japanese army using its superior forces to relentlessly advance, the KMT army was forced into continual retreat. Meanwhile, the poorly equipped Eighth Route Army was able to divide its forces and swiftly penetrate areas in the enemy's rear. In cooperation with local Party organizations, the Eighth Route Army organized working groups and established battlefield mobilization committees and associations for resisting Japanese aggression and saving the nation, which in effect exercised political power in these areas.

On January 10, 1938, a Provisional Administrative Council of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Border Area was established.¹ This was the first CPC-led democratic resistance government under the united front to be established behind enemy lines. The establishment of resistance governments behind enemy lines helped to restore social order following the chaos that had reigned after local KMT authorities fled. They brought light and hope to the people and quickly earned their support.

In April 1938, the CPC Central Committee made the decision to move the three main forces of the Eighth Route Army from the mountainous areas of Shanxi to the plains of Hebei and Shandong to establish new base areas. This decision posed a new challenge to the Eighth Route Army, which had become accustomed to mountain warfare. The New

¹ It was originally named the Provisional Administrative Council. In late January 1938, the word "Provisional" was removed with the formal approval of Yan Xishan and the National Government's Military Council and Executive Council.



- The New Fourth Army fighting in the south.

Fourth Army for its part also exploited the diverse terrain of mountains, rivers, lakes, and branching streams in its guerrilla warfare campaign. All this created a new dynamic in the war behind enemy lines.

With the development of battlefields in the enemy rear, two coordinated battlefronts emerged in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression: the front line, for which the KMT army was chiefly responsible, and the battleground behind enemy lines, for which the CPC army was chiefly responsible. The rapid development of these rear battlefields helped to tie down large numbers of enemy troops and created the conditions for the shift from the strategic defensive stage to strategic stalemate.

The CPC-led armies endured extremely grueling conditions when waging guerilla warfare behind enemy lines, the likes of which were rarely seen in history. Confronted with relentless Japanese “mop-up operations,” the Eighth Route Army were equipped with only primitive weapons and lacked any rear support to resupply it with firearms and ammunition. Though besieged by the enemy, they still managed to establish resistance bases, mostly in remote hinterlands where material conditions were harsh. In November 1937, the 115th Division of the

Eighth Route Army was marching toward the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border area when it got caught in a snowstorm crossing the Wutai Mountains. Clad in only thin clothes and straw sandals, the troops were forced to spend the night in a broken-down temple. However, through arduous struggles, they were ultimately able to establish a firm foothold in the enemy's rear and open up new prospects in their fight. The key reason for their achievement was the support the Chinese people gave them. This was the secret behind the ability of the people's army to expand behind enemy lines and gain in strength despite such grueling conditions.

Maintaining the Independence and Initiative of the CPC in the United Front

Owing to the complex international and domestic environments and the different lines of resistance pursued by the KMT and the CPC, the CPC's ability to strike the right balance between unity and independence, and between solidarity and struggle, was critical to the success of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. At the beginning of the war, the CPC Central Committee noted the necessity of following the principle of independence in the united front.

At the end of November 1937, Wang Ming, the CPC representative to the Communist International and member of the International's Executive Committee, returned to Yan'an from the Soviet Union. Wang claimed that "everything must go through the united front" and "everything must be subordinate to the resistance against Japanese aggression," restricting the activity of the CPC and the people's armed forces to within the limits imposed by the KMT. He also criticized many of the correct viewpoints and policies on the united front that had been developed by the CPC since the Luochuan Meeting. Central leaders such as Mao Zedong struggled determinedly against these erroneous

views. In July 1938, the leadership of the Communist International made it clear that the CPC Central Committee should support Mao Zedong's leadership position, and that Wang Ming should not vie for it as he lacked practical experience.

The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee was held in Yan'an from September to November, 1938. The issue of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context was put forward for the first time at the meeting. Mao Zedong stated that "to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably Chinese character, i.e., to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics, becomes a problem which is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve." At this session, it was stressed that "our policy is independence within the united front, which means that there will be both unity and independence." The session also established the general strategic plan for resistance in the enemy's rear of "consolidating north China and developing central China."

The session reiterated the importance of Party discipline, namely that individual Party members must obey the Party organization, the minority must obey the majority, and the entire Party must obey the Central Committee. The session also emphasized the need to strengthen the study of Marxist theory, underscoring that "our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater...if there are one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow."

The Enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee was of important historical significance. At the Seventh National Congress of the CPC, Mao remarked that the Sixth Plenary Session "determined China's destiny." It accurately assessed the war situation, set forward the Party's tasks for the new stage of the war, and formulated a comprehensive strategic plan for realizing the Party's

leadership over the war effort. At the meeting, Wang Ming's Right deviationist mistakes were corrected to a large degree, Mao Zedong's leadership of the Party was further consolidated, and the entire Party was unified in terms of thinking and action, which promoted faster progress in all areas of work.

3. Upholding the Principles of Resistance, Unity, and Progress

The State of Play and the CPC's Policy during the Stage of Strategic Stalemate

After occupying Guangzhou and Wuhan in October 1938, the Japanese army was no longer able to conduct large-scale strategic offensives. The national war of resistance against Japanese aggression thus entered the stage of strategic stalemate.

After the stalemate began, the Japanese aggressors adjusted their tactics for war but left the general strategy of subjugating China unchanged. They began to use more of their main force to fight the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army in their rear areas. Meanwhile, they changed their policy toward the KMT government from taking military offensives as the primary approach and political inducement to surrender as supplementary to making political inducement the main focus and military offensives as supplementary. In occupied areas, they stepped up efforts to prop up puppet governments and establish organizations for collaborators.

Under these circumstances, capitulationist, divisive, and retrogressive activities within the KMT ruling clique became increasingly serious. In December 1938, the pro-Japanese KMT group headed by Wang Jingwei, deputy chief of the KMT, openly surrendered to the

Japanese and set about establishing a puppet central government. The pro-British and pro-American KMT group headed by Chiang Kai-shek continued to resist Japanese aggression, but did so in an increasingly passive way, all the while opposing the Communist Party in a steadily more open fashion. A string of serious incidents occurred in a number of areas, where CPC-led resistance troops and civilians were attacked and even killed by KMT troops and secret agents. These actions threw China's united resistance against Japanese aggression into serious crisis.

The CPC accurately judged the complex international and domestic terrain of the strategic stalemate stage. On July 7, 1939, the CPC Central Committee published the "Manifesto on the Present Situation, Marking the Second Anniversary of the War of Resistance," which contained the calls to "Persevere in the resistance to the end and oppose compromise half way through," "Consolidate domestic unity and oppose any internal split" and "Strive for national progress and oppose retrogression." At the pivotal moment in the national war, the CPC held high the banner of fighting a united resistance to the very end.

The Development of Guerrilla Warfare behind Enemy Lines and the Hundred-Regiment Campaign

During the stage of strategic stalemate, the CPC took on the main responsibility of fighting the Japanese army, as CPC-led guerrilla warfare became the main mode of operations.

The Japanese army focused on the resistance base areas of north China in its mop-up operations. In the spring of 1939, the Japanese North China Front Army, having formulated the "Plan for Public Security and Order," launched a total war incorporating the military, economy, culture, and secret service operations. From 1939 to 1940, large-scale mop-up operations that involved more than 1,000 Japanese soldiers were carried out 109 times in north China alone, with more than 50,000 troops

being deployed over these two years.

In executing the strategy of consolidating north China, the Eighth Route Army depended on the people to sustain its guerrilla war in mountainous areas and expand it out onto the vast plains. In early November 1939, with the support of the 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army, the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei army unit launched an ambush in Huangtuling, during which it killed Lieutenant General Abe Norihide, commander of the Japanese Second Independent Mixed Brigade, known as “the flower of the famous generals.” A commentary in the *New China News* declared, “This is the first enemy lieutenant general to be killed by our side on the battlefield since the start of the war of resistance. This event merits excitement.”

In February 1939, the CPC Central Committee sent Zhou Enlai to southern Anhui Province to consult with the leaders of the New Fourth Army on the implementation of the strategy for developing guerrilla warfare in central China. They agreed that the strategic tasks for the army were to consolidate the south, fight battles in the east, and expand to the north. After this, the New Fourth Army was expanded considerably, and with it the guerrilla fighting in central China. In May 1940, the Central Committee sent 12,000 troops from the Eighth Route Army southward to join the New Fourth Army in developing the resistance base areas of central China.

In south China, after the fall of Guangzhou, the Guangdong CPC organizations led the people in carrying out guerrilla warfare and establishing the Dongjiang Resistance Base Area and the Dongjiang Column. The Red Army guerrilla corps, which had been operating on Hainan Island for an extended period, also mounted a guerrilla warfare campaign. The corps was later expanded to become the Qiongya Column.

In northeast China, under the leadership of the CPC, the Northeast

United Resistance Army sustained its fight for a prolonged period, inflicting heavy blows on Japanese and puppet troops to become an important player in the national resistance. During this time, Japanese aggressors repeatedly launched brutal attacks against the Northeast United Resistance Army. Amid an extremely difficult environment, the army never wavered in its struggle against the invaders. In October 1938, Leng Yun along with seven other members of the army's female regiment heroically gave their lives for their country when they waded into the Wusihun River after being surrounded by the enemy. In February 1940, Yang Jingyu, commander-in-chief and political commissar of the First Route Army of the Northeast United Resistance Army, was surrounded by a Japanese troop in Mengjiang County (now Jingyu County). Yang valiantly battled an enemy many times his superior in arctic temperatures of minus 40 degrees Celsius. Though all on his own, he kept fighting until the death. When the Japanese soldiers cruelly cut open his abdomen, they found, instead of food, only the dry grass, tree bark, and cotton he had survived on.

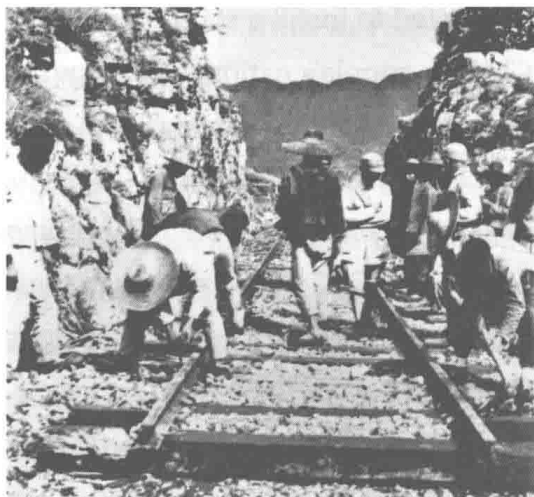
For more than two years, from the winter of 1938 to 1940, the war effort led by the CPC behind enemy lines pinned down a large number of Japanese troops. In the course of the struggle, the people's resistance forces were expanded. By the end of 1940, the armed forces under the leadership of the CPC had grown to 500,000 troops (not including the Northeast United Resistance Army), in addition to a large number of local armed units and militia groups. In north, central, and south China, 16 resistance base areas were established, all of which played an increasingly important role in the nationwide war of resistance against Japan.

There also were many foreign friends of the CPC who travelled thousands of miles to join the resistance behind enemy lines. Among them were Norman Bethune, a Canadian communist; Hans Miller, a

German medical doctor; Shafick George Hatem, an American medical doctor; and Dwarkanath Shantaram Kotnis, an Indian doctor. In November 1939, during the struggle against Japanese mop-up operations in Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, Dr. Bethune tragically died after contracting an infection while treating wounded soldiers from the Eighth Route Army. He gave his life for the Chinese people's cause of liberation. That December, Mao Zedong wrote an article titled "In Memory of Norman Bethune." In the article, Mao called on all Party members to learn from the spirit of utter selflessness exhibited by Comrade Bethune and to become noble-minded and pure persons of moral integrity, and persons who freed themselves of vulgar interests and who are of value to the people.

From August 1940 to January 1941, just as the people's armed forces and resistance base areas were expanding rapidly, but the danger of surrender and the difficulties of war were reaching unprecedented proportions, the General Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army staged a large-scale offensive against Japanese troops behind enemy lines in north China. On the night of August 20, fighting troops, guerrilla forces, and the militia launched simultaneous attacks. As the scale of attacks expanded, more than 105 regiments of the Eighth Route Army, over 200,000 troops in total, came to join the operation, known as the Hundred-Regiment Campaign. This strategic attack was the Eighth Route Army's largest and longest campaign in north China since the beginning of the war. By early December 1940, the armies and people behind enemy lines had fought 1,824 battles, killing or wounding more than 25,000 Japanese and puppet troops, and capturing 281 Japanese troops and more than 18,000 puppet troops. They sabotaged more than 470 kilometers of railways and over 1,500 kilometers of roads, destroyed scores of Japanese blockhouses and strongpoints, and seized large quantities of guns, artillery, and military supplies. The campaign struck

a heavy blow to the Japanese “prison cage” policy, whereby transport lines and strongholds were used to divide and destroy resistance base areas section by section, and enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army. It also inspired the nation at a time when the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression was at a low ebb.



- Eighth Route Army soldiers destroy a Japanese railway line during the Hundred-Regiment Campaign.

The People's Resistance against Japanese Aggression in Occupied Areas

After the Japanese aggressors conquered vast areas of China, they instituted a brutal colonial rule in occupied areas, committing crimes of the most heinous, inhuman kind.

In occupied areas, the Japanese army established secret bases for bacteriological warfare units, which researched and produced bacterium to cause diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and bubonic plague, and carried out inhuman vivisection experiments on Chinese soldiers and civilians. It made and equipped its soldiers with a large number of chemical weapons for germ warfare and poison gas warfare. From the latter half of 1940 onward, Unit 731 spread diseases in many regions of China using specially made devices that killed countless civilians. Japanese troops also abducted and abused Chinese laborers and forced Chinese women to work as “comfort women” in occupied areas.

In addition, Japanese troops engaged in unbridled looting of China's wealth and resources. Based on the principle of ideological warfare, they

attempted to instill a slave mentality through education and to obliterate Chinese people's national consciousness and spirit of resistance in order to safeguard their colonial rule in occupied areas.

The barbaric atrocities of Japanese militarism aroused fierce resistance among people in occupied areas. Under extremely arduous conditions, CPC organizations in these areas carried out widespread and intensive publicity. They took various measures to awaken the national consciousness of the people and their enthusiasm for resistance, actively mobilized people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the Japanese aggressors, and staged armed uprisings to directly attack Japanese troops. They also carried out fruitful intelligence work through an underground front. In 1941, workers of Datong coal mine held strikes and staged revolts; some of these workers went on to join the Eighth Route Army. The Social Department of the CPC's Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Sub-Bureau sent members to large and medium-sized cities like Beiping and Tianjin to organize and contact local underground CPC members, progressive young people, and patriotic figures. They managed to infiltrate the enemy and obtain a large amount of intelligence.

Through secret transportation lines, CPC organizations in occupied areas helped with the transfer of a large number of cadres and progressives, and provided the Eighth Route Army, New Fourth Army, and resistance base areas with a continuous supply of human, material, and financial resources. Before the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the China Defense League under the leadership of Soong Ching Ling had long been based in Hong Kong. With help from compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao, the League got in touch with fellow Chinese overseas and raised huge sums of money to support the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japanese troops occupied Hong Kong. The CPC Central Committee and Zhou Enlai, who was in charge of the Southern Bureau's work, gave an

emergency directive to the Eighth Route Army's Office in Hong Kong and the leaders of the Dongjiang counter-Japanese guerrilla forces, requesting them to rescue patriotic democrats and prominent cultural figures in Hong Kong. The rescue efforts continued for over six months and brought more than 800 people including He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, and Zou Taofen to safety. After Hong Kong fell into enemy hands, the Hong Kong-Kowloon Brigade of the Guangdong People's Counter-Japanese Guerrilla Force, which had been established under the leadership of the CPC, moved into areas behind enemy lines. They continually engaged in both maritime and urban guerrilla warfare by regularly staging attacks on Japanese and collaborationist soldiers, thus effectively supporting guerrilla warfare in Guangdong.

Fighting and Halting the Onslaught of the KMT Diehards

During the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, there were two conflicts that had an important bearing on the future of China: one was the national conflict between China and Japan, which would determine whether the Chinese nation would survive; the second was the class conflict between the CPC and the KMT, which would determine whether the people would be able to carry the war of resistance through to the end and build a new China after the war had ended. On one side, the CPC struggled against the KMT diehards on just grounds, to its own advantage, and with restraint, while on the other it upheld and safeguarded the national united front against Japanese aggression, thereby properly handling these two conflicts and charting the right course for the national war against Japanese aggression.

Between the winter of 1939 and the spring of 1940, the KMT diehards staged their first onslaught against the CPC, which the CPC firmly repelled. The CPC, after reviewing its experience of the struggle to counter the friction created by the KMT, drew up a policy of developing

progressive forces, winning over middle-of-the-roaders, and isolating the diehards, in order to uphold, consolidate, and expand the national united front against Japanese aggression. It also adopted a self-defense stand of not attacking unless attacked while resolutely counterattacking when attacked, and the principle of attacking only on just grounds, to its own advantage, and with restraint.

In January 1941, the KMT diehards instigated the Southern Anhui Incident, which caused shock in China and beyond. While the New Fourth Army Headquarters was moving north of the Yangtze River with more than 9,000 of its soldiers in southern Anhui, as per the orders of the KMT military authorities, they were surrounded in an ambush by more than 80,000 KMT troops. Just over 2,000 soldiers managed to break out of the encirclement. A portion of the army's troops were scattered, while the rest were either captured or killed. The New Fourth Army commander Ye Ting was detained when he arrived at KMT troop headquarters for negotiations. Xiang Ying, deputy commander of the army, was killed while attempting to break the siege. Later, Chiang Kai-shek slandered the New Fourth Army, falsely accusing it of mutiny and canceling its official designation.

Confronting the grave situation in the aftermath of the Southern Anhui Incident, the CPC continued to put the interests of the resistance first. It persisted with its policy of self-defense toward the military offensives of the KMT and firmly fought off all political offensives. On January 20, 1941, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee issued the order to reestablish the New Fourth Army Headquarters. Chen Yi was appointed acting commander and Liu Shaoqi political commissar. In the meantime, the CPC Central Committee made public a host of facts exposing the KMT's scheme to undermine the resistance. It put forward 12 demands for dealing with the issues arising from the Southern Anhui Incident. These included punishing the chief offender,

releasing Ye Ting, and ending the KMT's one-party autocracy.

The *New China Daily*, in defiance of the KMT's press censorship, carried two commemorative inscriptions penned by Zhou Enlai. One read "Mourn the martyrs of the Southern Anhui Incident"; the other "It is as great a wrong as history has ever known that Ye Ting has been thrown in jail. How brutal some people are to have killed their sworn brothers!" These two statements generated a broad response in Chongqing and throughout KMT-controlled areas. Taking a clear stand of putting the greater interests the Chinese nation first, the CPC won widespread sympathy and support from all Chinese people, including middle-of-the-roaders and just-minded KMT members, as well as people around the world. Soong Ching Ling and He Xiangning staged a protest in Hong Kong, and Tan Kah Kee, a patriotic leader of overseas Chinese, sent a telegram to the People's Political Council to call for unity and oppose the reactionary deeds of Chiang Kai-shek. In March 1941, the under-pressure Chiang publicly pledged that no further military actions would be taken against the Communists. With this, the CPC successfully repelled the KMT diehards' second onslaught.

In the spring of 1943, Chiang Kai-shek published a book, *China's Destiny*, which was antagonistic toward both Communists and the Chinese people. He implied that within two years the Communist Party and all other revolutionary forces would be eradicated. Soon after, KMT diehards seized on the dissolution of the Communist International in May 1943 to demand that the CPC be disbanded, and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region abolished. They secretly ordered a massive concentration of troops under the command of Hu Zongnan that stationed in northwest China to prepare for an attack on the border region. The CPC Central Committee responded with the necessary military deployments and robust political countermeasures, putting a stop to the KMT's third onslaught against the CPC before it could

become a large-scale armed attack.

Upholding the principles of resistance, unity, and progress, the CPC repulsed or prevented a total of three onslaughts from the KMT diehards. This success demonstrated the Communist Party's mature leadership, marked by its ability to deal with complex situations. In the face of unexpected incidents, it did not make unlimited concessions in a panic, nor did it take any adventurist action that might give the reactionary forces a pretext for sabotaging the unity of the resistance against Japan. Many middle-of-the-roaders came to clearly recognize that the CPC worked not for the interests of a single party or group, but for those of the entire nation. With its political standing rising in an unprecedented manner across the country, the CPC further proved itself to be the mainstay of the Chinese nation in the war of resistance.

4. Consolidating Resistance Base Areas and Carrying Forward the Democratic Resistance Movement

The Arduous Struggles of Soldiers and Civilians against Mop-Up and Pacification Operations behind Enemy Lines

After the onset of strategic stalemate, the struggle in the rear battlegrounds turned increasingly grave. The period from 1941 to 1942 was the most difficult for the resistance behind enemy lines.

During this period, German and Japanese fascist aggression reached a climax. In June 1941, Germany, which had already invaded and occupied many European countries, launched a large-scale offensive against the Soviet Union. In December of the same year, Japan staged a surprise attack on the US naval base Pearl Harbor, triggering the Pacific War. On January 1, 1942, 26 countries, including China, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, signed the Declaration by the United

Nations, which marked the formal establishment of an international united front against fascism. The formation of the front created favorable international conditions for the Chinese people's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression.

Seeking to turn China into a rear base for the Pacific War, Japan resolutely intensified its assault on the country. By the end of 1941, Japan's forces totaled more than 2.4 million troops, 1.3 million of which were in China. China became the main theater in the East in the Global War against Fascism, and was tasked with fighting the main strength of Japan's ground forces.

Japanese troops launched successive campaigns to "tighten public security" in north China. Imposing ruthless colonial rule, they economically plundered the Chinese people and sought to instill a slave mentality through education in the occupied areas. In resistance base areas, mop-up and pacification operations were even more brutal and devastating. As per the policy of "burn all, kill all, and loot all," troops used poisonous gas and biological weapons to create depopulated zones in an attempt to make it impossible for Chinese soldiers and civilians to survive behind enemy lines and to annihilate the CPC and the armed resistance forces under its leadership. In late January, 1941, over 1,500 Japanese troops staged a mop-up operation in a village called Panjiayu in Fengrun County, located in eastern Hebei Province. After herding the entire village, men and women, young and old, into one yard, they gunned down around 1,300 people and set fire to thousands of dwellings in the village. This brutal extermination is known as the Panjiayu Massacre.

Base areas behind enemy lines under the leadership of the CPC faced extreme difficulties and complicated situations. They had to not only counter mop-up and pacification operations launched by Japanese and puppet troops, but also struggle against military and economic

blockades enforced by the KMT diehards. Under these circumstances, the number of soldiers in the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army fell from 500,000 to a little over 400,000 by 1942. The base areas shrunk too, from covering a population of 100 million to less than 50 million. In the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, the financial and economic difficulties were extreme. In some areas, soldiers and civilians suffered an acute lack of clothing, cooking oil, and vegetables, of footwear for soldiers and of winter bedding, and even food for civilian personnel. To overcome the difficulties, the Party made timely adjustments to the development policies for base areas and led soldiers and civilians in base areas in waging a brave fight against the mop-up and pacification operations of Japanese and puppet troops.

In their struggle against such operations, the army and the people behind enemy lines devised a number of very effective tactics, including sparrow warfare, tunnel warfare, land mine warfare, sabotage operations, guerrilla warfare on lakes and rivers, and other forms of struggle like the development of armed working teams. These tactics represented a further development of the concept of a people's war. Between 1941 and 1942, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, the guerrilla forces, and the people's militia fought more than 42,000 engagements with the Japanese and collaborationist armies, killing, wounding, or capturing 331,000 troops. Through their struggle against the mop-up operations behind enemy lines, the army and the people tied down or eliminated a large number of Japanese troops. Their efforts contributed greatly to the protracted war of resistance against Japanese aggression in China and helped support the Global War against Fascism.

In the struggle in the enemy's rear areas, soldiers and civilians performed countless acts of heroism. In September 1941, at Langya Mountain in western Hebei Province, five soldiers of the Eighth Route Army—Ma Baoyu, Hu Delin, Hu Fucui, Song Xueyi, and Ge Zhenlin—

deliberately drew enemy fire to cover the Party and government organizational personnel and civilians fleeing to safety. The five retreated to a sharp cliff, from where they repelled the enemy's assault. With their bullets finally spent, they destroyed their weapons and leapt from the cliffs. These five soldiers became known as the Five Heroes of Langya Mountain. In March 1943, all members of the New Fourth Army's Liulaozhuang Company sacrificed their lives in a battle with the enemy. During the bitter fighting, officers and generals, like Zuo Quan, deputy chief of the Eighth Route Army, Zhao Shangzhi, deputy commander-in-chief of the Second Route Army of the Northeast United Resistance Army, and Peng Xuefeng, commander of the New Fourth Army's Fourth Division, fought at the head of their troops and laid down their lives for the country. The heroic revolutionary spirit of the Communist-led army and people in the enemy's rear areas—a spirit of uniting as one, resisting aggression, and defying brutal violence—was the source of strength that brought victory in the struggle against the mop-up and pacification operations.

The Great Production Campaign and Development in Resistance Base Areas

The great production campaign was one important way the resistance base areas overcame their difficulties. The general principle of this campaign was to develop the economy and ensure supplies. As difficulties were just emerging in February 1939, Mao Zedong called for the public to draw on their own labor to supply themselves with adequate food and clothing. In 1941, the CPC Central Committee reemphasized the need to pursue an approach of helping oneself through production. In the spring of 1941, the 359th Brigade of the 120th Division of the Eighth Route Army moved to Nanniwan, an area of southern Yan'an, to reclaim wasteland and plant grain there. Relying on their own



- Office personnel spin cotton into thread during the great production campaign.

efforts, the brigade's officers and men transformed the desolate tract into a land resembling a thriving area south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River.

In the great production campaign, the leaders of the Central Committee also carried out activities to lead by example. Mao Zedong planted vegetables on a barren patch of land; Zhu De organized a production group to cultivate three mu [1 mu=1/15 hectare] of vegetable plots. In a spinning competition hosted by the agencies under the CPC Central Committee in 1943, Ren Bishi won first prize and Zhou Enlai awarded the title of "expert spinner."

In September 1944 as the campaign was ongoing, Zhang Side, a soldier of the Guards Regiment, was killed when a charcoal kiln collapsed. At the memorial meeting held in Zhang's honor, Mao Zedong delivered a speech, which was later known as "Serve the People." In this speech, Mao stated, "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the

liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests...when we die for the people it is a worthy death."

The great production campaign in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and in the resistance base areas behind enemy lines in north China was highly successful. The tax burden on the people was greatly alleviated, the material welfare of both soldiers and civilians was markedly improved, and the bond between the Party and the people was greatly strengthened. By 1945, the majority of peasants in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region had saved enough grain from three years' harvests to last them an additional year. The share of "public grain" collected from peasants as a form of tax fell as a proportion of the total harvest each year. From 1943 onward, most Party and government organizations in resistance base areas behind enemy lines could grow enough grain and vegetables to supply their own needs for three to six months. The tax burden on the people constituted only about 14 percent of the total revenue in these areas. In terms of the living standards of the day, people were able to supply themselves with sufficient food and clothing.

The resistance base areas also achieved considerable success in training officials and in cultural and educational activities. Since the war began, Yan'an, where the CPC Central Committee was stationed, had become sacred ground for revolutionaries. In spite of KMT blockades, a large number of educated young people from every corner of the country endured extremely difficult conditions in their determination to reach the city. He Qifang, a poet, recorded the scenes he witnessed, "the gate of Yan'an remains open the entire day, and all day long young people from all over the country, carrying packs on their backs and hope in their hearts, stride into the city."

The CPC Central Committee quickly decided to accept the large number of arriving intellectuals and placed the development of a

revolutionary cultural movement against Japanese aggression on its agenda. A number of schools for officials and other special institutes for education were established in the base areas, including the Chinese People's Resistance Military and Political University, the Northern Shaanxi College, the Chinese Young Cadres' Training Class, the Lu Xun Art Academy, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Party School of the Central Committee, the Workers' School, the Chinese Women's College, the Institute for Cadres of Ethnic Minorities, and the Medical School, which educated and trained large numbers of cadres. Party organizations at all levels also set up in-service study systems for cadres, which played a vital role in improving their political and cultural competence. Meanwhile, the Party stepped up efforts in building its own publicity platforms including Party newspapers and periodicals, the Xinhua News Agency, and the Xinhua Broadcasting Station, and vigorously developed literary creation and theatrical performance. The Academy of Natural Sciences was founded in Yan'an in September 1940 to become the first Party institution that specialized in education and research in the natural sciences. The Party also laid emphasis on primary education in base areas and established primary and secondary schools despite the poor conditions.

In addition, resistance base areas adopted ten major policies, which included developing better troops and simpler administration, upholding unified leadership, encouraging the military to support the government and cherish the people, carrying out the "three thirds system,"¹ and reducing rent and interest. These policies played an important role in helping the Party weather the difficulties and challenges and consolidate

¹ The "three thirds system" was an important principle followed by the Party in building government power in resistance base areas. According to this principle, these resistance democratic governments appointed one third of official posts to Communist Party members, non-CPC progressives, and middle-of-the-roaders respectively.

the resistance base areas.

CPC members in all resistance base areas, but especially those in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, developed systematic concepts and work styles for leading the people in the fight against the Japanese aggressors and for accumulating experience in building up their areas. The Yan'an Spirit was a concentrated manifestation of these new ideas and styles. The major characteristics of this spirit were maintaining the right political tenor, following the guideline of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, adhering to the Party's fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and demonstrating a pioneering spirit of self-reliance and struggle. The Yan'an Spirit had guided the development of successive generations of Chinese Communists, and is now regarded as an invaluable intellectual asset of the CPC.

The Democratic Movement against Japanese Aggression in KMT Areas

The CPC also managed to carry out a large amount of fruitful work in KMT areas (generally known as the Great Rear Area), even as it was concentrating its forces for counter-Japanese guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines, working to build up democratic resistance base areas, and leading the people in carrying out various struggles against the Japanese army.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Party organizations in southern China that had suffered serious damage gradually recovered and began growing again. The Party paid particular attention to winning over and coordinating with middle-of-the-roaders, and to developing extensive contacts with democratic parties, persons without party affiliation, democrats in the Kuomintang, members of regional power groups, important figures from national industrial and commercial circles, and

intellectuals. By explaining the Party's stance to them, it gradually gained their trust, thus consolidating and expanding the Chinese united front against Japanese aggression, and advancing the democratic movement against the Japanese in KMT areas.

The CPC also intensified its work in KMT areas in the Northwest through various channels. The Party sent more than one hundred Party members including Chen Yun, Deng Fa, Chen Tanqiu, and Mao Zemin to Xinjiang to unite with the people of all ethnic groups there and promote the local resistance against Japanese aggression.

Having toughed out the years of 1941 and 1942, the CPC-led resistance behind enemy lines finally ushered in a new stage of development. By 1943, the CPC-led people's army was launching offensives against Japanese and collaborationist armies. On the center stage battlefield, however, the Henan-Hunan-Guangxi Campaign suffered a crushing defeat in the same period. Over eight months spanning the spring and winter of 1944, the KMT authorities surrendered more than 200,000 square kilometers of territory and 146 cities, and more than 60 million of their fellow countrymen fell under the cruel oppression of the Japanese. People saw what was happening and drew their own conclusions: the KMT ruling clique could not win the war of resistance, nor could it defend China's independence or promote its economic development. It was becoming a roadblock to progress in China. People of all persuasions, including many middle-of-the-roaders, called for the abolishment of the one-party KMT dictatorship and the introduction of democratic politics in order to bolster unity in the fight against Japan.

On September 15, 1944, at a meeting of the People's Political Council, Lin Boqu, on the instructions of the CPC Central Committee, submitted a formal proposal to immediately end single-party domination and establish a coalition government made up of all pro-resistance political parties. This proposal produced a strong response both at home and

abroad. On October 10, the China Democratic League published a proposition for the final stage of the war of resistance, which called for the immediate abolition of the one-party system, the establishment of a multiparty coalition regime, and the institution of political democracy. Under the influence of the CPC, the patriotic and democratic movement in the Great Rear Area increasingly focused on one political objective—the establishment of a coalition government.

5. Strengthening Party Building, Advancing the Adaption of Marxism to the Chinese Context, and Launching a Rectification Movement

The “Great Project” Proposal

Spurred by the nationwide war against Japanese aggression, the CPC was developing and expanding at great speed. By the end of 1938, the Party had over 500,000 members, compared to just over 40,000 at the start of the nationwide war. The rapid development and growth of Party organizations and membership imposed new and higher requirements for Party building.

In August 1939, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee issued the Decision on Consolidating the Party. In October 1939, Mao Zedong published an introduction to *The Communist*, the Party's new internal journal, in which he set out the general objectives and tasks of Party building. These were “to build a bolshevized Chinese Communist Party which is national in scale, has a broad mass character, and is fully consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally.” Mao referred to ongoing Party building as a “great project,” and pointed out that Party building must be based on the Party's political line. He also stated that the united front, armed struggle, and Party building were

the three fundamental issues for the Party in the Chinese revolution; therefore, having a correct grasp of these three issues and their interrelations would amount to correct leadership of the entire Chinese revolution.

Strengthening the training of Party members and enhancing their competence was taken as the key to consolidating the Party. Chen Yun wrote an article entitled "How to Become a Communist Party Member," Liu Shaoqi delivered a speech entitled "How to Be a Good Communist," and Zhang Wentian published six articles in succession including "Rights and Duties of Communists." These works constituted an important textbook for educating Party members and played an important role in Party building.

Advancing Party building as a great project was a major innovation of the CPC. It showed that the Party had a more conscious and deeper understanding of the importance of strengthening itself. The implementation of the "great project" provided a strong political guarantee for the Party to play a pivotal role in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression.

A Systematic Explanation of the Theory of New Democracy

After the nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression began, the question of which course the country should take did not disappear, but was in fact put pointedly before each and every Chinese person, as the KMT diehards propagandized the idea of "one doctrine" and "one political party," and claimed that Communism was not suitable for China's national conditions.

As 1939 gave way to 1940, Mao Zedong followed his publication of "Introducing *The Communist*" with several important theoretical works, including "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" and "On New Democracy." These articles aimed to systematize

the extensive body of Chinese revolutionary experience, set forward the theory and program of the Party, and answer the question of what direction China should take, so as to better steer the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the Chinese revolution.

In these works, Mao shed light on the nature and dominant characteristics of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, its principal conflicts, and the reasons for the occurrence and development of the Chinese revolution. On this basis, he pointed out that the entire revolution led by the Communist Party of China would comprise two stages—the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Following the May 4th Movement of 1919, the Chinese revolution became an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal new-democratic revolution of the masses led by the proletariat.

Mao also expounded the basic program of the Communist Party of China in the stage of the new-democratic revolution. Its political program was to establish "a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat, that is, a new-democratic republic." Its economic program was to take over big banks and big industrial and commercial enterprises that dominated the livelihoods of the people and convert them into state-owned enterprises, and to confiscate the land of landlords and distribute it to peasants and encourage them to establish a cooperative economy. At the same time, the new-democratic republic would allow the development of a national capitalist economy and the existence of a rich peasant economy. Its cultural program would sweep away feudalism, comprador culture and develop a national, scientific, and popular culture.

Mao pointed out that the new-democratic revolution would ultimately enjoy a socialist future. The new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were two different revolutionary stages. Though it was impossible to accomplish the tasks of the two stages in one stroke,

the two must be consecutive, without any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship.

When summarizing the historical experience of the CPC since its establishment, Mao pointed out that the united front, armed struggle, and Party building were the CPC's three principal weapons for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution.

The theory of New Democracy helped the whole Party gain a complete and clear understanding of the nature, content, leadership, and direction of the Chinese revolution at that stage. The theory became a beacon that enabled the Chinese people to continuously and purposefully advance through a complex environment and an important guide toward victory for the Chinese revolution.

The theory of New Democracy was the product of integrating Marxism with the realities of the Chinese revolution. In the past, some Party members often confused democratic revolution with socialist revolution. The proposal of this theory not only scientifically expounded the strict distinctions and policy boundaries between the two, but provided a creative answer to the question of how they should be linked.

The proposal and systematic explanation of the theory of New Democracy represented a major achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, and reflected the multifaceted development and maturation of Mao Zedong Thought. The theory provided Chinese Communists with an ideological weapon and the whole Party an enhanced purpose in fighting and leading the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the new-democratic revolution.

The Rectification Movement and the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party

After the Zunyi Meeting, the Party line had developed along the correct Marxist path. However, the subjectivism and dogmatism that had

so seriously damaged the Party's cause needed to be fully addressed from an ideological standpoint. Thus the need arose for an extensive Marxist education campaign to summarize and absorb the Party's historical lessons. This would allow Party members and officials, especially senior officials, to raise their ideological and theoretical competency and strengthen the Party's power to unite and capacity to deliver.

At a meeting of senior officials in Yan'an in May 1941, Mao Zedong made a report entitled "Reform Our Study." From September to October, 1941, in preparation for a Party-wide rectification movement, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting (also known as the September Meeting) to study the Party's history and summarize its experiences, so that senior officials could distinguish between the right and wrong political lines and achieve unity of understanding.

The Party-wide rectification movement began in February 1942 with two speeches from Mao Zedong, entitled "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing." The movement aimed to establish a Marxist style of work by combating subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped Party writing. Combatting subjectivism and correcting the style of study in the Party were the most important tasks of the movement. Subjectivism could only be overcome by having a scientific attitude to Marxism, carrying forward the Marxist study style of integrating theory with practice, proceeding from reality in all matters, and seeking truth from facts. Investigation and study were indispensable for integrating theory with practice. Combatting sectarianism to rectify the nature of relations in the Party and combatting Party stereotypes to correct writing styles among members were also major tasks of the Rectification Movement.

Party members followed the rectification approach of first carefully studying the relevant documents and then carrying out criticism and

self-criticism. By examining their own thinking, work, past records, and work in their respective areas and departments, they ascertained under what circumstances, and for what reasons, they had made mistakes, and what the nature of those mistakes was. They gradually achieved unity of understanding and learned how to correct their mistakes. In this process, an emphasis was laid on self-criticism. One of the signs that the CPC was thriving, according to Mao Zedong, was that it was prudent in the way it dealt with people, being neither careless nor perfunctory, or harmful to comrades.

During the rectification movement, the CPC Central Committee held the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art in May 1942. Speaking at the forum, Mao Zedong stressed, "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle...all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers." In the spirit of this speech, many literary and art workers travelled to the battlefield, visited villages, army units, and factories, and stayed with ordinary people to experience their lives. A large number of excellent works, which reflected reality and had popular appeal, were produced, including *The White-Haired Girl*, *The Story of Reclaiming Wasteland*, *Driven to Join the Liangshan Rebels*, and *The Love Story of Wang Gui and Li Xiangxiang*. *The White-Haired Girl*, China's first new opera, was created by a collection of artists from the Lu Xun Art Academy. This work, part truth and part legend, dealt with the distinctive contemporary theme, which of people being forced to become "ghosts" in old society and "ghosts" being turned into people in the new one.

In September 1943, the rectification of the Central Committee leadership proceeded to the stage of discussing in detail the historical questions of the Party. To achieve unity of thinking among the Party's senior officials, the Central Committee Political Bureau called an

enlarged meeting to discuss the historical question of the Party line.

From May 1944 to April 1945, after a thorough review of the Party's experience, the Enlarged Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the CPC was held in Yan'an. The session adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party. This resolution reviewed the history and basic experience and lessons learnt by the Party since its establishment, especially in the period between the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee in January 1931 and the Zunyi Meeting in January 1935. It set out the manifestations and serious consequences of the "Left" mistakes in the political, military, organizational, and ideological domains. It highly commended Mao Zedong's outstanding contribution in solving the questions of the Chinese revolution using the basic tenets of Marxism, and affirmed the great significance of establishing Mao Zedong's leadership of the whole Party. The conclusions of the resolution helped the entire Party membership, especially senior officials, reach a common understanding on the fundamental questions regarding the Chinese democratic revolution based on Marxism-Leninism. The session marked the successful conclusion of the Rectification Movement.

The rectification movement was a thoroughgoing Marxist education movement that produced tremendous results. The Movement correctly combined Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese reality, and awakened the entire Party to the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts. The movement initiated large-scale discussions throughout the Party about how to regard the tenets of Marxism in the light of reality, how to combine the basic tenets of Marxism with the realities of the Chinese revolution, and what attitude to adopt toward some of the major questions in the Party's history. Through these discussions, the position of Marxism both inside and outside the Party was fortified, and Party officials also achieved major progress in developing their thinking.

Through the rectification movement, the entire Party achieved renewed unity and solidarity under the leadership of the Central Committee with Mao Zedong at the core, laying an important ideological and political foundation for victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution.

The experience acquired during the rectification movement in Yan'an has had profound and far-reaching significance for the efforts to strengthen the Party ever since.

6. The Seventh National Congress of the CPC, the Establishment of Mao Zedong Thought as the Guiding Ideology of the Party, and Final Victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression

The Seventh National Congress of the CPC

Following the Party-wide Rectification Movement, the CPC held its Seventh National Congress at the Central Committee Auditorium in Yangjialing, Yan'an from April to June, 1945, on the eve of the complete defeat of fascist Germany and victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. A total of 547 regular delegates and 208 non-voting delegates attended the congress, representing 1.21 million Party members. The tasks of the congress were to review the experience of the revolution, prepare for victory in the war against Japanese aggression, and lay the ground to ensure a bright future for China.

Mao Zedong submitted a political report entitled "On Coalition Government" and delivered an oral presentation also. Zhu De made a military report entitled The Battle Front in the Liberated Areas, Liu Shaoqi delivered the Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution, while Zhou Enlai delivered a speech under the title "On the United Front. "

The Congress set the political line of the Party, which was to “mobilize the people and expand the people’s forces so that, under the leadership of the Party, we will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the people, and build a new-democratic China.” To build a new-democratic China, the Congress once again proposed to abolish the Kuomintang one-party dictatorship and establish a democratic coalition government. It took the further action of setting out two specific steps for terminating KMT’s one-party dictatorship: in that current stage, a provisional coalition government would be established with the common agreement of representatives of all parties and persons without party affiliation, while in the subsequent stage, a national assembly would be convened after free and unrestricted elections and a regular coalition government would be formed.

The congress formulated political, economic, and cultural programs



• The Seventh National Congress of the CPC.

for a new-democratic country, and put forward the task of industrializing China. It also issued the first Party document to declare that “in the final analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policies and practices of any Chinese political party on the people depends on whether and how much they help to develop their productive forces, and on whether they fetter or liberate these forces.”

At the Congress, it was noted that over the course of its long struggles the Party had developed an excellent style of work in three aspects: integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the people, and practicing self-criticism. These were the hallmarks that distinguished the Communist Party from other political parties. At the preparatory meeting prior to the Congress, Mao Zedong stressed the need to keep in line with the CPC Central Committee. He remarked, “We must align with the Party Central Committee and the National Party Congress. Maintaining order is the principle, but deformation is inevitable in real life. We align our ranks whenever there is deformation.”

The Seventh National Party Congress elected a new Central Committee. At the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee on June 19, 13 Central Committee members were elected to the Political Bureau, while Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Ren Bishi were elected to the Secretariat. Mao Zedong was chosen as chairman of the Central Committee, chairman of the Political Bureau, and chairman of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. In August, at a meeting of the Political Bureau, Mao Zedong was also elected chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, and Zhu De and others vice-chairmen. With these steps, the Party was able to achieve an unprecedented level of organizational solidarity.

The Seventh National Party Congress was an extremely important congress during the new-democratic revolution. Reviewing the experience gained by the Party over the previous 20 years of the

revolution, it formulated a correct line, program, and strategy for the Party, corrected mistaken thinking within the Party, and helped the entire membership, especially senior officials, reach a clear understanding of the objective laws underlying the new-democratic revolution. This enabled the whole Party to achieve unprecedented unity based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. It is remembered in the history of the CPC as “a congress of victory, a congress of unity.”

The Establishment of Mao Zedong Thought as the Guiding Ideology of the CPC

One historical contribution of the Seventh National Party Congress was to establish Mao Zedong Thought as the Party’s guiding ideology and add it to the Party Constitution.

In his “Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution” at the congress, Liu Shaoqi pointed out that “embodying Communism and Marxism in China, Mao Zedong Thought is an integration of Marxist and Leninist theories with the revolutionary practice of China.” The report summarized Mao Zedong Thought as an analysis of the conditions of the modern world and China and a collection of theories and policies relating to new democracy, peasant emancipation, the revolutionary united front, revolutionary war, revolutionary base areas, the building of a new-democratic republic, Party building, and culture.

The establishment of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of the CPC at the Seventh National Party Congress was a natural outcome of the development of modern Chinese history and the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. Based on the people’s hard work under the leadership of the CPC, Mao Zedong Thought gradually took shape in the course of practice, as both positive and negative experiences were reviewed. It was the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC, and its creative theories enriched and developed Marxism. The formation

of Mao Zedong Thought represented the first historically significant leap in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. Mao Zedong was a great pioneer of this undertaking.

After the Seventh National Congress, the whole Party, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, united in a brave struggle to achieve final victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and nationwide victory in the new-democratic revolution.

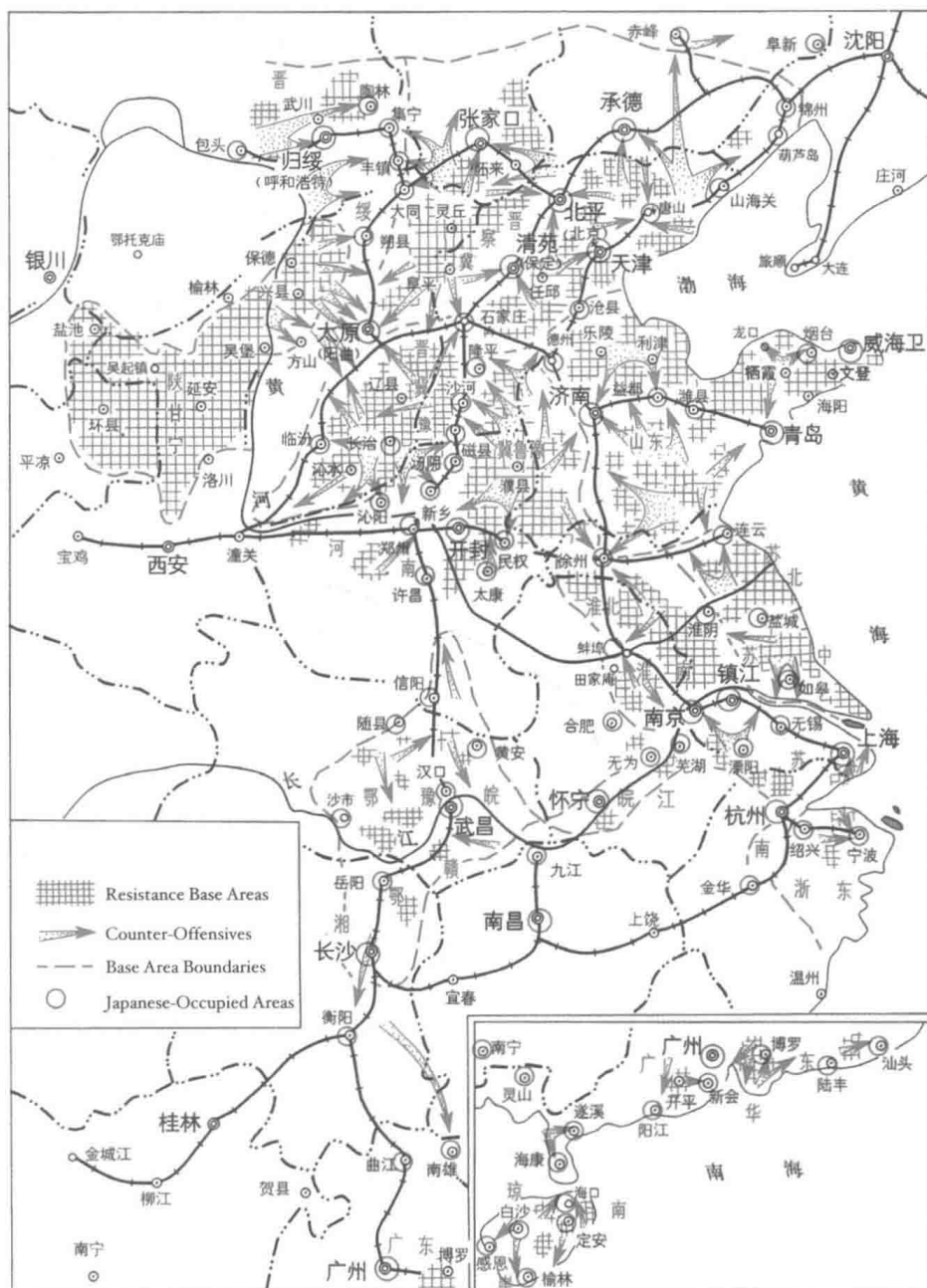
A Full-Scale Counteroffensive and the Great Victory of the Resistance against Japanese Aggression

In the first half of 1945, the Global War against Fascism entered the stage of final victory. In April, the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) was held in San Francisco. A Chinese delegation, which included Dong Biwu, a representative of China's liberated areas, attended the conference. China became a founding member of the UN and one of the five permanent members of its Security Council.

On August 9, the Soviet Red Army departed for the battlefields of northeast China to join Chinese troops and civilians in fighting the Japanese aggressors, thereby hastening Japan's total defeat. On the same day, Mao Zedong made a statement entitled "The Last Round with the Japanese Invaders." Later, from the General Headquarters in Yan'an, Commander-in-chief Zhu De issued seven orders for an all-out counteroffensive. Against an extremely favorable international backdrop, the Chinese war against Japanese aggression entered the stage of full-scale counteroffensive.

At this time, the main formations of the KMT army were located in the western part of the country, while most of the Japanese-occupied cities, towns, and communication lines lay in north, central, and south China, surrounded by the CPC-led armies and people behind enemy lines.

Strategic Counter-Offensives of the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and the South China Guerrilla Forces (August-September, 1945)



On orders from Yan'an headquarters, the army and the people in the resistance base areas launched a major counteroffensive against Japanese and collaborationist troops. Very quickly, vast swathes of territory were liberated.

On August 15, the Japanese Emperor Hirohito announced in a broadcast the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War, thus officially declaring Japan's unconditional surrender. On September 2, the Japanese representatives signed the Japanese Instrument of Surrender. On the battlefields of China, 1.28 million Japanese troops laid down their arms. The War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the Global War against Fascism were finally over. September 3, the day after the Japanese representatives signed the surrender, was established as a victory memorial day for the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression.

On October 25, a surrender acceptance ceremony was held by the Chinese government in Taiwan. China resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which had been occupied by Japan for 50 years. This was an important symbol of China's complete victory in the war.

The War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression was the Chinese people's longest, largest, and bloodiest struggle for national liberation from foreign aggression in modern times, as well as China's first total defeat of a foreign aggressor in modern times. According to incomplete statistics, China suffered more than 35 million military and civilian casualties during the war. In 1937 prices, the Chinese government sustained more than US\$100 billion in direct economic losses and US\$500 billion in indirect losses. Victory in the war marked a historic turning point which set the Chinese nation on its journey toward rejuvenation. It was also a moment that held great and far-reaching significance for the advancement of human civilization.

With the total defeat of Japan's militarist aggressors, the victory safeguarded China's state sovereignty and territorial integrity, and ended the national humiliation of successive defeats at the hands of foreign aggressors in modern times. It awakened the Chinese people's national consciousness, pushed their morale and organizational levels to unprecedented heights, and laid an important foundation for the CPC to lead the Chinese people in realizing complete national independence and liberation. It promoted great unity among the entire Chinese nation, and fostered a national spirit with patriotism at its core. It was of tremendous importance in the victory of the Global War against Fascism and the great cause of world peace, and markedly raised China's international standing and influence, winning the Chinese people the respect of peace-loving peoples around the world and bringing honor to the Chinese nation.

The CPC was the mainstay of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. This proved to be the decisive factor in securing complete victory in the war. Since its founding, the Communist Party of China made the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation its historic mission. It demonstrated unmatched determination in defending the nation's independence, resolve in safeguarding the nation's interests, and bravery in opposing foreign aggression. It also made the greatest sacrifices. At the most crucial point in the war, when the very survival of the Chinese nation hung in the balance, the CPC stepped forward and by virtue of its leadership, strategies and tactics, got the national resistance moving forward and firmly kept the whole nation fighting as one and achieving progress, while opposing all concessions, splits, and backsliding. Holding high the banner of the national united front against Japanese aggression, the Party worked determinedly to maintain, consolidate, and develop the united front. As it worked to unite all forces, the Party both retained its own independence and preserved the

integrity of the resistance, thereby safeguarding the overall interests of the nation. These efforts ensured that the strength of all sides was channeled toward a united stand against Japanese aggression. Chinese Communists fought bravely on the front lines, and kept alive the hope of saving China from subjugation, thus becoming the mainstay in the national war of resistance. The war of resistance proved that the CPC's leadership was a strong core for the Chinese people's struggle for their nation's independence and their own liberation.

A great spirit was fostered in China's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. Embodied in this spirit is a patriotic sentiment that inspires people to take responsibility for the fate of the nation, a sense of national integrity that empowers people to never yield even in the face of death, a heroic fortitude that instills people with the courage to fight to the very end, and an unyielding, indomitable belief in victory. This great spirit is precious to all Chinese people. It will always be a profound source of inspiration that sees them through all kinds of adversity and difficulty on their way toward realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

With its commitment to mobilizing and relying on the people, the CPC developed and expanded substantially while advancing the people's war against Japanese aggression. The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and other people's armed resistance forces engaged the enemy over 125,000 times. As the areas behind enemy lines gradually became the main battlegrounds of the war, they pinned down and defeated a large number of Japanese troops and eliminated a great many collaborationist forces. By the end of the war, the people's armed forces had expanded to 1.32 million fighters, while militia forces counted more than 2.6 million fighting men and women among their ranks; there were 19 CPC-led democratic resistance base areas (also known as liberated areas), covering nearly one million square kilometers and 100 million

people; and the CPC's influence on the social and political life of the country was substantially stronger than before the war. This created unprecedented favorable conditions for building on the triumph of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression to achieve victory in the new-democratic revolution.

Chapter IV

The Struggle for Nationwide Victory in the New-Democratic Revolution

After victory over Japan, the Chinese people were eager for peace and democracy and hoped to build a new China. However, on June 26, 1946, the KMT provoked a full-scale civil war when its large force laid siege to the Central Plains Liberated Area centered around Xuanhuadian Town in the Hubei-Henan Border Area. In August, despite the superiority of the KMT army, Mao Zedong confidently put forward his famous judgment that “all reactionaries are paper tigers” during a meeting with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. He firmly explained to Strong, “The day will come when reactionaries are defeated and we are victorious. The reason is simply this: the reactionaries represent reaction, we represent progress.”

1. Peace Negotiations in Chongqing and the Struggle for Peace and Democracy

**The Political Situation at Home and Abroad and the Party's Policy
after the War of Resistance**

The political situation following the War of Resistance was conducive to the development of China's political situation in the direction of peace and democracy. Internationally, socialist countries and national

liberation movements were developing, while imperialist forces had been weakened, making it difficult for them to concentrate their forces on interfering in the Chinese revolution. Domestically, the Chinese people had become more politically conscious, united and organized than ever before, and generally desired peace after suffering from a long period of war. The situation of the various political forces in the country had changed profoundly. The CPC had developed into a major party with national influence and maintained close ties with the democratic forces composed of other democratic parties and figures in the KMT-controlled areas.

The active efforts of the CPC and the Chinese people to maintain peace and democracy in the country were seriously hampered by the KMT ruling clique. The KMT increasingly focused its attention on the elimination of the CPC and other democratic forces, with the aim of continuing the KMT's one-party dictatorship and "establishing a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie."

More seriously, the KMT's anti-communist approach was supported by the United States. After the end of World War II, the United States, relying on its strong economic and military power, actively expanded outward in an attempt to establish its dominant position in the world. Controlling China was an important part of the US global strategy. As a later report of the US National Security Council put it, their long-term goal in China at the time was to help establish a stable, unified pro-American government, while their short-term goal was first and foremost to "prevent the Communists from gaining complete control of China."

The US steps were as follows:

It required the KMT government to implement some moderate reforms such as token democracy, to win the sympathy and support of middle-of-the-roaders, and to induce, or force if necessary, the CPC to

turn over its armies, so as to unify China under the leadership of the KMT.

It also provided the KMT government with economic, political, and military assistance, and helped it to transport troops in a bid to seize strategic points.

Chiang's aim was to fight, but it would take time for him to get ready to fight. Therefore, as he prepared for civil war, Chiang expressed his willingness to enter peace negotiations with the CPC. In mid-to-late August 1945, Chiang sent Mao Zedong three telegrams, inviting him to "discuss state affairs" in Chongqing. In Chiang's estimation, if the negotiations failed, he would be free to get on with prosecuting a civil war while putting all the blame on the CPC.

Based on its sincere wish for peace and a clear-eyed understanding of the state of play, the CPC Central Committee believed it necessary to enter peace negotiations with the KMT. Even if it was only to achieve a temporary peace, the CPC should still fight for negotiations.

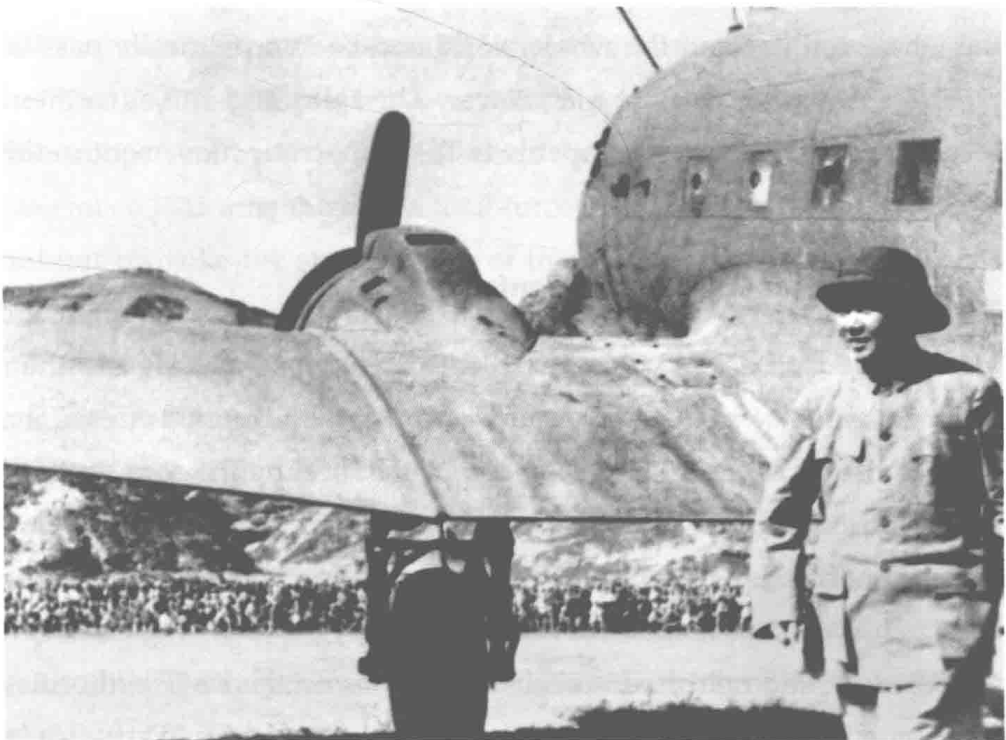
On August 23, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting, at which it set its policy on the KMT: "If Chiang goes for us, we'll go for him; if Chiang stops, we'll stop too." It would wage a struggle for solidarity and force the KMT to accept, to some degree, the people's demands for domestic peace and the achievement of other goals. On August 25, the CPC Central Committee published the Manifesto on the Present Situation, which clearly put forward the slogan of peace, democracy, and unity. That night, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee decided that Mao Zedong and others should travel to Chongqing for negotiations with Chiang.

The Chongqing Negotiations

On August 28, 1945, Mao Zedong and his party flew from Yan'an to Chongqing. The gesture conveyed the CPC's sincere desire for peace.

The poet Liu Yazi wrote a poem extolling it as an act of “overwhelming courage.”

During the negotiations in Chongqing, the KMT made a bid to wipe out Liberated Areas and the people’s armed forces under the pretext of “unifying government administration and military command.” To secure peace and democracy and put to bed the rumors that the CPC did not want peace and unity, the Central Committee made necessary concessions on reducing the size of liberated areas and the people’s armed forces. At the same time, the people’s armies in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area, under the command of Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, wiped out an attacking force of 35,000 men under the command of Yan Xishan in Shangdang, Shanxi. The victory checked the KMT assault on liberated areas and put the CPC in a stronger negotiating position.



• Mao Zedong returns to Yan'an after signing the October 10th Agreement.

The two sides signed the Summary of Conversations between the Representatives of the KMT and the CPC (also known as the October 10th Agreement). The KMT authorities agreed in words to the “basic policy of peace and national reconstruction.” Both sides agreed to convene a political consultative conference, which would include representatives of all parties and noted public figures, to discuss plans for peace and national reconstruction. The two sides failed to reach agreement on the army and the political power of the Liberated Areas despite the CPC’s willingness to make major concessions to remove troops stationed in eight Liberated Areas in southern China and slash troop numbers. On October 11, Mao Zedong flew back to Yan’an.

The result of the Chongqing negotiations was a victory for the people’s power. As a result of the negotiations, the KMT admitted the basic policy of peace and national reconstruction. Although this acknowledgement was only verbal, it would thus lose its case in front of the whole country and the whole world and be in a politically passive position if it were to start a civil war. The talks and the agreement reached also gave a strong impetus to the democratic movement in the KMT-controlled areas.

The Political Consultative Conference

No sooner had the October 10th Agreement been signed than Chiang Kai-shek issued secret orders to attack the Liberated Areas. The strategic intent of the KMT was to completely occupy the area south of the Yangtze River, and to focus on strategic locations and transportation routes in north China in order to divide and compress the liberated areas and open up a route to the Northeast and occupy the entire region.

The CPC did not place unrealistic illusions on the KMT authorities because of its efforts to strive for peace and democracy. The Party firmly believed that, “We must definitely not hope that the KMT will be kind-

hearted, because it will never be kind-hearted. We must rely on our own strength, on correct guidance of activities, on brotherly unity within the Party and good relations with the people." The Party believed this was the only way to make itself invincible and lay a solid foundation for the realization of peace and democracy and the building of a new China.

With a view to protecting the fruits of the people's victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and expanding the people's revolutionary forces, the CPC Central Committee transferred 110,000 soldiers and 20,000 officials to northeast China and established a Northeast Bureau, with Peng Zhen as secretary (Lin Biao later became secretary) and Chen Yun and others as members of the organization. In mid to late October, the people's armed forces in the Liberated Areas fought three battles along the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway, the Tianjin-Pukou Railway, and the Beiping-Hankou Railway (near Handan), eliminating 110,000 attacking KMT troops. This success delayed the KMT's thrust into north China and slowed its northeastern advance.

The KMT's failures, however, did not alter its civil war strategy. The troops sent by the KMT to attack the Liberated Areas up to early December 1945 amounted to a total force of 1.9 million men. This could not but provoke the strong anger of the people who demanded peace and democracy.

In late November 1945, an anti-civil war assembly held by university students in Kunming was suppressed by reactionary soldiers, resulting in a general strike involving over 30,000 students. On December 1, a large band of armed thugs sent by the KMT stormed school campuses to suppress the student protest in what became known as the December 1st Massacre. In Chongqing, Shanghai, and other cities, students and citizens went on strike and demonstrated in an outpouring of support for the students of Kunming. The December 1st Movement, which championed the slogan "oppose civil war, fight for democracy," pushed the KMT

authorities further into a passive political position.

Around this time, Chiang Kai-shek was not quite ready to start a civil war and did not dare to tear up the October 10th Agreement.

On January 5, 1946, the KMT and the CPC signed an agreement on the cessation of domestic hostilities. On January 10, both sides issued orders to their armies to halt all military activity. On the same day that the ceasefire order came into effect, the Political Consultative Conference opened in Chongqing. A total of 38 delegates attended, including representatives of the KMT, the CPC, the China Democratic League, the Youth Party, and public figures without party affiliation. The conference, which lasted 22 days till January 31, adopted five agreements on government organization, a National Assembly, a program for peace and national reconstruction, military affairs, and a draft constitution.

The CPC intended to fulfill these agreements in earnest. The day after the closing of the Conference, the Party Central Committee issued an intraparty directive asking the entire Party to work with firm resolve to realize the agreements reached by the Political Consultative Conference.

The KMT, however, never made any such preparations. As soon as the Conference closed, Chiang Kai-shek himself said at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Executive Committee, "I am not satisfied with the draft constitution either, but since the matter has already reached this point, there is no way to turn back. For the time being, we have to adopt it and see what we can do in the future." In March, at the Second Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Executive Committee of the KMT, Chiang declared that he would take remedial measures with regard to the main points of the agreements.

2. Victory against the KMT's Offensive and the Formation of a Second Front

The Outbreak of Full-Scale Civil War

On June 26, 1946, as soon as the preparations for war were complete, 220,000 KMT troops launched an attack on the Central Plains Liberated Area in the border region between Hubei and Henan provinces. Following this, KMT forces mounted large-scale offensives against other Liberated Areas. These attacks marked the outbreak of a full-scale civil war.

At the outset of the war, the people's revolutionary forces were in a grim state.

In military terms, the total strength of the KMT army was about 4.3 million, with about 2 million regular troops. The people's troops in the Liberated Areas consisted of 1.27 million men, 0.61 million of whom were field troops. This was a troop ratio of 3.4:1. The KMT army, navy, and air force were well-equipped, while the people's troops in the Liberated Areas had neither a navy or air force and were mostly armed with weapons captured from Japanese and collaborationist foot soldiers. It possessed only a few pieces of artillery.

In economic terms, the KMT-controlled areas had a population of 339 million and occupied about 76 percent of the total area of the country. The KMT government controlled almost all major cities, most railway lines, most modern industries, and human and material resources. On the other side, the Liberated Areas had a population of about 136 million and occupied a land area accounting for only about 24 percent of the country. With few modern industries, these areas largely relied on traditional agriculture.

The KMT overestimated its own power. Chiang Kai-shek claimed that "the war could seal a quick victory" in view of the KMT's superior

strength. His chief of staff, Chen Cheng, estimated that the Communist-led armed forces could be completely wiped out in three months, five at most.

One major reason that the KMT dared to launch a full-scale civil war was that it had the backing of the US government. Mao Zedong pointed out, "Although Chiang Kai-shek has US aid, the feelings of the people are against him, the morale of his troops is low, and his economy is in difficulty. As for us, although we have no foreign aid, the feelings of the people are for us, the morale of our troops is high, and we can handle our economy. Therefore, we can defeat Chiang Kai-shek."

The CPC formulated various principles and policies for smashing the KMT's military offensive. The Party's political principle was to mobilize the masses, unite with all the forces that could be united with, and build the broadest possible people's democratic united front under the leadership of the Party. The Party's military strategy was based on the principle of concentrating a superior force to destroy enemy forces one by one and the strategy of active defense. The CPC made its main objective to wipe out the enemy's effective strength, rather than trying to hold or seize a specific city or place.

Smashing the KMT Army's All-Out Attack and Its Concentrated Attacks on Key Sectors

From June 1946 to June 1947 after the start of the full-scale civil war, the people's armed forces were in a stage of strategic defensive, fighting mainly in the Liberated Areas. For the first eight months of this period, they held off the KMT's all-out attack. During the last four, they managed to smash its concentrated attacks on key sectors.

From mid-July to the end of August 1946, the Central China Field Army, under the command of Su Yu, won seven successive victories in central Jiangsu Province in the Suzhong Campaign, wiping out more

than 50,000 enemy troops, in extremely difficult conditions. Victories were also reported from the area north of the Huai River, from the Dingtao Campaign in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Area, from the Jinbei Campaign in the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Liberated Area, and from the three offensives south across the Songhua River and the four battles to defend Linjiang Prefecture. These victories boosted the troop morale, blunted the KMT's attack, and gave soldiers their first experience of wiping out the enemy mainly on interior lines, that is, in the Liberated Areas. For the first eight months of this period, the people's armed forces managed to recapture or liberate 135 cities and to eliminate over 708,000 enemy troops. The KMT's attempt to swiftly annihilate the people's revolutionary forces had failed.

In March 1947, the KMT troops began to suffer repeated setbacks in their full-scale offensive and had to shift the focus of their attacks to key sectors in the Northern Shaanxi and Shandong Liberated Areas. The people's armed forces continued to follow the strategy of active defense.

In Shandong Province, the East China Field Army, under the command of Chen Yi and Su Yu, wiped out over 56,000 men of the KMT's 2nd "Pacification" Zone, under deputy commander Li Xianzhou, in the Laiwu area in late February. Then in mid-May, it put the Reorganized 74th Division, which consisted of 32,000 of the KMT's crack troops, out of action at the Battle of Menglianggu. This meant that the KMT's attack on key sectors in the Shandong Liberated Area had been basically smashed.

In northern Shaanxi Province, Hu Zongnan and other KMT officers took command of 250,000 troops for a surprise assault on Yan'an. CPC central officials took the initiative to abandon the stronghold on March 18, and the CPC was thrust into a period of bitter fighting around northern Shaanxi. Soon afterward, the CPC Central Committee divided into three groups. A working committee including Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, and others, was sent to north China to undertake certain tasks on its behalf.

Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Ren Bishi remained in northern Shaanxi, from where they led the simple but efficient organs of the Central Committee and the PLA Headquarters in directing military operations on all fronts around the country. Ye Jianying and Yang Shangkun took charge of the Central Committee's Rear Area Commission and moved to northwestern Shanxi to manage the work in the rear.

In Northern Shaanxi, there was strong public support for the CPC, mountainous terrain, and plenty of room for maneuver. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee, the Northwest Field Army Group, led by Peng Dehuai and Xi Zhongxun, used the tactic of "wearing the enemy down and then wiping him out." In the 45 days after abandoning Yan'an, the army won three battles at Qinghuabian, Yangmahe, and Panlongzhen, annihilating more than 14,000 enemy troops. They then completely eliminated the Reorganized 36th Division and two brigades under Hu Zongnan at Shajiadian. By August, the KMT assault on key sectors of northern Shaanxi had also been smashed.

In the process of defending against KMT attacks on key sectors, armies and the people in other Liberated Areas launched strategic counter-attacks against the KMT, which began to withdraw its troops as it was pushed onto the defensive. The Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army launched offensives in northern Henan and southern Shanxi and liberated most parts of these two areas. The Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Field Army launched the Zhengtai Campaign, the Qingxian-Cangxian Campaign, and the Campaign of Northern Baoding, which resulted in the linking up of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei and Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Liberated Areas. The Northeast Democratic United Army launched summer offensives, establishing connections among the base areas of East Manchuria, South Manchuria, West Manchuria, and North Manchuria, thus changing the dynamic under which these base areas were split into north and south operation groups.

Within a one year period from July 1946 through June 1947, the people's armed forces wiped out 1.12 million enemy troops, while its own ranks swelled to over 1.9 million men. After the people's armed forces were able to bring to a close the phase of strategic defense, they entered the second year of the War of Liberation in a new shape.

A Political and Economic Crisis in the KMT Areas and the Broad-Based Development of the Popular Movement

To fill up its war coffers after the outbreak of full-scale civil war, the KMT government imposed crippling taxes on the people and printed money indiscriminately. Inflation reached appalling levels like a wild horse out of control. In August 1948, the amount of issued legal currency was over 470,000 times higher and prices over 7.25 million times higher than in 1937 on the eve of the nationwide war of resistance. This hyperinflation was in fact a general plundering of the people of the KMT-controlled areas. As the wealth of KMT bureaucrat-capitalists swelled, a severe recession set in industry and agriculture, shutting down many industrial and commercial enterprises of the national bourgeoisie. The number of unemployed in the urban areas soared. The bodies of starving people lined the roads of many villages. The areas under KMT control were mired in a severe economic crisis. People of all political persuasions teetered on the brink of starvation and death. The only choice left open to them was unite and fight against the KMT government.

To get out of the economic crisis, the KMT government, relying ever more on US imperialists, sold off a large swathe of the rights and interests of the nation. American manufacturers flooded China's markets with their products and quickly established monopolies, landing a mortal blow on the Chinese national bourgeoisie who were already in a precarious position. The rampant behavior of US military personnel also fuelled strong indignation among the Chinese people.

In mid-May 1947, the student movement protesting hunger and civil war quickly gained momentum across the country. On May 20 in Nanjing, more than 5,000 students from Nanjing, Shanghai, Suzhou, and Hangzhou marched through the streets, carrying a banner that read "Demonstration of Students United against the Education Crisis." The students marched to shouts of "oppose hunger" and "oppose civil war." The demonstration was put down by the reactionary government. On the same day, more than 7,000 students in Beiping also joined the struggle. These events became collectively known as the May 20th Movement.

The upsurge in the student struggle promoted a broad-based popular movement. In 1947, more than 3 million workers struck in more than 20 cities. In rural areas, peasants rebelled against press-ganging and the requisition of grain and taxes.

With the students in the vanguard, the movement against the KMT government gradually crystallized into a second front in support of the People's War of Liberation. The Party promptly announced the establishment of a broad front to oppose the betrayal of the nation, civil war, and dictatorial rule based on the people's struggle for survival in KMT areas, helping to broaden and intensify the struggle on the second front. As the KMT government suffered both military and political defeats, it found itself besieged by the people as a whole.

3. The People's Liberation Army Shifts to the Strategic Offensive

Advancing on the Central Plains and Opening a Strategic Offensive on All Fronts

By the end of the first year of fighting, the situation in the civil war had changed dramatically. By July 1947, the KMT's total military strength

had fallen from 4.3 million men to 3.73 million, its regular troops having dropped from 2 million to 1.5 million. In contrast, the People's Liberation Army had grown from 1.27 million men to 1.95 million, with the number of regular troops approaching 1 million. They were also now better equipped.

The CPC Central Committee made a prompt decision: it would not wait for the enemy's strategic offensive to be completely defeated, but would shift immediately to a nationwide offensive, that is, it would use its main forces to fight its way to the exterior lines and bring the war to the KMT areas. The Central Committee chose the Dabie Mountains of the Central Plains as the main target of their assault. It decided that the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army should make a leap forward to swiftly penetrate into enemy territory, with the attempt to build up a solid rear area being abandoned.

On the night of June 30, 1947, Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping led the main force of 120,000 troops from the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army across the natural barrier of the Yellow River in a surprise maneuver that lifted the curtain on the PLA's strategic offensive. In late August, after a gallant 500-kilometer advance, the forces of Liu and Deng reached the Dabie Mountains. Enjoying firm support from the masses, the troops fought tenaciously against repeated waves of concentrated attacks from KMT troops. By November, the fighting force had gained a foothold in the area, eliminating over 30,000 enemy troops and establishing democratic governments in 33 counties. Only by having the people in their hearts and uniting the army and the people could Liu and Deng's men gain a firm foothold in Dabie mountains. As Liu Bocheng stated, "We relied on the people while Chiang Kai-shek relied on the blockhouses."

In late August, the detachment of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Field Army led by Chen Geng and Xie Fuzhi also crossed the

Yellow River into western Henan. In September, the main force of the East China Field Army led by Chen Yi and Su Yu crossed the Longhai Railway and marched south into the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu plains. By November, these two armies had accomplished their strategic missions in the Henan-Shaanxi border area and the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu border area, respectively.

By this point, the three armies had fought their way to the exterior lines. They advanced in a triangular formation across a vast area enclosed by the Yellow River to the north, the Yangtze River to the south, the Hanshui River to the west, and the sea to the east. Like the three legs of a bronze vessel, the three armies supported each other as they pressed the KMT line of defense on the banks of the Yangtze and directly threatened Nanjing and Wuhan.

Other PLA units still fighting on the interior lines also intensified their military operations and gradually shifted to strategic offensives and counter-offensives. In the same year, the Northeast Democratic United Army led by Lin Biao and Luo Ronghuan launched autumn and winter offensives which pinned KMT forces down in Shenyang, Changchun, and Jinzhou, three unconnected cities that covered a mere 3 percent of the total area of northeast China. These campaigns completely reversed the military situation in northeast China.

On April 21, 1948, the Northwest Field Army retook Yan'an. Earlier on March 23, Mao Zedong led a portion of CPC central officials and PLA Headquarters staff members eastward across the Yellow River and established a base at Xibaipo Village in Jianping County (now part of Pingshan County), Hebei Province.

The PLA's switch to a nationwide offensive was an event of major historic significance. Mao Zedong said at the time, "This is a turning point in history. It is the turning point from growth to extinction for Chiang Kai-shek's twenty-year counter-revolutionary rule. It is the

turning point from growth to extinction for imperialist rule in China, now over a hundred years old. This is a momentous event...and, having occurred, it will certainly culminate in victory throughout the country."

Reform of the Land System and Party Consolidation

The PLA's pivot to a strategic offensive created a new situation which necessitated an intensive land reform throughout the Liberated Areas. As Mao Zedong put it, "If we can solve the land problem universally and completely, we shall have obtained the most fundamental condition for the defeat of all our enemies."

Between May 4, 1946, when the CPC Central Committee issued the Directive on the Land Question, known as the May 4th Directive, to the second half of 1947, two-thirds of the land in Liberated Areas was transferred to the tillers. However, reform in the other third remained to be implemented, and in some places where it had been implemented, it was not thorough. From July to September 1947, the National Land Conference was convened under the chairmanship of Liu Shaoqi at Xibaipo Village to facilitate further advances in land reform. In October, the Outline Land Law formulated by the Conference was approved and promulgated by the CPC Central Committee.

The Outline Land Law of China presented a thoroughly revolutionary program. It stipulated, "The land system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation shall be abolished, and the system of land to the tillers shall be put into effect." After publication of the Outline, leading organs at all levels in the Liberated Areas sent large numbers of land reform work teams to villages to mobilize the masses. The people were urged to organize poor peasant leagues and peasant associations, denounce landlords, distribute their land, and punish local tyrants. Land reform was very quickly in full swing.

The land reform represented a great social transformation in which



- Farmers in liberated areas mark the boundaries of their newly distributed land.

the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, uprooted the feudal system from the land of China. It further demonstrated to the peasants, the vast majority of China's population, that the CPC was a staunch defender of their interests. As a result, they voluntarily rallied around the Party, thus creating the deepest possible well of public support for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and the establishment of a new China.

In conjunction with the land reform, Party consolidation was carried out in each of the Liberated Areas in an attempt to eliminate impurities in ideology, style of work, and class composition in local Party organizations, especially rural primary-level organizations. The basic tasks of the Party consolidation were to solve the important problems existing in primary-level Party units with "three check-ups" (checking on class origin, ideology, and style of work) and "three improvements" (organizational consolidation, ideological education, and rectification of

style of work). This was done by Party and non-Party members working together. Through Party consolidation, rural primary-level units made significant progress ideologically, politically, and organizationally, and ties between the Party and the people became closer, providing an important guarantee for the success of the land reform and the War of Liberation.

4. Formulating and Implementing the Program for Nationwide Victory and Consolidating and Expanding the People's Democratic United Front

The Program for Winning a Nationwide Victory and Attendant Policies and Strategies

In September 1947, as the People's Liberation Army shifted to a strategic offensive, the CPC sent out the call to "launch massive counter-offensives nationwide and overthrow Chiang Kai-shek." In October, the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army issued a manifesto containing the resounding slogan "overthrow Chiang Kai-shek, liberate all China!"

In December 1947, the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting at Yangjiagou, Mizhi County, northern Shaanxi (known as the December Meeting). Mao Zedong presented his report *The Present Situation and Our Tasks*.

This report elaborated the fundamental political program of the CPC: "Unite workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, and businessmen, all oppressed classes, all people's organizations, democratic parties, ethnic groups, overseas Chinese, and other patriots; form a national united front; overthrow the dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek government; and establish a democratic coalition government." The report also stated,

"Confiscate the land of the feudal class and turn it over to the peasants; confiscate monopoly capital, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, H.H. Kung, and Chen Lifu, and turn it over to the new-democratic state; protect the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie. These are the three major economic policies of the new-democratic revolution." It also concluded the methods that the PLA had been using and highlighted ten major principles of operation, all of which centered around the basic principle of "concentrating a superior force in every engagement and destroying the enemy forces one by one." According to the report, these strategies and tactics were based on the people's war and therefore could not be used or dealt with by any anti-people army. This shows the Party's confidence in the future of victory.

Mao Zedong's report was "a programmatic document in the political, military, and economic fields for the entire period of the overthrow of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek ruling clique and of the founding of a new-democratic China."

In the period following the December meeting, the CPC Central Committee concentrated on developing practical policies and tactics appropriate for the new situation. There were reasons why this was necessary. As the PLA's triumphant advance progressed, new areas were liberated, including many cities. The Party still lacked experience in adapting to new and unfamiliar situations and doing a good job in these new areas and cities. In the actual work, the bias of infringing on the interests of the middle peasants and the interests of the national industry and commerce had appeared, and even the wrong slogan of "do whatever the people want" had been raised in general. In response to the above situation, Mao Zedong seriously warned the Party: "The enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation is not tantamount to our victory. If we make mistakes in policy, we shall still be unable to win victory." Mao emphasized, "Policy and tactics are the life of the Party;

leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent.”

During its study of the experience of taking over administration in cities, the CPC Central Committee published a report by its Working Committee entitled *Experience in Urban Work after the Recapture of Shijiazhuang* in February 1948. It approved and issued the Northeast Bureau's Directive on Protecting Newly Recaptured Cities in June. It approved and distributed Chen Yun's report on *Experience Gained in Taking over Shenyang* in December. Thanks to the series of correct policies adopted by the Party, public order in newly liberated cities was stabilized quickly, and production resumed and began growing again, which contributed greatly to the people's War of Liberation.

To ensure rigorous application of the Party's line, principles, and policies for all fields of work, Mao Zedong repeatedly urged all Party members to uphold the Party's centralized, unified leadership, increase their sense of organization and discipline, and make swift moves to do away with the indiscipline, anarchy, localism, and practice of operating independently that had grown up during the long years of guerrilla warfare when various army units had been separated from each other by the enemy. The Party Central Committee required that all local Party organizations strictly enforce its policies and that they establish a regular system of asking the Central Committee for instructions and submitting reports to it at stated intervals. At the same time, they were to increase intraparty democracy and strengthen the Party committee system.

At that time, the Party already reached the historical turning point of seizing the comprehensive victory of the new-democratic revolution. The history of the Party proves that when a major turn in history comes, new situations and new problems must be carefully studied with foresight, and correct countermeasures must be formulated and effective measures taken in a timely manner. The Party formulated various realistic policies

at this historical moment and made a lot of efforts to strengthen its members' awareness of policy. This enabled the Party to maintain a high degree of unity on the basis of correct lines and policies and carry out its work in an orderly manner. All this provided the preconditions for nationwide victory in the revolution.

Fresh Development of the CPC-Led Patriotic and Democratic Movement and the Historic Choice of Democratic Parties

As the War of Liberation advanced toward victory, the popular movement in KMT areas began to gather momentum. The student masses increasingly pinned their hopes on victory in the War of Liberation. Accordingly, they dropped the slogan of "oppose civil war" and instead called on people to "oppose persecution." In October 1947, the chairman of Zhejiang University Autonomous Student Association, Yu Zisan, was arrested and tortured to death in jail. On learning of this atrocity, more than 100,000 students demonstrated in 12 cities, including Hangzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Beiping. They waged a struggle against persecution, illegal arrests, secret police, and killing of young people. In April 1948, students in north China escalated their protests against the KMT authorities' suppression of the North China Students' Association. Afterwards, they joined hands with teachers and other school staff in Beiping and Tianjin to demand better material benefits. As the movement grew, it became known as the "April Storm." Between May and June, another nationwide patriotic movement was launched to oppose US support for the Japanese militarists. The reactionary rule of the KMT fell into complete isolation.

The democratic parties and the democratic figures without party affiliations were increasingly inclined to support the people's revolution. Some of them used to advocate the "middle road" of bourgeois democracy in China, also known as the "third road." But with the

victorious development of the War of Liberation, the intensification of the persecution of the patriotic democratic persons by the KMT authorities, and the intensification of the communication and education work carried out by the CPC, the political ideas of the “middle road” that had once influenced some democratic persons and the middle class rapidly went bankrupt.

In the duel between China’s two paths, two futures and two destinies, the original middle forces became divided. In resisting the bogus National Assembly¹ and opposing the bogus constitution, the Democratic League and other democratic parties and most of the independent democrats firmly took the side of the CPC. They played an active role in the struggle against the dictatorial rule and civil war policies of the KMT. They cooperated with the CPC in their struggle and made continuous progress in their struggle and practice. All this was the primary feature of the democratic parties in this period. This made the Chinese democratic parties an essential part of the revolutionary united front under the leadership of the CPC.

The democratic parties included: the KMT Revolutionary Committee, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants’ and Workers’ Democratic Party, the China Zhi Gong Dang, the Jiu San Society, and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. All advocated patriotism and democracy and opposed national betrayal and dictatorship. Their ideas were basically compatible with the program of the CPC at the stage of new-democratic revolution. The CPC thus made proactive attempts to win over and unite with the democratic parties, an endeavor which yielded impressive

¹ A reference to the “National Assembly” solely organized by the KMT in November 1946. The “National Congress” adopted the so-called “Constitution of the Republic of China,” which upheld Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorial rule.

results. This also helped the leftists in the democratic parties and strengthened their position in politics.

The democratic parties and democratic persons actively drew closer to the CPC, causing the KMT authorities to feel alarmed and desperate, and to intensify their persecution of the democratic parties and democratic figures without party affiliations. Following Li Gongpu and Wen Yiduo, another well-known democrat, Du Bincheng, was assassinated in Xi'an. Many members of local branches of the China Democratic League were arrested or kidnapped, and the offices of its several newspapers were demolished or raided. In May 1947, the KMT authorities publicly smeared the China Democratic League and the Association for Promoting Democracy and claimed they were "taking orders from the CPC and willing to serve as tools in their next riot." In October, the KMT authorities declared the China Democratic League an "illegal organization." On November 6, the China Democratic League headquarters in Shanghai was forced to announce the dissolution of the party.

In January 1948, Shen Junru and other leaders of the China Democratic League convened the Third Plenary Session of the First Central Committee and restored the headquarters in Hong Kong. At the meeting, he stated that the China Democratic League would commit to cooperation with the CPC. Around the same time, the KMT Revolutionary Committee publicly acknowledged the leadership of the CPC, and other democratic parties expressed their commitment to the new-democratic revolution.

The Beginning of Multiparty Cooperation under the Leadership of the CPC

On April 30, 1948, the CPC Central Committee made an appeal to mark International Labor Day, known as the "May Day Slogans."

It proposed that "All democratic parties, people's organizations, and prestigious personages should work to convene a political consultative conference to discuss the holding of a people's congress and establish a democratic coalition government." This call won an enthusiastic endorsement from the democratic parties, figures without party affiliations and individuals from all sectors of society. It indicated the open and conscious acceptance of the leadership of the CPC by democratic parties and figures without party affiliations, marked the prologue of the CPC's consultation with all other parties, organizations and people of all ethnic groups and from all walks of life to build the country, and laid the foundation of the multiparty cooperation and political consultation system under the leadership of the CPC.

In January 1949, 55 leaders of democratic parties and prominent unaffiliated democrats, including Li Jishen and Shen Junru, issued a joint statement on China's political situation, voicing their support for the CPC's proposal to convene a political consultative conference and to form a coalition government, as the proposal corresponded with the demands of the people. Their statement also declared that they were "willing to contribute to, and cooperate in, planning major undertakings under the leadership of the CPC, in the expectation of promoting the rapid success of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and the founding of an independent, free, peaceful, and happy new China at an early date." The statement showed that the democratic parties and non-party democrats were ready to accept the CPC's leadership, to resolutely take up the cause of the people's revolution, and to support the establishment of a new democratic China.

In the spring of 1949, while talking with some democrats, Mao Zedong pointed out that democratic parties should "actively participate in the administration of state affairs and jointly build a new China." This indicated a fundamental change in the status of the democratic parties—

they were no longer opposition parties under the KMT regime but would shoulder the historic task of building and managing a new China under the leadership of the CPC. It was on this basis that the system of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the CPC began to take shape.

5. The Decisive Battles and the Downfall of the Reactionary KMT Regime

The Three Great Campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai, and Beiping-Tianjin

In the autumn of 1948, the War of Liberation entered the decisive phase of the people's forces winning nationwide victory.

By this point, the People's Liberation Army had expanded to a total of 2.8 million men, including the 1.49 million in its field armies, compared to 1.27 million at the beginning of the war. It had now established powerful artillery and engineering corps, which made it possible for it to attack the strongly fortified positions of the enemy and to gain experience in positional warfare.

In contrast, the KMT troops had decreased from 4.3 million men at the start of the war to 3.65 million, with only 1.74 million available to be deployed on the front lines. Moreover, morale was low and troops were lacking in combat effectiveness. Under these circumstances, they were forced to abandon their strategy of "total defense" and adopt one of "defending key sectors." The KMT army units had been cut off from each other by the PLA and were operating separately in northwest China, the Central Plains, east China, north China, and northeast China, without proper coordination. They had already lost the advantage of a continuous battlefield. The CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong made a prompt decision to organize three major campaigns in succession—the

Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huai-Hai campaign and the Beiping-Tianjin campaign.

According to the plan of Mao Zedong and the Central Military Commission, the choice was made to start a strategic decisive battle in the Northeast.

On September 12, 1948, 1.03 million men from the main force of the Northeast Field Army and the regional armed forces under the command of Lin Biao and Luo Ronghuan began an attack on 550,000 KMT troops that had been isolated in areas including Jinzhou, Changchun, and Shenyang. This assault is known as the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign. Beginning with Jinzhou, they hemmed in the KMT army in northeast China. On October 14, the Northeast Field Army launched its final assault on Jinzhou. In 31 hours of intense fighting, it succeeded in eliminating nearly 90,000 enemy troops.

The liberation of Jinzhou impelled a portion of KMT troops defending Changchun to revolt. The remainder surrendered, as their



• PLA troops charge at the city walls of Jinzhou during the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign.

retreat route out of northeast China was cut off. After occupying Jinzhou, the Northeast Field Army immediately encircled and wiped out the KMT troops under Liao Yaoxiang, which had been sent from Shenyang to reinforce Jinzhou. The Northeast Field Army followed this up with further victories and the liberation of Shenyang and Yingkou on November 2. The whole of northeast China was thus liberated.

Immediately following the conclusion of the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huai-Hai campaign was launched by 600,000 men from the East China Field Army and the Central Plains Field Army, together with the regional armed forces of east China and the Central Plains. Unprecedented in scope, this campaign was centered around Xuzhou, and extended as far east as Haizhou, as far west as Shangqiu, north to Lincheng (now Xuecheng), and south to the Huai River. On November 16, 1948, the CPC Central Committee decided to organize a General Front Committee consisting of Liu Bocheng, Chen Yi, Deng Xiaoping, Su Yu, and Tan Zhenlin, with Deng Xiaoping as secretary. The Committee



- The PLA triumphantly marches forward, as captured KMT troops are escorted from the battlefield during the Huai-Hai campaign.

was to assume unified leadership of the East China Field Army and the Central Plains Field Army. The KMT had the upper hand in terms of troop strength and weaponry throughout. Under these circumstances, the PLA's tactics were to repeatedly divide enemy troops, amass a superior force, and eliminate the enemy one by one.

From November 6 to 22, 1948, the PLA wiped out Huang Boto's army of 100,000 men east of Xuzhou, effecting a breakthrough in the center of the line. From November 23 to December 15, the PLA in Suxian eliminated the 120,000 men of Huang Wei's army, a solitary force which had marched all the way from southern Henan to the Huai-Hai area to provide reinforcement. Nearly 300,000 men from the armies of Qiu Qingquan, Li Mi, and Sun Yuanliang under Du Yuming were besieged near Chenguanzhuang. Sun Yuanliang's entire army was later eliminated while attempting to break the encirclement. From December 16, 1948, to January 10, 1949, the PLA completely annihilated the 10 armies led by Li Mi and Qiu Qingquan and captured Du Yuming. This marked the successful end of the Huai-Hai campaign.

The KMT's crack troops along the southern front were destroyed. The area north of the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze were liberated and linked to the North China Liberated Area. The KMT capital of Nanjing now lay directly exposed to PLA forces, and the reactionary KMT regime was disintegrating.

With the successful conclusion of the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign and victory on the horizon in the Huai-Hai campaign, one million men from the Northeast Field Army and the 2nd and 3rd armies of the North China Military Command, together with local forces in north China and northeast China, joined up to launch the Beiping-Tianjin campaign.

From November 1948, the main force of the Northeast Field Army, acting in accordance with the CPC Central Committee's plan, covertly moved south of the Great Wall. There they joined forces with the 2nd

and 3rd armies of the North China Military Command. Applying the tactics of encircling enemy troops without attacking them and separating enemy troops from each other without encircling them, the combined force completed a strategic encirclement of troops at Beiping, Tianjin, and Zhangjiakou and separated them from each other. After that, the PLA launched a general assault, first attacking the two flanks before capturing the center. By late December, the PLA troops had taken Xinbao'an and Zhangjiakou.

On January 10, 1949, the CPC Central Committee decided to form a Front General Committee for the Beiping-Tianjin Campaign under Lin Biao, Luo Ronghuan, and Nie Rongzhen, with Lin Biao as secretary. On January 14, when the enemy troops defending Tianjin refused to surrender, the PLA deployed a powerful military force in a general



- PLA troops enter Beiping after its peaceful liberation.

offensive against the city. After 29 hours of intense fighting, Tianjin fell and all 130,000 enemy troops were eliminated. Seeing the hopelessness of the tight encirclement around them, the 200,000 troops defending Beiping under Fu Zuoyi's command threw down their weapons. The peaceful liberation of Beiping was proclaimed on January 31.

In terms of their scope and achievements, the three great campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai, and Beiping-Tianjin were unprecedented in Chinese military history and unusual even in world military history. These campaigns led to the defeat of more than 1.54 million KMT troops. They essentially destroyed the military strength that had propped up the reactionary KMT regime, and provided a firm foundation for nationwide victory in the Chinese revolution.

The victory of the three campaigns was a victory of Mao Zedong's military thinking. In these campaigns, Mao Zedong and the Central



- Civilians push a convoy of supplies along the front in the Shandong Liberated Area during the War of Liberation.

Military Commission formulated different operational guidelines for the different characteristics of the three battlefields in northeast, east and north China, and comprehensively applied the ten major principles of operation. They closely integrated the elimination of the enemy's effective strength with the seizure of cities and localities, closely integrated the concentration of superior forces with the total elimination of the enemy's powerful corps, closely integrated large-scale mobile warfare, position warfare and urban assault warfare, and integrated military strikes with political struggle. This is a development of Mao Zedong's military thinking in practice.

The success of the three campaigns was a victory for the people's war. The people of the liberated areas showed incomparable enthusiasm and ceaselessly provided enormous amounts of human and material support for the frontline. To ensure the needs of the vast army at the front, people transported supplies on their shoulders or in pushcarts. According to statistics, no less than 5.43 million laborers were mobilized to support the Huai-Hai Campaign. They delivered 7,300 tons of ammunition and 480,000 tons of grain and other goods to the front line. Chen Yi once gratefully remarked that victory of the Huai-Hai campaign was delivered in pushcarts by the people.

Carrying the Revolution through to the End

Faced with military defeat on the battlefield, Chiang Kai-shek's group engaged in a "delaying tactic" in order to gain some breathing time. Chiang Kai-shek had failed in his attempt to secure more support from the United States, and his request to the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union to "mediate" in the Chinese civil war was refused. As a result of these internal and external pressures, Chiang was finally forced to issue a statement suing for peace on New Year's Day, 1949. On January 21, Chiang Kai-shek announced that he would resign

from the position of president and that vice president Li Zongren would serve as acting president. Although he expressed a willingness to enter peace talks based on the CPC's terms, Li was in reality playing for time to build up the defense lines along the Yangtze River in preparation for his scheme of dividing the country in two at the river.

Should the revolution be carried through to the end or should it be abandoned halfway? On December 30, 1948, Mao Zedong issued a New Year's message through Xinhua News Agency that contained the great call to carry the revolution through to the end. He stressed that, "We must use the revolutionary method to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely; we must unswervingly persist in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must overthrow the reactionary rule of the KMT on a country-wide scale and set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body." He noted that China would then move on toward socialism. According to him, with regard to this issue, what the people who were willing to participate in the current revolution needed was unanimity and cooperation, not the setting up of any "opposition faction" or the pursuit of any "middle road."

On January 14, 1949, Mao Zedong issued a statement indicating the Party's willingness to negotiate. To hasten the end of the war, bring about genuine peace, and alleviate the people's suffering, the CPC was willing to hold peace negotiations with the reactionary Nanjing KMT government or with any local governments or military groups of the KMT. These negotiations would be held on the basis of eight terms, including that war criminals were to be punished, that the bogus constitution and the bogus "constituted authority" be abolished and that all reactionary troops were to be reorganized on democratic principles.

Although the Chinese Communists had no illusions about Chiang

Kai-shek's fake "peace talks," they made a serious effort to achieve domestic peace. On April 1, the CPC sent a delegation headed by Zhou Enlai to Beiping for peace negotiations with the KMT representatives headed by Zhang Zhizhong. On April 15, following repeated exchanges of views and consultations, the CPC representatives presented a final amended version of the Agreement on Internal Peace, and requested a response from the KMT government by April 20. The negotiations broke down when the KMT government refused to sign the agreement.

On April 21, Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De issued an order to the army for a countrywide advance. Between the night of April 20 and April 21, the 2nd and 3rd field armies, which were under the command of the General Front Committee of the Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign, of which Deng Xiaoping was secretary, began the crossing south with support from the advance corps of the 4th Field Army and the Central Plains Military Command. The battle line stretched for more than 500 kilometers, from Hukou in the west to Jiangyin in the east. One million troops divided into three columns fought their way across the river on boats. The KMT defense line along the Yangtze, which had been painstakingly built up over a period of three and a half months, collapsed almost immediately.

The victory of the Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign was achieved by the people with their small boats. On the banks of the Yangtze River, wooden sailing boats and fishing boats were the means of production and the lifeblood of the people, but they supported the Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign in droves. By the time the campaign was launched, the PLA had requisitioned more than 20,000 boats of all kinds. In addition, boatmen also created wooden rafts that were more than 4 meters wide and over 10 meters long, which were turned into gunboats powered by car engines and equipped with heavy and light weapons on cotton tires.

On April 23, the PLA captured Nanjing, the KMT capital, declaring an end to the reactionary KMT regime that had lasted for 22 years. After learning about the capture in Shuangqing Villa on Fragrant Hill in Beiping, Mao Zedong wrote the poem "The People's Liberation Army Captured Nanjing" in April 1949. In the poem, he used the lines "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe / And not ape Xiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame" to express his resolve to carrying the revolution through to the end. He also wrote the lines "Were Nature sentient, she too would pass from youth to age / But Man's world is mutable, seas become mulberry fields" to reveal the objective law governing the progress of human society.

The PLA captured Shanghai on May 27. After the liberation of Shanghai, the PLA touched the whole city by staying away from civilian houses and sleeping on the streets in order not to disturb the residents of Shanghai. Before and after that, the PLA continued their victorious advance along separate routes to the provinces in south-central, northwest, and southwest China. It put most of the remaining enemy forces out of action by either peaceful or military means. The vast territory of the country was liberated, and Chiang Kai-shek's KMT clique was driven from the mainland.

On the eve of the liberation of Chongqing, many Communists who were imprisoned in Zhazi Cave and White Residence were brutally killed by the KMT reactionaries. Jiang Zhujun, a communist, was tortured by the KMT spies, but she remained steadfast and refused to reveal any Party secrets, and was affectionately called "Sister Jiang." In the face of severe torture by the enemy, she firmly said, "Bamboo sticks are made of bamboo, and the will of a communist is steel." At the time when the People's Republic of China (PRC) had been established and Chongqing was about to be liberated, Sister Jiang died a heroic death at the age of 29. Many revolutionary martyrs, such as Sister Jiang, withstood all kinds of

torture, were indomitable, and gave their lives for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. Their deeds gave rise to the "Red Rock Spirit."

6. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC and Preparation for the Establishment of the New China

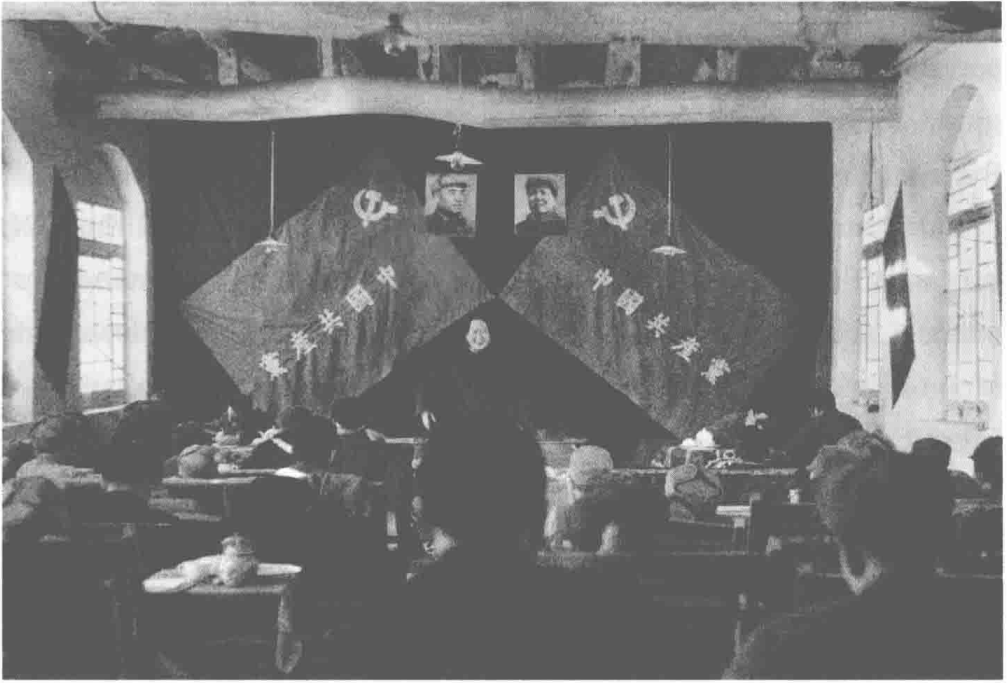
Drawing a Blueprint for the New China

As it was now inevitable that the CPC would lead the people's revolution to nationwide victory, the task of building a new China moved onto the agenda.

In September 1948, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee called an enlarged meeting, at which Mao Zedong expounded the state system and the form of government of the new China which was about to be established, that is, the class nature and the organizational structure of state power. The fundamental principles for developing a new-democratic economy were also put forward at the meeting.

In March 1949, the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee was held at Xibaipo Village in Pingshan County, Hebei Province. At the meeting, the basic political, economic, and foreign policies the Party would adopt after achieving nationwide victory in the revolution were defined, and the development orientation of transforming China from an agricultural country into an industrial one and from a new-democratic society into a socialist one was pointed out.

The plenary session also discussed a shift in the focus of the Party's work from the rural areas to the cities, stating that the period of encircling the cities from the countryside was over, and from now on, a new period of the countryside being led by the cities would begin.



• The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee.

Mao Zedong warned the entire Party that winning countrywide victory was only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. The Chinese revolution was great, but the road after the revolution would be longer, and the work greater and more arduous. Thus, Mao Zedong put forward the “two musts”: “Comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. Comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.” Drawing lessons from the elimination of social disorder in history, the “two musts” summarizes the Party’s long and bitter struggle, responds to concerns on forever preserving the advanced and pure nature of the Party after its victory and realizing the long-term stability of the country under the people’s regime soon to come into being, and demonstrated a deep understanding of the Party’s fundamental purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people. The idea of “two musts” always inspires the Party to maintain the glorious tradition of hard work,

maintain flesh and blood ties with the people, and maintain its advanced and pure nature. Mao Zedong also pointed out that it was necessary to guard against attacks by the “sugar-coated bullets” of the bourgeoisie in the face of victory.

On the morning of March 23, 1949, Mao Zedong led the CPC central officials out of Xibaipo Village, the last rural command post of the Chinese revolution, to set out for Beiping. On their departure, Mao remarked to Zhou Enlai, “today is the day we enter the capital to ‘sit our examination.’” “All of us should pass; we will have no need to return,” Zhou replied. Mao continued, “We will have failed if we return. We must certainly not become Li Zicheng.¹ Let us all hope we achieve good results.” On March 25, Mao Zedong and the other leaders of the CPC Central Committee entered Beiping, along with the bodies of the CPC Central Committee and the Headquarters of the PLA. The arrival of the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong at Fragrant Hill in Beiping marked the shift of the focus of the Chinese revolution from the countryside to the city. The hill became the general headquarters that led the War of Liberation to national victory and the new-democratic revolution to a triumph.

In order to explain to the Chinese people the CPC’s proposal for building a new China, Mao Zedong published an article entitled *On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship* on June 30. He wrote, “The people’s democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. And it is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants. To carry out the Chinese people’s revolution and develop China’s economy also requires uniting with national bourgeoisie, though it cannot be the leader of the revolution, nor should it have the chief role

¹ Li Zicheng (1606–1645) was a Chinese rebel leader who overthrew the Ming dynasty in 1644 and ruled over northern China as the emperor of the short-lived Shun dynasty.

in state power.”

The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong’s article, *On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship*, laid the foundation for founding the People’s Republic of China both theoretically and politically.

In the process of building a new China, the CPC Central Committee also gave careful consideration and made decisions with regard to the structure of the state and the relations between the ethnic groups of the new China. It believed that a unitary state system was more suitable for China given its national conditions, and that implementing the system of regional ethnic autonomy in a united country would be more conducive to realizing national equality.

The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference and the Common Program

Preparations for the founding of the new China were made at the New Political Consultative Conference (Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, CPPCC).

In June 1949, the First Session of the Preparatory Meeting for the New Political Consultative Conference was convened in Beijing, and a standing committee headed by Mao Zedong was established. This committee was charged with drafting the Common Program and working out a government structure. This was the beginning of the comprehensive preparatory work for founding the People’s Republic of China.

In September 1949, the First Plenary Session of the CPPCC was inaugurated in Beijing. The convening of the session marked the historic victory of the Chinese people’s movement for national independence and people’s liberation for more than 100 years, the complete organizational formation of the patriotic united front and the great unity of the Chinese

people, and the formal establishment of the multiparty cooperation and political consultation system under the leadership of the CPC. In his opening address, Mao Zedong proudly proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China: "We are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up." He also predicted that, "An upsurge in economic development is bound to be followed by an upsurge of development in the cultural sphere. The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilized is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture."

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was an organ of the people's democratic united front, based on the alliance of



- Deputies vote on a resolution at the First Plenary Session of the CPPCC.

workers and peasants and led by the Communist Party. It consisted of representatives of the CPC, the democratic parties, public figures without party affiliation, various people's organizations, the People's Liberation Army, all the localities and ethnic groups, and Chinese living overseas. The conference adopted its Organic Law and elected the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Mao Zedong was elected its chairman on October 9.

The conference also approved the Common Program. This Common Program became a major charter for the Chinese people, and served as a provisional constitution for a time.

The conference also adopted the Organic Law of the Central People's Government. It unanimously elected Mao Zedong chairman of the Central People's Government and elected Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Soong Ching Ling, Li Jishen, Zhang Lan and Gao Gang vice-chairmen. In addition, 56 other persons, including Chen Yi, were elected members of the Central People's Government Council.

The conference approved Beijing as the capital of the People's Republic of China and changed the city's name back to Beijing. The Gregorian calendar was adopted, the *March of the Volunteers* composed by Nie Er was made the national anthem, and a national flag with five stars on a field of red was chosen to symbolize the great unity of the people of the whole country under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Important Reasons for and the Basic Lessons of Victory in the New-Democratic Revolution

With the collapse of the reactionary rule of the KMT and the founding of the People's Republic of China, a basic victory was achieved in China's new-democratic revolution.

The Chinese revolution did not come about and succeed by accident. It was profound social problems that touched off the revolution, and

a solid mass basis provided the condition for its expansion. The cruel oppression and exploitation of the Chinese people by imperialists and feudalists prompted the Chinese people to take the historical path of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. The KMT ruling clique led by Chiang Kai-shek relied on the support of imperialism externally and placed itself in opposition to the Chinese people internally with the feudal landlord class and the bureaucrat comprador bourgeoisie as the pillars of society. After the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, Chiang Kai-shek's clique adhered to its dictatorial rule and civil war policy, pushing all classes of people throughout the country to starvation and death and forcing them to rise up in solidarity to save themselves.

The resistance struggle of the Chinese people had been very heroic, but only under the leadership of the CPC did they completely escape the doom of defeat and move from victory to a new victory. Since its birth, the CPC has made it its founding aspiration and mission to work for the happiness of the Chinese people and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The aspiration and mission are the fundamental motivation for the Chinese Communists to keep moving forward. The CPC has shown the Chinese people the goal of their struggle, found the way to bring the revolution to victory through the practice of long-term struggle, and united and coalesced the Chinese people, who were regarded as a "scattered group," into an invincible force of unity. "Without the Communist Party, there would be no new China," which is a scientific conclusion drawn by the Chinese people based on the historical experience of the modern Chinese revolution, and is a great truth confirmed by their own personal experience.

In order to realize its founding aspiration and mission, and to realize the ideals and propositions it has always held, the CPC made unremitting struggles and great self-sacrifices. During the 28 years from the founding

of the Party in 1921 to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, countless outstanding CPC soldiers had sacrificed their lives for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. Many outstanding leaders of the Party, such as Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Deng Zhongxia, Su Zhaozheng, Peng Pai, Chen Yannian, Yun Daiying, Zhao Shiyan, and Zhang Tailei, and many outstanding generals, such as Fang Zhimin, Liu Zhidan, Huang Gonglue, Xu Jishen, Wei Baqun, Zhao Bosheng, Dong Zhentang, Duan Dechang, Yang Jingyu, Zuo Quan, and Ye Ting, bravely sacrificed their lives in these great struggles. The victory of China's new-democratic revolution was the result of the sacrifices and struggle of millions of martyrs, all Party members and other Chinese people over a long period of time.

China's embarkation on the socialist road is the final result of long-term social and historical development and people's practice. For a long period of time, China was faced with three alternative options for national reconstruction: the first program was represented first by the Northern Warlords and then by the ruling clique of the KMT. They advocated the dictatorship of the landlord and comprador classes, so that Chinese society would continue to follow the semi-colonial and semi-feudal path. The second program was represented by certain middle-of-the-roaders. They advocated the establishment of a bourgeois republic, which would put Chinese society on the path of independent development of capitalism. The third program was represented by the Communist Party, which advocated the establishment of a People's Republic led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, which would lead to socialism through new democracy. These three programs were repeatedly tested in the practice of the Chinese people. Only the third option finally won the support of the overwhelming of the Chinese people, including the national bourgeoisie and its political representatives. This shows the historical necessity that

“only socialism can save China.”

In the process of leading the people's revolution, the CPC accumulated abundant experience and forged effective weapons to defeat the enemy. Mao Zedong pointed out, “The united front, armed struggle, and Party building are the CPC's three ‘magic weapons,’ its three principal magic weapons for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution.”

A fundamental lesson that has enabled the CPC to lead the revolution to victory is that it must remain committed to integrating the basic principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of China and constantly adapt Marxism to the Chinese context. The formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought enabled Marxism to take deep roots in the Chinese soil. Once this Marxism adapted to the Chinese context was accepted by the Chinese people, it was transformed into a great material force for the revolutionary transformation of Chinese society. The history of the Chinese revolution fully proves that it is entirely correct for history and the people to choose Marxism, it is entirely correct for the CPC to make Marxism its banner, and it is entirely correct to integrate the basic principles of Marxism with the specific reality of China and to continuously adapt Marxism to the Chinese context.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution completely changed the tragic fate of China, which had been poor and weak and bullied for more than 100 years since modern times, and set the Chinese nation on a magnificent road to rejuvenation.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution fundamentally changed the direction of development of Chinese society, cleared the main obstacles and created the political prerequisites for the transformation from new democracy to socialism, the establishment of a socialist system, and socialist modernization; it opened up a broad

road to national prosperity, people's happiness and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The Chinese people, who had been oppressed and enslaved for thousands of years, began to run their new country and new society.

Chapter V

The Founding of the People's Republic of China and the Establishment of the Socialist System

On the afternoon of October 1, 1949, 300,000 civilians and members of the military gathered in Beijing's Tian'anmen Square, where a grand ceremony was held for the founding of the country. Chairman Mao Zedong solemnly proclaimed to the world, "The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is founded today." Fifty-four guns fired a salute of 28 rounds, symbolizing the 28-year-long struggle that the Party had led the people through. The founding of the People's Republic of China opened a new chapter in Chinese history. The CPC, which had mobilized the people and led them to victory in the revolution, assumed power over the entire country, and embarked on a new journey of leading the people toward a better life. The Party also entered a new chapter in its history.

October 1 henceforth became the national day of the People's Republic of China.

1. The Founding of the People's Republic of China and the Consolidation of the Nascent Reign of the People

Tests Facing the Newly-Born Republic

Before the founding ceremony, Mao Zedong presided over the

First Session of the Central People's Government Council. The session unanimously adopted the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the administrative program and appointed Zhou Enlai as Premier of the Government Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mao Zedong as chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission, and Zhu De as Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army. Meanwhile, those appointed to head the Central People's Government and the Government Administration Council consisted of outstanding representatives, prominent persons, and experts selected from amongst the CPC and other political parties, overseas Chinese, and other patriotic democrats,



- Mao Zedong proclaims “the Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China is founded today” at the founding ceremony of the PRC at 3:00 p.m. on October 1, 1949 in the Tian’anmen Square, Beijing.

fully reflecting the policy of nation building through multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the CPC as well as the qualities of people's democratic governance.

The founding of the People's Republic of China put an end to the semi-feudal and semi-colonial state of the old China, the state of total disunity that existed in Chinese society at the time, the unequal treaties that were imposed on China by foreign powers, and to all privileges that imperialist countries enjoyed in China. This brought about a great leap whereby China transformed itself from a millennia-old feudal autocracy to a people's democracy, and united the country and all of its ethnic groups as never before. The Chinese people stood up and became masters of the country, of society, and of their own destiny. This marked the beginning of a new epoch in the development and progress of the Chinese nation.

The founding of the People's Republic of China was a great victory of global significance. It broke through the Eastern imperialist front, transformed the global political landscape, and bolstered the forces of world peace, democracy, and socialism, exerting a profound impact on world history.

The founding of the People's Republic of China represented the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, and victory of Mao Zedong Thought, which integrated the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This victory raised the popular credit of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought among the Chinese people. They were adopted as the guiding ideology for all the undertakings of the People's Republic, and enjoyed greater influence around the world.

The new China that the people had long been waiting for was finally founded. Inspired by this great victory, revolutionary fervor soared among the Chinese people of all ethnic groups, and a wave of renewal

swept the vast land of China. At the same time, however, the CPC and the Chinese people were confronted with serious tests and numerous pressing challenges.

In the military domain, the People's Liberation War had not yet come to a full conclusion. There were still more than one million KMT troops in south and southwest China and on coastal islands that were putting up stubborn resistance. Meanwhile, in the newly liberated areas, remnant forces left behind by the fleeing KMT ganged up with local despots and bandits, posing a serious threat to efforts to establish and stabilize a new social order.

In the economic domain, the new China inherited a nation that was in a desperate state of disarray, with shriveled production capacity and a destitute population. Long-term runaway inflation under the KMT government had resulted in skyrocketing prices and rampant speculation. The CPC and the people's government lacked the ability to check runaway inflation and stabilize the economic situation, which would grant it the economic and, by extension, political footholds it needed. At the time, this was a new and serious test that posed and even greater challenge than launching offensives and suppressing bandits in areas that had not yet been liberated.

In the international domain, the United States, which sought to dominate the globe, still refused to abandon its hostile stance toward the Chinese people after its policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek and opposing the CPC failed. It refused to recognize the PRC and did its utmost to prevent other countries from doing so, and obstructed the restoration of China's rightful seat in the United Nations, attempting to isolate and encircle the new China in political, economic, and military terms. The question of whether or not the CPC and the Chinese people could prevail against US imperialism represented yet another serious test.

The CPC was also confronted with new tests of its abilities as it took power nationwide. Facing arduous tasks in building up the country, the Party had to acquire new competencies in economic development and national governance as quickly as possible. Even more importantly, as it held state power and engaged in peaceful development, the Party needed to maintain its fine traditions and style of work so as to withstand the assault of corrosive bourgeois influences.

In brief, although new China had been founded, many still questioned whether the new people's regime could find its footing and the Party could function as an effective administrator. These were questions that would have to be answered through practice. Meanwhile, friends and foes around the world were watching and waiting.

Facing complex terrain and all manner of tests, the CPC adopted a series of prudent and proactive policies and measures. It led the Chinese people in confidently rising to the challenge, and began the great struggle of building a new China.

The Establishment of Local People's Political Power at All Levels

While the guns rang out at the ceremony for the founding of the PRC, the PLA continued to advance into south and southwest China, rooting out enemy remnants with thunderous force. By the end of 1949, the PLA had liberated southern Fujian, the majority Guangdong, and Guangxi, Guizhou, and Sichuan, and had peacefully liberated Yunnan and Xikang. In northwest China, after the peaceful liberation of Xinjiang was proclaimed, PLA troops there completed an impressive trek out to the distant borders. In May 1950, Hainan Island was liberated. By October of the same year, the PLA had wiped out a total of more than 1.28 million regular KMT troops after a year of fighting.

Tibet was the last region on the Chinese mainland to be liberated. Since the beginning of modern times, the Western imperialist countries

had always coveted Tibet, cultivating and supporting separatist forces. After the PRC was founded, a minority of separatists within Tibet's leading class attempted to separate Tibet from the Chinese mainland, instigated by imperialist forces. The CPC Central Committee set the policy of refusing to tolerate any attempts by foreign forces to divide Tibet, and carried out a struggle that closely combined military and political means against separatist forces within Tibet's leading class. In May 1951, the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (also known as the 17-Article Agreement) was signed by the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet. In October, the PLA moved into Lhasa and Tibet was peacefully liberated. This shattered the plot of imperialists and a small number of Tibetan separatists seeking "Tibetan independence," and achieved the reunification of China's mainland.

In the newly liberated areas, the PLA launched large-scale bandit suppression operations. By the first half of 1951, the PLA had wiped out more than one million bandits, and banditry on the mainland was basically eliminated. This effectively protected the people and their livelihoods, and stabilized society on the whole.

In conjunction with the victorious advance of the PLA, local people's governments were rapidly set up at all levels. By 1951, 29 provinces, one provincial-level ethnic autonomous region (Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), 8 provincial-level administrative offices, 13 people's governments of centrally-administered municipalities, 140 people's governments of provincially-administered municipalities, and 2,283 people's governments of counties had been established nationwide. This people's democracy, which was unprecedented in Chinese history, earned the sincere support of the people and effectively exercised its authority across China, laying solid political and organizational foundations for the Party to wield power over the entire country.

The Formulation and Implementation of the PRC's Foreign Policy

After the World War II, a bipolar world characterized by confrontation between two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, gradually took shape. Over time, friction between the two became intertwined with the antagonism between the imperialist camp and the side of peace and democracy, as well as between the capitalist and socialist systems. In view of this landscape, in the first half of 1949, Mao Zedong introduced the three fundamental foreign policy guidelines of "making a fresh start," "putting the house in order before inviting guests," and "leaning to one side." These meant that the new government would do the following: renounce all diplomatic relations established by the previous KMT government and cancel the special privileges of imperialist powers within China, establish new diplomatic relations with other countries only after clearing out remnant imperialist influences, and make clear that the PRC stood on the side of socialism, world peace, and democracy.

In line with the above policies, the PRC established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union immediately after its founding, and subsequently did the same with the 10 people's democratic republics of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, DPRK, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mongolia, East Germany, Albania, and Viet Nam. Between April 1950 and May 1951, China established diplomatic relations with the four independent Asian nations of India, Indonesia, Myanmar, and Pakistan, as well as the four capitalist European countries of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Finland. This was an important step for breaking the American policy of containment and isolation. In December 1949, Mao Zedong visited the Soviet Union. On February 14 the following year, China and the Soviet Union signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance and other agreements in Moscow. This was beneficial in that it

allowed the PRC to focus on domestic development, and enabled China and the Soviet Union to jointly counter potential imperialist aggression while pursuing and upholding world peace.

At the same time, the PRC also set about abolishing the unequal treaties signed between the old China and foreign countries, as well as cancelling the privileges of imperialists in China and eliminating their influence. The privileges enjoyed by imperialist powers, including land for military bases, navigation of inland waterways, and control of customs, inflicted the greatest harm on China's sovereignty, and also symbolized the old China's semi-colonial status. After the founding of the PRC, these privileges were withdrawn straightaway. In October 1949, the General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China was established. Between January and September 1950, the military control committees in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai announced in turn the confiscation or requisition of foreign barracks. In July 1950, the State Finance and Economic Commission issued directives on unifying management of shipping. All military and economic privileges foreign countries enjoyed on the Chinese mainland were canceled. Thus, the century of humiliation that began with the Opium War, during which foreign countries wantonly trampled on China's sovereignty and flaunted their strength with impunity across this vast nation, was finally brought to an end.

The Confiscation of Bureaucrat Capital, Price Stabilization, and Financial-Economic Unification

Bureaucrat capital constituted the economic foundation of the reactionary Kuomintang regime. It monopolized the economic lifelines of the nation and plundered the people's wealth, greatly hindering the development of productive forces. Confiscating bureaucrat capital and putting it under the ownership of the people's state was one of

the major economic programs in the new-democratic revolution. By early 1950, a total of 2,800 bureaucrat-capital industrial and mining enterprises and over 2,400 financial enterprises had been taken over. Building of this as the main foundation, a state-owned economy with socialist characteristics rapidly took shape. Once established, it became the leading socioeconomic force and the primary material basis for developing production and promoting economic prosperity in the new China, making important preparations in material terms for subsequent socialist transformation.

At the time that the Central People's Government was founded, the financial and economic situation was extremely precarious. Warped speculative capital left over from the old society continued to cause trouble in newly liberated cities as it aggravated inflation and disorder in the market. Some people even crowed that while the PLA could capture Shanghai, the Renminbi could not. Confronted with an extremely difficult financial and economic situation, the CPC meticulously led a major struggle to stabilize prices and integrate finance and economics.

In an effort to check the market disorder worsened by the manipulation of speculative capital, the CPC and the people's government took necessary administrative action and adopted effective economic measures, successfully organizing two large-scale campaigns against speculation: the "silver dollar" campaign was aimed at currency speculation, while the "rice and cotton" campaign was targeted at commodity speculation. In June 1949, the Shanghai Municipal Military Control Committee closed down the securities building, which served as the headquarters of financial speculation. After they were liberated, cities like Wuhan and Guangzhou also closed down underground banks in succession, dealing a heavy blow to speculators' illegal activities and guaranteeing the legal standing of the Renminbi. In response to prices that were again skyrocketing due to hoarding of grain, cotton

yarn, cotton cloth, and coal by speculators, the Central Financial and Economic Commission organized centralized distribution of relevant goods nationwide. On November 25, when prices were soaring most dramatically, Shanghai, Beijing and other big cities took united action to open up unrestricted sales of goods in large quantities, which resulted in a rapid drop in prices. Simultaneously, they tightened the money supply, causing scores of speculators to go bankrupt due to cash flow difficulties. These two campaigns dealt a knockout blow to unlawful capital speculation, and the state-owned economy was able to take the initiative in stabilizing the market.

To stabilize prices on the fundamental level, it was crucial to ensure balance between state revenue and expenditure and between supply and demand for goods on the market. To achieve this, the nation's financial and economic sphere needed to be subject to unified management and leadership. In March 1950, the Government Administration Council promulgated the Decision on Unifying State Financial and Economic Work, which aimed to unify national fiscal revenue, allocation of goods, and cash control. This resolution was swiftly implemented throughout the country, and soon yielded noticeable results. That year, state revenue and expenditure already approached equilibrium. With the implementation of measures such as reorganizing taxation and selling government bonds, prices settled further nationwide and became stable.

Stabilizing prices and unifying finance and economics represented a major victory on the fiscal and economic front after the founding of the PRC. It put an end to the runaway inflation and soaring prices that had brought untold suffering to the people for years in the period that the KMT was in power after the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, and created favorable conditions for ensuring the wellbeing of the people while resuming and growing industrial and agricultural production. Even the naysayers both at home and abroad who doubted

whether the Party could run the economy successfully could not help but praise this miraculous achievement. This proved that the CPC possessed not only military and political strength, but also economic prowess.

In June 1950, the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee was held to make overall plans for the Party's initiatives while the national economy was being restored. At the session, it was pointed out that a fundamental upturn in the financial and economic situation required a period of roughly three years, and depended on the following three conditions: the completion of agrarian reform, a reasonable readjustment of industry and commerce, and a massive reduction in the amount of funds needed by state organs. Mao Zedong delivered a speech entitled "Don't Hit Out in All Directions," in which he said that the current general policy should be to eliminate remnant KMT forces, the spies, and the bandits, overthrow the landlord class, liberate Taiwan and Tibet, and fight imperialism to the end. He continued that in the face of such a complex struggle, it was imperative to effectively manage relations with the national bourgeoisie, other political parties, intellectuals, and ethnic minorities. He said that the Party should not hit out in all directions, since making too many enemies would create nationwide tension. Mao Zedong criticized the idea that it was possible to wipe out capitalism and implement socialism in this early stage, stressing that the policy toward the national bourgeoisie should remain one of both unity and struggle with unity as the primary focus, and that capital should be controlled rather than squeezed out or eliminated. This session was one of the most significant meetings held by the Party Central Committee in the early days of the PRC. The principles of the session laid down an explicit plan of action for the Party's work while the national economy was being restored.

2. The War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea, Land System Reform, and Other Democratic Reforms

Resisting US Aggression and Aiding Korea to Protect the Chinese Motherland

Just as the Chinese people were focusing their energy on bringing about fundamental improvement in the nation's financial and economic situation, the PRC once again faced an external threat. On June 25, 1950, civil war broke out on the Korean Peninsula. The United States immediately made the decision to launch armed intervention in the civil war, and sent the US Navy's Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait, flagrantly interfering in China's internal affairs and obstructing its reunification efforts. In early October, the US forces ignored the warnings of the Chinese government and brazenly crossed the 38th parallel line, fanning the flames of war up to the border between China and Korea, and directly threatening the national security of the PRC. In this moment of crisis, the Korean Workers Party and the Korean government requested that China help by sending troops.

Deciding whether it was willing or able to take on the imperialist US, then the world's most powerful country in both economic and military terms, was a tremendous challenge for the PRC, which was just one year old and had many other pressing tasks on its agenda. Given the fact that China's forces were greatly outmatched by those of the enemy, if China sent troops, could they win? Or would they just be courting disaster and bringing calamity to China's doorstep, making it impossible for the country to carry out economic development? The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held several meetings at which they made an all-round assessment of the internal and external situation, soberly taking note of the difficulties that the country faced while also exhaustively

analyzing the necessity and possibility of dispatching combat troops. On this basis, the historic decision was made to send in the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV) to resist US aggression, aid Korea, and protect the Chinese motherland.

On October 8, 1950, Mao Zedong issued the order to form the CPV with Peng Dehuai as its commander and political commissar. On October 19, the CPV valiantly crossed the Yalu River. This was a just move made by an army fighting for a just cause. Working closely with the military and civilians in the DPRK, the CPV fought its first battle at Ryangsudong, and engaged fierce fights at Unsan, Chongchon River, and Chosin Reservoir. After these battles, the CPV established deep and strong defensive positions, and launched several offensive battles. They performed mighty exploits as they smashed efforts to catch them in a stranglehold, withstood germ warfare, and fought a bloody battle to defend Triangle Hill. Through these extremely tough battles, Chinese



- The Chinese People's Volunteers cross the Yalu River into Korea.

and DPRK troops defeated opponents that were armed to the teeth, shattering the myth that the US military was invincible and compelling the arrogant American aggressors to sign a truce agreement on July 27, 1953. The victory of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea declared to the world that “the centuries-long era in which Western aggressors could land on a stretch of coastline in the East, set up a few pieces of artillery, and dominate a whole country was gone forever.”

In this great war, the heroic CPV put the interests of the nation and the people before all else, patriotically laid down their lives to protect the dignity of the nation and the people, and demonstrated indomitable revolutionary heroism. Regardless of difficulties and hardships, they maintained their morale and revolutionary optimism, demonstrating an incredible spirit of revolutionary loyalty through their willingness to sacrifice their lives for the mission entrusted to them by the nation and the people, and a spirit of internationalism in striving for peace and justice for humankind. All these forged an enduring ethos of the conflict. Mao Anying, the eldest son of Mao Zedong, was among the first batch of CPV soldiers to enter the fight, and died heroically on the Korean battlefield. Confronted with strong and fierce opponents as well as harsh and unforgiving combat environments, the brave CPV soldiers shed their blood and laid down their lives, defeating opponents who were equipped with better material but did not have the same mettle. They said as the motherland was behind them, they would not retreat, for the peace of the nation and the people was at stake.

They charged forward through hailstorms of bullets and held their positions through merciless artillery barrages. With some lying down in the mud for their comrades to climb over, they rushed into the enemy lines with explosive satchels hugged to their chests and demolition charges in their hands. They never gave up despite the hunger and cold, and were prepared to put themselves in imminent danger fighting at

close quarters. This astonishing mettle struck fear into the hearts of the enemy and shook the world. Among them there were roughly 6,000 units and more than 300,000 individuals who rendered outstanding service, such as Yang Gensi, who blew himself up with the enemies surrounding him, Huang Jiguang, who threw himself in front of enemy fire to guard the advance of his comrades, Qiu Shaoyun, who was burned by raging flames but kept fighting to the death, and Luo Shengjiao, who jumped into a freezing river and sacrificed himself to save a Korean youth. These people gave up their lives in moving acts of incredible bravery, and for this they are known as the “most beloved” among the Chinese people.

The great spirit of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea transcends time and space, never fading despite all the years that have passed. This spirit must be forever passed forward and carried on from generation to generation.

During the war, the CPC Central Committee assumed overall command, facilitating vigorous mobilization and providing accurate direction. Working under the policy of fighting while simultaneously stabilizing the economic situation and pursuing development at home, it launched a sweeping campaign to support the war effort. People of all ethnic groups across the country were mobilized to sustain this war of resistance that would determine the fate of the state and the nation.

The great victory in the war was a declaration that the Chinese people were standing tall in the East, as well as an important milestone on the march toward the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and it was therefore of great and far-reaching significance for both China and the world. Through this war, the Chinese people crushed the aggressors' scheme to amass troops at China's doorstep and smother the new China in the cradle. By delivering a good punch to the enemy, China saved itself from hundreds of punches. It ensured that the imperialists would never again dare to attempt to invade the country by force, and put the PRC on

a genuinely solid footing. Furthermore, the Chinese people thoroughly wiped away the century of humiliation when it was vulnerable to abuse and subject to the whims of others, and cast off the label of the “Sick Man of East Asia” with true pride and elation. The Chinese people’s defeat of the aggressors shocked the whole world, laid the basis for the PRC’s position of importance in Asian and international affairs, and manifested its standing as a major country on the world stage. The people’s armed forces learned from fighting, became stronger and more courageous as they fought, and gained important military experience, thus growing from a unitary force into a multi-branch force. The conflict also greatly spurred modernization of national defense and the armed forces. Furthermore, the conflict reshaped the post-World War II strategic landscape in Asia and around the world in profound ways, and offered enormous inspiration for the just cause of oppressed nations and peoples in struggling for national independence and liberation. It thus provided a vigorous push for advancing world peace and human progress.

Finally, the victory brought safety and peace to China and demonstrated the vigor of the Chinese people. The combat effectiveness of the people’s army shook the globe and made the whole world look at China with new eyes. The conflict demonstrated that the will of the Chinese people would not bend, even for the most ferocious of adversaries, and that they would fight united with tenacity, courage, and determination to defend world peace. This proved once again that justice must prevail over might, and that peaceful development is an unstoppable trend of history.

Abolition of the Feudal Land System and the Movement to Suppress Counter-Revolutionaries

Immediately after the founding of the PRC, agrarian reform in the newly liberated areas, which accounted for over half of the country’s population, had not yet been completed. This seriously impeded the

development of productive forces. Between the winter of 1950 and the end of 1952, while the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea was ongoing, the CPC led the peasants in newly-liberated areas in carrying out reform to abolish the feudal land system.

On June 30, 1950, the Central People's Government adopted the Law of the People's Republic of China on Agrarian Reform. The law summed up the lessons and experiences that the CPC gained in leading past agrarian reform, and set down new policies in keeping with the new situation after the founding of the PRC. It put forward the principles of preserving the rich peasant economy and the land of the middle peasants and limiting the scope of confiscation of property from landlords in order to protect the middle peasants and split up the landlord class. This reduced resistance to agrarian reform and facilitated the restoration and development of production. The law became the fundamental legal basis for guiding this reform in newly-liberated areas. By the end of 1952, with the exception of a few ethnic minority areas, agrarian reform had been completed throughout the Chinese mainland. Including those in areas that had been liberated earlier, roughly 300 million landless and land-poor peasants nationwide were granted approximately 700 million mu (15 mu=1 hectare) of land, and freed from handing over 30 million tons or more of grain that was previously paid to landlords each year as rent.

The completion of agrarian reform symbolized that land ownership by the landlord class, which was the foundation of the feudal system that had persisted in China for thousands of years, had finally been eliminated, and that peasants had now truly become masters of the land. This was a great and historic victory. Agrarian reform fundamentally liberated the productive forces in rural areas, and stimulated political zeal and motivation to work among the people there. It also spurred the rapid restoration and development of agriculture, as well as the development of culture and education in rural areas, and paved the way

for the industrialization of the new China.

While agrarian reform was in progress, a large-scale movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was launched nationwide. After the Korean War broke out, counter-revolutionaries left on the mainland by the KMT became even more brazen. They wantonly engaged in rumor mongering and all manner of activities aimed at causing disruption and chaos, and brutally murdered revolutionary officials and civilians as they attempted to overthrow the people's government in collaboration with outside forces. In 1950, nearly 40,000 officials and civilians were murdered by counter-revolutionaries, including almost 7,000 in Guangxi alone. In October 1950, the CPC Central Committee issued the Directive on the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionary Activities, which mandated that counter-revolutionaries who showed no remorse for their heinous crimes must be resolutely suppressed. Beginning in December, a movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries was launched nationwide. By the end of October 1951, the nationwide movement had largely come to an end.

The movement wiped out remnant counter-revolutionary forces left on the mainland by the KMT, and essentially eliminated all spies, underground forces, secret societies, and other reactionary organizations. This brought unprecedented stability to Chinese society, and worked in effective coordination with agrarian reform and the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea.

Democratic Reforms in All Sectors of Society and the Movements against the "Three Evils" and the "Five Evils"

While focusing on reform of the land system, the CPC also led the people in conducting multi-faceted democratic reforms, including social transformation.

Democratic reforms were first launched in state-run industrial,

mining, communications, and transportation enterprises. These enterprises, most of which used to be run by bureaucrat-capitalists, were required to go through democratic reforms after their takeover in order to ensure that they better embodied the new socialist relations of production. Under the leadership of their CPC committees, all localities eliminated remnant counter-revolutionary elements hidden in enterprises, and abolished bureaucratic management institutions and systems including feudal gangmasters and body searches left over from the old society. They also established factory management committees, mobilized workers to participate in enterprise management through trade union committees and worker representative conferences, and set up the framework of a democratic management system suited to the needs of production. This made workers enthusiastic about taking control and developing production, and facilitated remarkable achievements in the restoration of industrial production.

Another important aspect of the CPC's efforts to push forward democratic reforms and social transformation was reform of the feudal marriage system. On May 1, 1950, the Central People's Government promulgated the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, which was the first law formulated in the new China. The law stipulated, "The feudal marriage system characterized by arranged and forced marriage, male superiority and female inferiority, and neglect of children's interests shall be abolished. A new-democratic marriage system characterized by freedom of marriage for males and females, monogamy, equal rights for men and women, and protection of the legitimate interests of women and children shall be instituted." This represented a great transformation of China's millennia-old familial structure. Through the campaign to implement the Marriage Law, the concepts of freedom of marriage and gender equality were widely adopted among the people, and new social conventions began to take shape. Women, who accounted for half of the



- A marriage ceremony is held in rural Beijing following the enactment of the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China.

country's total population, were liberated from the shackles of the feudal marriage system, and their status in society rose significantly.

The struggle to prohibit prostitution and solicitation, the trafficking and use of drugs, organized gambling, and other evils left over from the old society was also an important component of efforts to transform society and rid it of its ills. After roughly three years of hard work, these ills, which had lingered despite repeated prohibitions in the old society and were considered incurable in Western society, were almost totally banned under the leadership of the CPC.

The War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea was the continuation of the Chinese people's democratic revolution against imperialism, while the agrarian reform and various other democratic reforms marked the accomplishment of the Chinese people's democratic revolution against

feudalism. The mighty torrent of revolution cleaned up the filth and mire left over from the old society. China's social outlook and social mores experienced great changes. These historical changes further consolidated political power under the people's democratic dictatorship, and provided necessary social and political conditions for the work of restoring and developing the economy.

As Chinese people nationwide were working hard to increase production and economize, problems of corruption, waste, and bureaucratism (the "three evils") were exposed within Party and government organs across the country. On December 1, 1951, the CPC Central Committee, responding to serious issues brought to light in north and northeast China, put forward the Decision on Streamlining Administration, Increasing Production, and Promoting Economization in Opposition to Corruption, Waste, and Bureaucratism, which mandated that a mass movement be launched against the "three evils" in order to stir up enthusiasm for swiftly and decisively exposing corruption in all forms. Major representative cases were targeted and tackled in the struggle in order to ensure that the whole Party was on the alert and that all of society was paying attention to this issue. Liu Qingshan, secretary of the Tianjin Prefectural Party Committee, and Zhang Zishan, commissioner of Tianjin Prefecture, had sunk into degeneracy as they used their authority to embezzle public funds and engaged in illegal business operations. They became massively corrupt, and were ultimately sentenced to death. This case demonstrated to the people of the nation that the CPC would not tolerate acts of corruption in which the CPC's status as the ruling party was abused for personal gain. All corrupt officials, regardless of their revolutionary credentials or seniority, would be severely punished as soon as their transgressions were discovered.

The movement against the "three evils" continued for more than half a year, and ended in October 1952. It was the first battle to maintain

the integrity of Communists and leading officials and combat corruption after the CPC came to power. It purged parasites from the ranks of the Party, and taught an important lesson to the majority of officials. It also played a major role in resisting the corrosive influence of the old society's vices and degenerate bourgeois ideas, and in fostering integrity among the Party and the government and a healthy social atmosphere.

The movement against the "three evils" proved that corruption within Party and government organs was more often than not tied up with unscrupulous businessmen. A wealth of evidence showed that certain capitalists were chasing exorbitant profits through all manner of illegal methods. Some even used spoiled waste cotton to manufacture first-aid dressings which they sold to the CPVs, leading to disability and death among wounded soldiers. This behavior incensed the public. In January 1952, the CPC Central Committee made the decision to launch a campaign in the private industrial and commercial sector against the "five evils," namely bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing of economic information. During the campaign, the CPC and the government mobilized the public in a battle of reason to expose the illegal acts of unscrupulous businessmen. Meanwhile, the Central Committee said it could not be denied that there was still a positive side to the national bourgeoisie, and instructed that its political and economic role as stipulated in the Common Program of the CPPCC remained unchanged so as to maintain normal economic life.

The movement against the "five evils" ended in October 1952, having effectively cracked down upon deleterious conduct among unscrupulous capitalists, educating on operating in according to law among industrialists and businessmen, and promoting the establishment of worker supervision and the launch of democratic reforms within private enterprises. This paved the way for gradual transformation of private industry and commerce by peaceful means.

3. Restoration of the National Economy and the Expansion of Pursuits in Development

Restoration and Early Development of the National Economy

The old China's economy was extremely backward, while the Japanese imperialist war of aggression against China and the conflict launched by Kuomintang reactionaries against the people caused serious damage to the country. This made it an extremely urgent task for the CPC and the Chinese people to concentrate energy on restoring the national economy. In line with the basic economic policy of "giving consideration to both public and private interests, benefiting both labor and capital, encouraging urban and rural areas to help each other, and allowing trade exchanges with other countries," the Party and the government made all-out efforts in this regard.

In the agricultural domain, while giving full play to the initiative of sole peasant proprietors, the CPC gradually developed mutual labor aid among individual peasants. China increased its investment in agriculture each year, and concentrated resources on harnessing the Huai River and developing key projects such as the Jingjiang flood diversion project and the flood control project on the lower reaches of the Yellow River, which largely addressed the old China's problems of aging and neglected embankments and frequent floods. Different localities also made great efforts to renovate canals and reservoirs to expand the area of irrigated farmland. These infrastructure construction projects spurred rapid recovery and development of agricultural production. China's total grain output grew from 113.184 million tons in 1949 to 163.931 million tons in 1952, an increase of 44.8 percent.

In the industrial domain, China focused on restoring the mining, iron and steel, power, and machine manufacturing industries as well as

the major chemical industries that were urgently needed for the national economy and the people's livelihood, while simultaneously restarting and increasing production in light industries such as textiles. In terms of regional distribution, the revitalization of industrial bases in northeast China was given priority, while due consideration was given to the development of inland industries. A number of new key enterprises were established in a planned-out manner. By the end of 1952, output of both the main industrial products and light industrial products were higher than they had ever been in history.

In the transportation domain, state investment in transportation totaled 1.77 billion yuan, accounting for 22.6 percent of total national infrastructure investment. The nation's existing rail network was mostly restored, once again linking north and south China. The Chengdu-Chongqing Railway traversing the hinterland of southwest China and the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway in northwest China were completed. In



- The Xikang-Tibet and Qinghai-Tibet highways open the roof of the world to traffic in December 1954.

the latter years of the Qing Dynasty, fund raising preparations had been made for construction of the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway as a section of the Sichuan-Hankou Railway. The project, which had remained incomplete for almost half a century, was finished and opened to trains just two years after the founding of the PRC. A number of trunk highways and county and township roads were built or rebuilt, and the mileage of highways open to traffic across the country increased by more than 50 percent compared to early days of the PRC. Construction on the Xikang-Tibet Highway (now the Sichuan-Tibet Highway) and Qinghai-Tibet Highway, which led to the "Roof of the World," began in 1950.

The resumption and development of trade was important for promoting material exchange between urban and rural areas and restoration of the national economy. Through several years of effort, state-run and cooperative commerce was gradually developed and expanded, turning into the main channel of distribution. By the end of 1952, a unified state-run commercial system encompassing various departments at all levels had largely taken shape throughout the country. After stabilizing prices and unifying finances and the economy, in an effort to address problems arising from the disappearance of false purchasing power resulting from inflation, the government adopted measures such as expanding state orders with private factories for processing of materials, purchasing of large quantities of farm and sideline products to raise rural purchasing power, readjusting tax burdens, pulling back state-run commerce appropriately, and instructing employees of private enterprise to work hard to fulfill their production tasks. It rationally readjusted relations between the public and private sectors, labor and capital and production and marketing. All this resulted in significant development of private industry and commerce.

After over three years of arduous effort, the national economy, which had been severely damaged before the founding of the PRC, was

completed restored and showed initial signs of growth. At the end of 1952, total industrial and agricultural output reached 81 billion yuan, up by more than 77 percent over 1949. Furthermore, state revenue doubled, and a balance was achieved between revenue and spending. The incomes of urban and rural residents rose year after year, and their lives generally improved. Compared with 1949, average worker wages increased by 70 percent, and income of peasants generally increased by 30 percent or more. In the course of economic restoration, profound change occurred in the national economic structure. The share of the state-run economy increased and that of the private capitalist economy decreased. The status of industrial productive forces was enhanced and the share of modern industry rose. This laid foundation for China's gradual transformation from an agrarian country into an industrial one, and ensured that the whole country transitioned steadily from the new democracy to socialism.

Eliminating the Old to Make Way for the New in Education, Science, Culture and Public Health Services

The upsurge of economic development was followed by a corresponding surge of cultural development and development in other fields.

Cultural development required adapting to and promoting political change first, and then economic development. In order to develop national, scientific, and popular culture, the Party led step-by-step reform of the old system of school education and the old system of cultural institutions, while patriotic intellectuals were won over to the service of the people.

The first step was to utilize the tools of public opinion and establish the guiding role of Marxism within China. When administration of cities was taken over, newspapers, periodicals, radio stations, news agencies,

and other cultural institutions, which were important tools for publicity and mass communication, were placed under the unified leadership of the CPC and the state. In order to publicize and promote systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Selected Works of Mao Zedong (Volume I to III) were published between 1951 and 1953, and the Complete Works of Lenin and the Complete Works of Marx and Engels were translated and published in 1955 and 1956, respectively.

With regard to educational reform, in addition to exercising state leadership over schools, abolishing reactionary political education, and introducing Marxism-Leninism in schools, there were two main areas of focus. The first was solving the problem of opening education to the broad masses of workers and peasants. In view of the fact that working people in the old society had little access to education, the CPC and the government set the policy that “education must serve the interests of production and development, and of workers and peasants, and schools must be open to workers and peasants.” The second was developing and reforming higher education. From the end of 1951 to 1953, the Ministry of Education conducted institutional reshuffling at colleges nationwide, and greatly expanded recruitment of students in order to meet the urgent need for professional talent in industrialization.

As for the arts, the CPC continued to advocate the policy that literature and art should serve the people, peasants, and soldiers. It also set forth the principle of “letting a hundred flowers bloom, weeding through the old to bring forth the new.” This charted the course for the development of Chinese literature and art. By drawing inspiration from everyday life, China’s writers and artists created outstanding works with the revolutionary war and social transformation as their themes that aroused the political consciousness of the people and motivated them to work.

In the domain of science, the CPC and the government attached

great importance to the role of science and technology in developing the nation. The Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) was established shortly after the founding of the PRC. The CPC Central Committee mandated that local scientific research institutes be established under the guidance of CAS, which would serve as the national center of scientific research, while institutions of higher learning and industrial sectors should also develop scientific research institutes. In this way, a relatively complete scientific research system would gradually take shape. At the end of 1955, there were about 400,000 researchers and more than 800 research institutes across the country, which played a key role in various national development initiatives.

With regard to medical and health services, the Party and the government put forward the principles that related initiatives should be geared toward the needs of workers, peasants, and soldiers, put prevention first, and combine Chinese and Western medical approaches. In rural areas, urban neighborhoods, and industrial and mining enterprises, grass-roots health organizations were widely established along with dedicated epidemic prevention departments and teams. At the same time, a patriotic health campaign was launched nationwide, which greatly improved health conditions in urban and rural areas.

Ideological remolding of intellectuals was an important condition for the completion of democratic reforms in all fields and the gradual industrialization of China. The Party viewed unifying, educating, and remolding these intellectuals as extremely important for bringing their positive role to bear in national development. Responding to the CPC's call, twelve well-known professors from Peking University launched a political study campaign among the university's teachers in September 1951. This was followed by a study movement centered on ideological remolding that was carried out among teachers at institutions of higher learning in Beijing and Tianjin. On September 29, 1951,

Zhou Enlai delivered a report at a study session of teachers from colleges and universities in Beijing and Tianjin entitled "On the Remolding of Intellectuals," which enjoined all patriotically-minded intellectuals to stand with the people and the working class. The study movement gradually spread through the entire intelligentsia. The majority of intellectuals carried out criticism and self-criticism by studying the works of Mao Zedong and linking the ideas therein to the realities of their work. Meanwhile, they developed a basic grasp of basic knowledge of Marxism by purging the influence of feudal compradors and criticizing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. They thus advanced from the standpoint of nationalism and patriotism and adopted the standpoint of the people, and from then on enthusiastically devoted themselves to building a new China.

Modernization of the Armed Forces and National Defense

After the founding of the PRC, modernizing national defense and building a strong, standardized, and modern revolutionary army was one of the major tasks put forward by the Party. In the wake of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea, the Central Military Commission systematically reviewed the experience of fighting American troops that were better armed and equipped, pushing the PLA to conform to the demands of modern warfare and gradually implementing the strategic shift from a unitary force to a combined force with different branches.

One important and indispensable precondition for modernizing national defense was implementing unified command, regulations, organization, discipline, and training and closely coordinated actions of multiple branches. In accordance with the Central Military Commission's instructions, the PLA was significantly streamlined and reorganized. At the same time, the military's leading organs were reorganized through the establishment of the Air Force, Navy, Air Defense Forces, and Military

Police Corps in addition to the existing ground force. Leading organs and subordinate units were also set up for other services including the Artillery Corps and Armored Forces. The PLA thus took the first steps in evolving into a military force with a complete set of branches.

To build a modern, standardized, and revolutionary army, strengthening the leadership of the Party was imperative. In April 1954, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission released the Regulation on Political Work of the People's Liberation Army (draft). This was of great significance for ensuring the absolute leadership of the Party over the military and for exerting the role of the PLA as the pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship.

To promote the development of the national defense industry and accelerate the modernization of the PLA's weaponry and equipment, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee deliberated and approved the "First Five-Year Plan" for the national defense industry in August 1953. In January 1955, the decision was made by the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong to pursue the development of atomic energy and an atomic bomb. Mao Zedong said, "If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the bomb." History proved that prioritizing the development of cutting-edge technology was a bold and foresighted decision, as this would have a profound and far-reaching impact on spurring modernization and the development of science and technology in the field of national defense.

In line with the appraisal that the possibility of the imperialists unleashing war still remained even as the international situation became more relaxed, an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission held in March 1956 clearly defined the strategic policy of active defense for the first time. This policy charted the course for the PLA in building combat readiness and conducting military training, and brought standardization of the armed forces and the modernization of national

defense into a new stage.

Seeking a Peaceful International Environment Conducive to China's Development

Hoping to create a peaceful international environment conducive to domestic development, the Party called for vigorous efforts to be made in the diplomatic domain.

In an effort to develop relations with emerging independent nation states, especially neighboring nations, the Chinese government held discussions with India in December 1953 on problems existing between the two countries. In negotiations regarding relations in the Tibet region, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were put forward for the first time. These principles were later fixed as the following: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The introduction of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was of major strategic significance, as they represented a powerful tool for the PRC to maneuver on the international stage, break through the isolation and containment of the US, and expand foreign exchanges. They not only became the cornerstone of China's foreign policy, but also were gradually accepted broadly among the international community, making a historic contribution to the establishment of a new type of just and equitable international relations.

The end of the Korean War in 1953 saw some easing of tension in Asia. However, the United States was not only unwilling to withdraw its troops from Korea to peacefully resolve the Korean question, but also kept its naval fleet in the Taiwan Strait, thus interfering in China's internal affairs. Moreover, it attempted to put pressure on China from the region of Indochina. This behavior aimed at maintaining international tension was met with widespread contempt. In April 1954, a conference

on the questions of Korea and Indochina was held in Geneva, attended by foreign ministers of China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, and related countries. This was the first conference in which the PRC took part in discussing international issues as one of the world's five major countries. During the conference, the Chinese delegation led by Zhou Enlai engaged in brilliant diplomatic mediation, pushing the conference to reach an agreement on the restoration of peace in Indochina. Under the agreement, France would withdraw its troops from Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, which would be recognized as independent nations. The success of the conference further relaxed the Asian and international situations, and made China's southern border more secure.

In April 1955, as national liberation movements were surging in Asia and Africa, heads of government from 29 Asian and African countries held a conference in Bandung, Indonesia. The Chinese delegation was headed by Zhou Enlai, who took a clear stance in support of "seeking common ground while putting differences aside," calling upon countries to cast aside their disagreements and unite and cooperate more closely in their common interest of opposing colonialism. This policy was lauded by participating countries, opening the door for broader exchanges between China and Asian and African countries. The Final Communiqué adopted by the conference incorporated the suggestions of the Chinese delegation, and put forward 10 principles for peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation, thus bringing the conference to a successful conclusion. During the conference, Zhou Enlai issued the statement that the Chinese government was willing to sit down with the American government to discuss easing tension in the Far East, particularly with regard to the region of Taiwan. This statement catalyzed ambassadorial talks between China and the United States, which began in August 1955.

These fruitful diplomatic efforts promoted the easing of global



- Zhou Enlai delivers a speech at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia in April 1955.

tensions and expanded China's ties with the world. They demonstrated China's important role in international affairs, and fostered a peaceful international environment, which facilitated the development of socialism in China.

Strengthening Party Building after the CPC Assumed Leadership of the Nation

After the founding of the PRC, the CPC attached great importance to organizational development now that it was in power. In May 1950, as some within the Party had become arrogant and conceited and given the style of bureaucratism and commandism under the nationwide victory for the revolution, the CPC Central Committee issued a directive requiring the rectification of conduct throughout the Party, starting with officials.

In March and April 1951, the CPC Central Committee held the First National Conference on Organizational Work. At the meeting, it was decided that a general overhaul of primary-level Party organizations should be conducted, and that all Party members should be educated about eight standards that every member must meet and about the future of socialism and communism. On this basis, every Party member was scrutinized and registered, and those who had committed serious errors or who did not meet the standards of membership were dealt with according to organizational procedures. Party consolidation was begun in the latter half of 1951, and was largely concluded by the spring of 1954. During this period, a total of 410,000 members were either expelled or asked to withdraw from the Party, which helped purify the organization. At the same time, Party organizations at all levels fostered new members through an active yet prudent approach. Total membership thus increased from 5.8 million before consolidation to more than 6.369 million, which meant that new blood was added to the Party's ranks.

In February 1954, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee adopted the Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity. The Resolution stressed that Party unity was the life of the CPC, and mandated that all Party members, especially high-ranking Party officials, raise their awareness of the need to uphold it. In March 1955, the National Congress of the CPC made the decision to set up central and local supervisory committees at various levels, and formed the Central Supervisory Commission through election.

Generally speaking, after the PRC was founded, the mental outlook of all Party members was relatively good. They maintained the style of hard work and the close ties with the masses that were developed during the revolutionary war years. Furthermore, the CPC Central Committee continued to keep up the strong unity formed during the Yan'an rectification campaign and after the Seventh National Party Congress

as it wielded national political power. A strong and united Party that worked in concert toward specified goals was the best guarantee for smooth progress in all endeavors in the early days of the PRC.

4. The Party's General Line for the Transitional Period and the Beginning of Large-Scale Planned Economic Development

The Introduction of the Party's General Line for the Transitional Period

After the national economy recovered, China faced new circumstances and a number of new issues in its development. To continue leading the Chinese people forward, the CPC needed to raise new tasks and objectives.

By the end of 1952, agrarian reform was largely completed, while the task of restoring the national economy had been accomplished. Both sides of the Korean truce negotiations had reached an agreement on major issues, and the war was expected to come to an end before long. This signaled that China had what it needed to carry out large-scale planned economic development. The Party made the timely decision to launch the First Five-Year Plan for national economic development in 1953. The bulk of the plan was naturally concerned with industrialization. This was the goal the Chinese people had coveted for a century, and the key to reversing China's backwardness and achieving strength and prosperity. The Chinese people were now finally able to move forward in great strides on the path of industrialization.

At the same time, however, new dilemmas emerged and accumulated in Chinese society. In the rural areas, the individual economy among peasants post agrarian reform was backward and in disarray, and could

therefore hardly meet the ever-growing demand for grain, agricultural products, and raw materials from urban and industrial development. Meanwhile, the emergence of wealth disparity made the Party and the government concerned about potential polarization of society. In the cities, there were periodic struggles for or against restrictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, which had a major impact on national economic activity. This situation compelled the Party to consider measures for stepping up and expanding the mutual-aid and cooperation movement in rural areas and controlling capital in cities. It was in this way that the task of systematic socialist transformation of the national economy was put on the agenda.

Against this backdrop, the CPC Central Committee put forward the Party's general line for the transitional period after a year of deliberation. This stated the following: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the basic accomplishment of socialist transformation is a transitional period. The Party's general line and general tasks during this transitional period are, within a considerably long period of time, to gradually realize the state's socialist industrialization and gradually realize the state's socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft sectors, and capitalist industry and commerce." The general line explicitly introduced the great task of building socialism to people nationwide. This represented a major step for the CPC at a key historical juncture.

Realizing socialism in China was the goal that the CPC had been striving toward since its very founding. However, against the historical backdrop of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, it was necessary to proceed in two steps: first, securing victory in the new-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, and only then switching over to socialist revolution. When exactly this switch would occur had to be determined according to the specific circumstances in the process

of revolution and development. Through three years of effort after the founding of the PRC, the CPC Central Committee deemed that the time was ripe to formulate the Party's general line for the transitional period and articulate to the whole Party and the entire nation the tasks for the gradual transition to socialism. There were four reasons behind this determination. First of all, China already had a state-run socialist economy that was relatively strong and growing rapidly, representing an important material base for the transition to socialism. Second, China had accumulated much experience in leveraging and controlling private industry and commerce, and had already begun transformation in this regard. Third, China had also accumulated much experience in the process of launching mutual aid and cooperation in agriculture following agrarian reform, which in fact became the first step toward socialist transformation of individual agriculture. Fourth, looking at the international environment at the time, socialist countries appeared full of developmental vigor while capitalist countries were in the doldrums. This also constituted a factor that prompted the Party to begin the transition to socialism.

After the general line for the transitional period was introduced, a broad and intensive study, publicity, and education campaign was conducted throughout the whole Party and the entire nation. Unity of understanding was quickly achieved within the Party on the general line, while people nationwide gave it their support. It thus became the new program for uniting and mobilizing the entire population in the effort to build a great socialist country. The whole Party and the entire population turned their attention to the task of socialist industrialization, enthusiastically embracing and plunging themselves into the surge of large-scale, planned economic development for the new China.

The First Five-Year Plan and the Launch of Socialist Industrialization

Formulating a feasible medium-term plan for the development of the national economy was an important step for completing the main tasks of industrialization stipulated in the general line for the transitional period.

The industrialization of China was the only way for the CPC to lead the Chinese people in capturing independence and prosperity, and for China to stand on its own among the nations of the world. Mao Zedong had said long before, "Without industry there can be no solid national defense, no well-being for the people, no prosperity or strength for the nation."

However, China's industrialization started off from a very low point in 1952. The share of modern industry in total industrial and agricultural output was a mere 43.1 percent, and that of heavy industry in total industrial output was only 35.5 percent. Per-capita output of many major industrial products not only lagged far behind developed industrial countries, but was also even lower than fledgling independent nations like India. In 1954, Mao Zedong wrote a passage to describe the situation that left a deep impression: "What can we make at present? We can make tables and chairs, bowls and teapots, grow food grain and grind it into flour, we can also make paper, but we cannot manufacture even a motor vehicle, an aircraft, a tank, or a tractor." Going up against the most powerful country in the world during the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea also made the need for China to reverse its state of industrial backwardness appear particularly urgent. In light of the above-mentioned realities, the CPC Central Committee made the decision to prioritize the development of heavy industry. It mandated that the primary focus should be laying the groundwork for heavy industry and defense-related industries, and in particular guaranteeing the completion of major projects that played a decisive role in national development and that had the potential to rapidly boost the industrial base and national

defense capacity.

Under the context of the democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants, the path of socialism was the only way for China to achieve industrialization as a large country that was economically and culturally backward. Only by leveraging the socialist system's strength of pooling resources behind major undertakings could industrialization be accelerated and economic independence truly realized.

In preparation for planned economic development, drafting of China's First Five-Year Plan (1953–1957) was started in 1951. In the process of drafting and implementing the First Five-Year Plan, several major relationships in China's economic development were effectively balanced. The plan stated that while major efforts should be concentrated on developing heavy industry, agriculture and light industry should not be neglected. All sectors of the national economy had to be afforded due consideration, and arrangements needed to be made in a holistic manner. It also stated that industries should be distributed in a scientific manner in order to set right the irrational situation in China where the majority of industries were concentrated in coastal areas; that the annual growth rate for industry and agriculture should be determined in a proactive and prudent manner according to China's national strength; that improvement of living standards should be appropriately integrated in growth of production; and that while seeking assistance from abroad, China should stress the importance of self-reliance and depend on its own strength in the pursuit of development. These guidelines had a far-reaching impact on China's subsequent economic development.

From 1953, planned economic development was carried out in the whole country. An atmosphere of enthusiasm quickly prevailed throughout the rural and urban areas of China for supporting and participating in industrial development. This was an era of running

passion, with unbounded hopes for industrialization that aroused unprecedented enthusiasm for labor of workers, peasants, and intellectuals. “Working every second to create a socialist society” was the call of the era, reflecting the fervor stimulated by the goal of bringing about industrialization. In December 1953, an inauguration ceremony was held as three major projects of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company—a heavy rolling mill, a seamless tubing mill, and the No.7 blast furnace—went into operation. After that, construction began on large-scale iron and steel works in Baotou and Wuhan. On average, one major project was started or completed each day. A large number of basic industries that did not exist in the old China were established one after the other, and a large number of industrial and mining operations popped up in the interior. This represented a major shift from the extreme underdevelopment and irrational layout of heavy industries in the old China. The achievements



- *Jiefang* (Liberation) trucks, China's first domestically produced automobile, roll off the production line at the First Automotive Works Plant in Changchun in July 1956.

made in industrial production during these five years greatly outstripped what the old China had accomplished in a century. This allowed the new China to rise quickly from the ruins, laid the foundation for the establishment of an independent, comprehensive industrial system, and brought together valuable experience for socialist development.

5. The Completion of Socialist Transformation and the Establishment of the Socialist System

The First Session of the First National People's Congress and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China

As large scale economic development began, bringing about improvements in state politics and the legal superstructure in order to better serve the consolidation of the economic base for socialism became an important and urgent task. For this reason, Mao Zedong personally presided over the drafting of the first Constitution of the PRC and poured his energy into this task.

In September 1954, the First Session of the First National People's Congress was held in Beijing. One of the major contributions of the congress was the unanimous adoption of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. As a socialist constitution, it enshrined the two cardinal principles of people's democracy and socialism. It affirmed the Chinese people's heroic struggle against domestic and foreign enemies and for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people over more than a hundred years, affirmed the historic transformation in which the CPC had led the Chinese people in securing victory in the new-democratic revolution and in acquiring state power, defined the political system of the Chinese people exercising their right as masters of the country in the form of fundamental law, and pointed the correct path



- NPC deputies enter the First Session of the First National People's Congress.

for the continued struggle to build a socialist society.

The Constitution further defined the fundamental political system of China, clearly stipulating: "The People's Republic of China is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses." "The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses and other organs of state practice democratic centralism." The Constitution also defined the structure of the state, with the National People's Congress as the highest organ of state power, and the State Council, that is, the Central People's Government, as the highest organ of state administration.

At the session, Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the People's Republic of China, with Zhu De as vice chairman. Liu Shaoqi was elected

chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, with Soong Ching Ling and 12 others as vice chairpersons. In addition, Zhou Enlai was appointed premier of the State Council.

The system of people's congresses is China's fundamental political system. The opening of the National People's Congress marked the establishment of the system of people's congresses. The implementation of this system in China represented a monumental act of innovation in human political history brought about by the Chinese people, and reflected all the painful lessons drawn from China's political life since the advent of modern times. This was the result of Chinese society's dramatic transformation and development over more than a century, and the inevitable choice made by the Chinese people who had finally become masters of the country and taken control of their own destiny. The establishment of a new political system in which the people became masters of this country with a history stretching back more than five millennia and a population in the hundreds of millions was an epoch-making event in the political development of China and the world.

The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC is one of China's basic political systems, and a new type of political system that has grown out of Chinese soil. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China clearly stated, "In the great struggle for the founding of the new China, the Chinese people formed a broad, democratic united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China covering all democratic classes, democratic parties, and people's organizations." It also stated, "The people's democratic united front will continue to play its part." After the First Session of the First National People's Congress was convened, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference no longer had to act on behalf of the National People's Congress. In December 1954, the CPPCC held the First Session of the Second National Committee, which adopted the Charter

of the CPPCC and affirmed the need for its continued existence as an organization of the people's democratic united front. The session clarified the nature, status, roles, and tasks of the CPPCC after the convening of the National People's Congress (NPC), as well as its relationships with the NPC and the government. This further consolidated the people's democratic united front, thereby laying the foundations for upholding the basic political system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC over the long term. The CPPCC represents great achievement of the CPC in integrating Marxist theories on the united front, political parties, and democracy with actual political practice in China, and a great invention in the political system brought about by all democratic parties, personages without party affiliation, people's organizations, and people from all ethnic groups and sectors of society under the leadership of the CPC.

An important aspect of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China was establishing relations of equality, fraternity, and mutual aid among China's ethnic groups and guaranteeing ethnic minorities' right to self-government in the fundamental law of the state. The Constitution clearly stipulated, "China is a unified multiethnic country." "Regional autonomy is practiced in all areas where people of ethnic minorities live in concentrated. All ethnic autonomous areas are inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China."

The system of regional ethnic autonomy is one of China's basic political systems and an important part of China's unique approach to addressing ethnic issues. It was an important innovation made by the Party in an effort to address ethnic issues within China. It was adapted to the country's unique history and realities, and applied Marxist theory on such issues. In September 1949, implementation of the system of regional ethnic autonomy was confirmed in the Charter of the CPPCC. In August 1952, the Central People's Government promulgated and implemented

the Guidelines for Implementation of Regional Ethnic Autonomy. The 1954 Constitution set three categories for autonomously-administered ethnic areas, namely autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures, and autonomous counties, while ethnic townships were set up in areas inhabited by minority peoples below the county level. Implementation of the system of regional autonomy was a move of far-reaching significance for China in maintaining national unity and territorial integrity and in promoting solidarity, mutual assistance, and shared development between ethnic groups no matter how complex the domestic and international environments became.

With the establishment of the systems of people's congresses, multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, and regional ethnic autonomy, China's system of socialist political institutions took shape, providing political guarantees for the establishment of the socialist economic base and corresponding economic institutions.

Socialist Transformation of Private Ownership of the Means of Production and the Establishment of the Socialist Economic System

While the First Five-Year Plan was implemented, socialist industrialization began, and the Party's general line for the transitional period was put forward and publicized, socialist transformation of the agricultural and handicraft sectors and capitalist industry and commerce was also advanced at a gradual pace.

The socialist transformation of agriculture had in fact been launched before the general line for the transitional period was put forward. In September 1951, the CPC Central Committee formulated the Resolution on Mutual-Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production (draft), which stressed that this movement should be tailored to varying production needs and potential, take steady progress as its guiding

principle, follow the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit as a matter of necessity, and make use of role models and step-by-step approach to guide peasants onto the path of mutual aid and cooperation. In December 1953, the CPC Central Committee adopted the Resolution on Developing Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives. The mutual-aid and cooperative movement made steady progress under the guidance of these two resolutions. At the early stage of the movement, agricultural producers' mutual-aid teams were generally formed. After September 1953, efforts were focused on the development of agricultural producers' cooperatives. As a result of large-scale economic development beginning in 1953, agricultural products were in short supply, leading to sharp fluctuations in grain prices. After repeatedly weighing the situation, the CPC Central Committee made the decision to enforce a state monopoly on the purchase and sale of grain in October 1953, followed by state monopolies on the purchase of oilseeds and the sale of edible oil. In 1954, the purchase of cotton was monopolized by the state, and cotton cloth was bought and sold exclusively by the state. These state monopolies on the purchase and sale of major agricultural products accelerated the socialist transformation of agriculture. After July 1955, the agricultural cooperative movement reached its apex.

The agricultural cooperative movement was largely sound in the early days. Certain rash deviations occurred for a short time in 1953, but these were quickly corrected. The superiority and efficiency of cooperative agriculture were also evident, with statistics at that time showing that over 80 percent of cooperatives increased production and income. Generally speaking, mutual-aid teams did better than individual farmers, and while cooperatives did even better than mutual-aid teams. As a result, the mutual-aid and cooperation movement was welcomed by the broad masses of the poor peasants, and jointing cooperatives turned into a mass movement. The agricultural cooperative movement was

basically completed by the end of 1956.

The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was achieved through the policy of state capitalism. Before the end of 1953, the state emphasized the development of the primary and intermediate forms of state capitalism based mainly on placement of state orders with private enterprises. In 1954, China began shifting priority to the planned expansion of joint public-private operation, a more sophisticated form of state capitalism. As the production of enterprises increased rapidly after



- An industry and commerce representative presents a positive report to Mao Zedong during a ceremony in Beijing to celebrate the success of China's socialist transformation attended by more than 200,000 people from all sectors of society on January 15, 1956.

the introduction of joint public-private operation, the dividends received by private shareholders were in most cases greater than they were when enterprises were privately run, prompting more capitalists to seek joint public-private operation. At the end of 1954, the State Council made the decision to adopt the policy of "conducting comprehensive planning that takes all factors into consideration, making arrangements through the appropriate department, and tailoring transformation to different industries," with the aim of resolving contradictions between the public and private sides. Meanwhile, it adopted an approach of using larger and more advanced entities to drive smaller and less advanced ones while implementing joint operation in different industries, which sped up the transformation of private industry. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was basically completed by the end of 1956.

The socialist transformation of individual handicrafts generally went through three stages: handicraft production cooperative groups, handicraft supply and marketing cooperatives, and handicraft production cooperatives. This transformation followed an approach that was tailored to practical conditions and employed forms that were easy for handicraft workers to accept, proceeding from the bottom up, from small to big, and from easier to more difficult areas. While remaining committed to putting the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit into practice, the government made every effort to ensure that cooperatives simultaneously benefitted producers, consumers, and the state. The objectives of the handicraft cooperative movement were largely achieved nationwide by the end of 1956.

During the process of socialist transformation, the Party had laid out a series of pathways for the transition from lower to higher levels that suited China's conditions, enabling individual peasants, handicraftsmen, and private industrialists and businessmen to incrementally change their

previous modes of production. For capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises in particular, the Party created a method of buyouts under which capitalists were allowed to continue to receive dividends from enterprises for a considerable period of time, rather than having the state pay large sums of money for their purchase upfront. This not only made it easier for capitalists to accept the transformation, but also sustained the positive role of private industry and commerce in expanding production, stimulating circulation, keeping employment stable, and increasing tax revenue. The Party secured the cooperation of the majority of national capitalists in socialist transformation, thereby realizing the peaceful redemption of the capitalist class envisaged by Marx and Lenin. This was an innovative experience of the CPC, enriching Marxist theories of scientific socialism with the most recent practice.

History has stood testament to the fact that the Party's general line during the transitional period was absolutely correct. There were, however, some faults that appeared in the late stage of the transformation, such as overeager demands, careless work, changes that were too fast, and oversimplification with regard to ownership of the means of production and the makeup of the economy. Nevertheless, socialist transformation was an unprecedented and profound shift that was completed on the premise of ensuring economic development, maintaining social stability, and securing the support of the people, and it generated great and far-reaching achievements and impacts.

By 1956, socialist transformation was largely complete, while socialist political, and economic systems had been set up, thus marking the establishment of China's socialist system. Under the leadership of the CPC, China, a major country in the East that made up of a quarter of the world's population, achieved the greatest and most profound social transformation in its history and became a socialist society. This was a historic victory, which laid the political premise and set the institutional

foundations for all of contemporary China's development and progress. After this, the fundamental task that the Party now faced was to lead the people of all ethnic groups in vigorously developing productive forces on the basis of the newly established socialist system in order to bring about national prosperity and ensure the wellbeing of the people.

Chapter VI

Explorations and Setbacks in Socialist Development

On September 15–27, 1956, the Eighth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. At the beginning of his opening address, Mao Zedong stated that the task of the congress was to “review the experience gained since the Seventh Congress, unite the whole Party and all possible forces at home and abroad, and strive toward building a great socialist China.” He confidently declared that “The power of the liberated Chinese people is boundless,” and “step by step we will be able to build our country into a great socialist industrialized country.” The two-thousand-word opening speech received 34 rounds of applause. There was a palpable sense among people that a brand new period in Chinese history of comprehensive and large-scale socialist development had just begun.

1. The Eighth National Congress of the CPC and a Strong Start to Chinese Socialist Development

The Ten Major Relationships and a Series of New Guidelines

In the history of the Party, the year 1956 is recorded as the year when the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was basically completed and the socialist system was

established in China. It is also remembered as the year when China began to explore its own path of building socialism.

After it came to power, the Party faced a brand new issue—how should socialism be built in China. At first, the Party studied the Soviet experience. But putting it into practice, it soon saw the Soviet model's limitations and recognized some shortcomings and mistakes of the Soviet Union in the process of building socialism. After careful consideration, Mao Zedong proposed to take the lessons learned from the Soviet Union as a warning and to independently explore a socialist development path suited to China's conditions. The convening of the Eighth National Party Congress signified that the Party had achieved preliminary results in its explorations of a Chinese socialist development path. The publication of the article "On the Ten Major Relationships" marked the first step in these explorations.

To lay the ground for the Eighth Party Congress and large-scale economic development, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and other leaders of the Central Committee conducted a large volume of systematic research between late 1955 and the spring of 1956. From February to April 1956,



• Mao Zedong delivers his report "On the Ten Major Relationships" at the Supreme State Conference.

Mao listened to reports on industrial production and economic work from 35 ministries and commissions of the State Council, and gradually formed a series of guidelines for the construction of Chinese socialism. Mao Zedong made it clear that: "The most important thing is to think independently and integrate the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of China's revolution and construction. During the democratic revolution, we succeeded in achieving this integration only after we had suffered great losses and achieved victory in the new-democratic revolution. Now as socialist revolution and construction are under way, we have to carry out a second period of integration to find the path to socialist development in China."

On April 25, he delivered the speech "On the Ten Major Relationships" at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and on May 2, he made a report to the Supreme State Conference.

"On the Ten Major Relationships" proposed to "mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect to make China a powerful socialist country." This was Mao Zedong's fundamental guiding thought on the question of how to build socialism. Studying the problems in China's economic development and drawing lessons from the Soviet experience, Mao's speech discussed ten issues, namely the ten major relationships.

The first five of the ten major relationships dealt mainly with economic issues and how to mobilize various positive factors from all aspects of economic work. The first three related to the relationship of heavy industry to light industry and agriculture, the relationship between industry in the coastal regions and industry in the interior, and the relationship between economic development and national defense. Mao stressed in his speech that in future more attention should be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry and that China should more actively use and promote industry in the coastal regions

and minimize the proportion of military and administrative expenditures to achieve greater economic development. What this meant in practice was that China would open a path of industrialization that was different to that of the Soviet Union.

The fourth and fifth relationships were those between the state, production units, and individual producers, and between the central government and local governments. These began to deal with the issues of economic reform. Mao proposed that it was necessary to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all parties, and to expand the power of local governments while consolidating the unified leadership of the central government.

The last five of the ten major relationships were the political relationships between the Han and minority ethnicities, between the Party and non-Party organizations, between revolution and counter-revolution, between right and wrong, and between China and foreign countries, all of which were issues of mobilizing various positive factors in political, theoretical, and cultural activities.

Mao stated that in the relations between the CPC and other political parties in China, the policy of long-term coexistence and mutual oversight would be applied, and the united front and multiparty cooperation under CPC leadership would continue to have a role.

In China's relationships with foreign countries, it was important to learn from the advanced science and technologies of capitalist countries and the sound aspects of their management of enterprises. But it was also necessary to resist and criticize all corrupt systems and thinking of the bourgeoisie.

"On the Ten Major Relationships" proposed new guidelines for China's socialist economic and political development. It signified that the Party itself now possessed new and significant understandings about how to build socialism, which were highly relevant to socialist

development and would provide theoretical guidance for this work at that time and into the future. Mao repeatedly stressed that the economic development of previous years was mainly based on foreign experience, but that “On the Ten Major Relationships” marked the start of putting forward China’s own line of development.

Around that time, the Party also introduced a series of new guidelines in other areas based on fresh developments at home and abroad and new national development tasks. In January 1956, the Central Committee held a conference on the issue of intellectuals. In his report to the conference, Zhou Enlai fully affirmed the status and role of intellectuals in building socialism; he said that most intellectuals were “already part of the working class,” and issued a mobilization order for “the march to modern science.” After the meeting, the State Council set up the Scientific Planning Commission to formulate the 1956–1967 Plan for the Development of Science and Technology.

In order to see socialist science and culture thrive, the Central Committee formulated the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. In June, the Party also proposed to strive for the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means and advocated a third period of KMT-CPC cooperation in the interests of the nation and the motherland.

“On the Ten Major Relationships,” along with this series of new guidelines, led to the emergence of a vibrant scene as the Party emancipated thinking and made explorations on all fronts in a bid to find a socialist development path suited to China’s conditions. This prepared the theoretical ground for holding the Eighth Party Congress.

The Eighth National Congress of the CPC

The Eighth National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing from September 15 to 27, 1956. Mao delivered the opening address,

Liu Shaoqi made a political report, Zhou Enlai gave a report on the recommendations for the Second Five-Year Plan for Economic Development, and Deng Xiaoping delivered a report on the revision of the Party Constitution.

The Eighth Party Congress analyzed the domestic situation and the change to the country's principal contradiction, and clearly defined the main tasks of the Party and the whole nation in this new context. It was announced at the congress that the problems between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had basically been resolved in China. Thousands of years of class exploitation had been basically ended, and a socialist social system had been basically established in the country. The country's principal contradiction now concerned the people's demand for China to be an advanced industrial nation and the reality of it still being a backward agricultural nation and the people's need for rapid economic



• The Eighth National Congress of the CPC.

and cultural development and the economy and culture of the time which fell short of the people's needs. The main task for the Party and the people was to concentrate on resolving this contradiction and quickly turn China from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial nation.

The core message of these statements was that the Party should concentrate on developing the productive forces under socialism.

The Eighth Party Congress upheld the economic development policy put forward by the Central Committee of opposing both conservatism and a rash advance, which would mean seeking steady progress based on an overall balance. The Congress approved the concept of the "three pillars and three supplements," namely, taking the state and collective management, planned production, and the state market as pillars and individual management, free production, and the free market as supplements. This represented an important theoretical attempt to break with the planned economy model of the Soviet Union and explore economic reform.

The congress sketched out a grand blueprint for the development of socialism nationwide, putting forward the strategy of building an essentially complete industrial system in China within or just beyond the timeframe of three five-year plans.

The new Party Constitution adopted at the Eighth Party Congress was the first to be formulated after the CPC came to power in China. In accordance with the characteristics of a ruling party, the new Party Constitution set forth the task of carrying out comprehensive socialist development. It made many new provisions for the implementation of the Party's fundamental principle of democratic centralism, stipulating that "The Party shall adopt effective methods to promote intraparty democracy" and emphasizing that "The Party's democratic principles cannot be separated from its principles of centralism. The Party is a

unified fighting organization united by the discipline that all Party members must observe." The new constitution added the Party member duties of "maintaining the solidarity of the Party and consolidating its unity" and "staying loyal and honest to the Party."

The First Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee elected Mao as the Central Committee chairman, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Chen Yun as vice chairmen, and Deng Xiaoping as general secretary. These six constituted the Standing Committee of the Central Committee Political Bureau.

The Eighth Party Congress declared the basic completion of the socialist revolution and the basic establishment of the socialist system. The line set by the congress was correct, and many new creative guidelines and ideas were put forward. The explorations of the path of Chinese socialist development made at the congress began from a relatively good historical starting point and achieved preliminary results that were of enduring importance for the development of the Party and the country.

After the Eighth Party Congress, the Central Committee made adjustments to economic relations based on the "three pillars, three supplements" policy in order to address lingering problems in the socialist transformation. It achieved initial progress in this regard and generated some new ideas for energizing the economy. In addition, the Party adjusted the internal relations in the agricultural collective economy and gradually introduced reforms to simplify and decentralize government.

As shown by "On the Ten Major Relationships" and the Eighth Party Congress, the Party's exploration of the path to socialist development in China had got off to a good start.

2. Arduous Explorations on the Socialist Road

The Theory on Correctly Handling Contradictions among the People, Party Rectification, and the Struggle against Rightists

In February 1956, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held, at which Nikita Khrushchev delivered a secret report that rejected Stalin entirely, causing great shock and ideological confusion in the socialist camp. This was a major setback for the international communist movement. It was a warning for people that if they did not correctly understand and deal with the various contradictions in socialist society, especially the internal contradictions among the people, it would be difficult to consolidate the socialist system and carry out socialist development. In China, owing to the rapid completion of the socialist transformation, coupled with the failure to eliminate the effects of a rash advance in economic development, and the persistence of bureaucratism and other problems in the work of the leadership, incidents of instability were occurring in some places, including small-scale riots. These new and complicated circumstances prompted the Central Committee and Mao to think deeply about the contradictions in socialist society and put forward a theory on correctly handling contradictions among the people.

In February 1957, Mao delivered a speech titled “How to Handle the Contradictions among the People” (later changed to “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People”) at the Supreme State Conference. Mao pointed out that contradictions exist everywhere, including in socialist society and that it is precisely these contradictions that are pushing socialist society forward. He argued that the basic contradictions in socialist society are still the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the

economic base and the superstructure, which can be resolved through the self-adjustment and improvement of the socialist system. This assertion scientifically revealed for the first time the dynamics of development in socialist society and laid the theoretical foundation for subsequent socialist reforms.

Mao also pointed out that there are two types of contradictions in socialist society: those between the people and the enemy and those among the people themselves. These two were fundamentally different in nature. According to Mao, the former was to be solved by coercive and dictatorial methods, while the latter could only be solved by democratic, persuasive, and educational methods such as the “unity-criticism-unity” model. He elevated the correct handling of contradictions among the people to the level of a national political activity, emphasizing that “The large-scale, turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end.... Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production.”

“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People” is of seminal significance in the history of the development of Marxism. By studying the contradictions in socialist society in depth, Mao formed a systematic theory of the contradictions of socialist society, one which both enriched and developed the theory of scientific socialism and has had long-term guiding significance for the Party and the cause of socialist development.

In accordance with the guiding principles from the Eighth Party Congress, and based on new developments and new problems both in and outside the Party, the Central Committee decided to begin its efforts to overcome bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism and correctly handle contradictions among the people by rectifying the conduct of the Party. On April 27, 1957, the Central Committee issued

the Instructions on the Rectification Campaign. Mao later pointed out that the Party hoped to achieve the goal of creating a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Officials and people, including many influential figures from outside the Party, responded positively to the call and put forward a large number of criticisms and suggestions on the work of the Party and government and the conduct of Party and government officials. Most comments were fair and constructive and of great benefit to the Party in correcting its shortcomings and mistakes.

However, as the rectification campaign progressed, many complications arose. A very small number of people took advantage of the situation to launch attacks against the Party and the new socialist system. They branded the CPC's leadership of national political activities as "the Party monopolizing everything." They called for ruling by turns and described the system of people's democratic dictatorship as the source of bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism. In June, the Central Committee demanded that forces be organized to counter the Rightists' attacks.

It was completely necessary and correct to counter the attacks of a very small number of Rightists and to criticize ideas that opposed Party leadership and socialism. However, as the Party overestimated the extent of the class struggle, it treated a large number of contradictions among the people as contradictions between the people and the enemy, and a large number of theoretical problems as political problems, with the result that the struggle against the Rightists was seriously expanded beyond what was necessary. This was a major historical lesson for the Party and frustrated the good start it had made in exploring the path of socialist development in China.

The Great Leap Forward, the People's Commune Movement, and Efforts to Correct "Leftist" Errors

To lift China out of poverty and backwardness as quickly as possible, the Party attempted to initiate a new phase in exploring the path of socialist development. In early 1956, a rash advance was already under way in China's economy. Due to the rapid growth of production in some factories and rural areas in 1957, the people's enthusiasm for building socialism increased significantly, and the Party concluded that economic development should be accelerated.

On the international front, the reputation won by the CPC at the November 1957 Moscow Congress of Communist and Workers' Parties, coupled with the Soviet Union's successful launch of the first artificial satellite, and its proposal to catch up with and surpass the United States in 15 years, gave great encouragement to socialists around the world, including China.

In the winter of 1957, an upsurge in agricultural production swept the country with a focus on water conservancy construction, pig rearing for fertilizer, and soil improvement. This drive was the prelude to the Great Leap Forward.

In May 1958, a general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism was adopted at the Second Session of the Eighth National Party Congress. This line reflected the general desire within the Party and among the people to change China's economic and cultural backwardness, but it went against the objective laws of economic development.

After the session, the Great Leap Forward movement was launched nationwide in all sectors. In agriculture, the slogan "taking grain as the key line" was put forward, and the call was issued to accomplish grain

output targets within a reduced period of only five, three, or even two years. This led to serious exaggerations of grain yields.

On the industrial front, the slogan “taking steel as the key link” was introduced, and the goal of catching up with Britain in steel production over 15 years was now to be achieved in a reduced period of only a few years, prompting a mass steelmaking movement across the nation.

As the Great Leap Forward was unfolding at full tilt, the People’s Commune Movement was also beginning in the countryside. In August 1958, the Central Committee issued the Resolution on the Establishment of People’s Communes in Rural Areas. Just a month later, people’s communes were established in all rural areas in China.

The people’s communes established in the early stages of the Great Leap Forward were notable for their size and collective nature. In attempting to make a premature leap toward communism, communes practiced egalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of resources including the property and manpower of production teams and individual commune members, practices which seriously dampened farmers’ enthusiasm for production.

At that time, it was the sincere wish of the entire Party and the whole country to go as fast as possible in development in order to gain more of the initiative. However, the actual results were the opposite of what they had wished for, due to the Party’s lack of experience in large-scale socialist development and its divergence from the principle of seeking truth from facts, one which it had always championed, in favor of subjective desires and ambitions.

In the fall and winter of 1958, the Central Committee began to identify many problems in the Great Leap Forward and the People’s Commune Movement. In the period from the First Zhengzhou Meeting in November 1958 to the early stages of the Lushan Meeting in July 1959, the Central Committee leaders overhauled the people’s communes,

scaled back high targets, and made preliminary efforts to correct “Left” errors. They initially reined in the drive to effect a premature leap toward communism, the trend of exaggerating results, the excessively high targets, and the arbitrary guidance, and the situation began to improve somewhat.

During this period, the Central Committee and Mao acquired some new insights into the laws governing socialist development. Principally these were that production relations must be consistent with the nature of productivity; the law of value provides many lessons and must be used to serve socialism; socialist development should be carried out on the basis of the sequential development of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry; and overall balance is of fundamental significance in economic work and the economy should develop proportionally and systematically. These understandings were important reasons for the initial success of the efforts to correct “Leftist” errors and represented significant results of the Party’s exploration of the path of socialist development in China. However, “Leftist” errors were corrected on the premise of affirming the Great Leap Forward and the people’s communes, and the initial improvement was not consolidated. The subsequent “anti-Rightist” struggle interrupted the process of correcting the “Leftist” errors, which coupled with natural disasters and the Soviet government’s violation of its contracts with China, created economic difficulties for the Party and the people unprecedented since the PRC’s founding.

Adjustments to the Economy and the Strategic Goal of the Four Modernizations

In the face of grave economic difficulties, the Central Committee and Mao determined to make careful investigations and studies in order to correct mistakes and adjust policies. In November 1960, the Central

Committee issued the Urgent Directive on Current Policy Issues in Rural People's Communes, which demanded that the Party make the utmost effort to correct the tendency of effecting a premature leap toward communism. In January 1961, at its Ninth Plenary Session, the Eighth Central Committee made the decision to adopt an economy policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards." These two events signaled that the Great Leap Forward had in fact come to an end and the economy had been shifted onto a track of readjustment.

During the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the central working conference held to prepare for the Ninth Plenary Session, Mao called upon the Party to resume the practices of seeking truth from facts and investigating and researching. Afterwards, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, Deng Xiaoping, and other leaders of the Central Committee took the lead in conducting research at the community level. In order to systematically solve the problems in rural people's communes, Mao presided over the writing of the Draft Regulations on Work in Rural People's Communes (also



- Mao Zedong calls on all Party members to resume the practice of conducting investigations and research at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee.

known as the Sixty Articles for Agriculture) in Guangzhou in March 1961. During the drafting and revision process for the regulations, the understanding of all Party members was deepened, and problems, such as the public canteens that had been so strongly opposed by rural residents, began to be resolved. In September, the basic accounting units of the communes were decentralized to production teams equivalent to the size of the elementary cooperatives that had originally existed.

The Party's broad-based research and investigation provided an important theoretical basis for adjustments in various fields. Adjustments in the industrial sector focused on reducing steel production and other targets and reorganizing the order of enterprises. In September 1961, the Central Committee issued the Directive on Current Industrial Problems, emphasizing the need to decisively lower the targets for industrial production and capital construction to a reliable level that allowed for unforeseen circumstances. In addition, the Central Committee issued the Draft Regulations on the Work of State-Owned Industrial Enterprises (also known as the Seventy Articles Concerning Industrial Enterprises) for trial implementation, which played a positive role in restoring normal production in enterprises.

In line with the economic adjustments, changes were also made in science, education, and culture. The main idea of these changes was to adjust the relationship between the Party and intellectuals, implement the policy on intellectuals, uphold the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and improve necessary rules and regulations to restore normal order and ensure smooth progress in all areas.

To provide further encouragement to intellectuals, in his report entitled "On Intellectuals" in March 1962, Zhou Enlai affirmed that the vast majority of intellectuals in China were part of the working people and emphasized the role of science and scientists in socialist



• Mao Zedong with Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, and Deng Xiaoping at the Meeting of Seven Thousand.

development. Intellectuals were greatly buoyed by these statements.

To further summarize the lessons that had been learned since the Great Leap Forward, and build consensus and strengthen unity, the Central Committee held an enlarged Central Working Conference in Beijing from January 11 to February 7, 1962 (also known as the Meeting of Seven Thousand). Liu Shaoqi submitted a draft written report on behalf of the Central Committee, which gave a summary of the experience and lessons acquired in economic development since the Great Leap Forward and an analysis of the causes of shortcomings and mistakes.

On January 30, Mao addressed the meeting and made a self-criticism. He noted that, "In our work of socialist development, we are still to a very large extent ignorant. From now on, we should do our utmost to

conduct investigations and research, so as to gain a clear grasp of how it works." He added that it would take China more than a century to catch up with and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries.

This represented the deepened understanding of the Central Committee and Mao with regard to the long-term nature of socialist development. Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the Central Committee Secretariat and the State Council respectively, made self-criticisms at the meeting and proposed the chief methods for restoring the fine traditions of the Party and overcoming the present difficulties.

The Meeting of Seven Thousand achieved important results under the historical conditions of that time. Although the meeting failed to clear up the mistakes of the Great Leap Forward and the anti-Rightist struggle from the perspective of fundamental guiding thought, the more pragmatic attitude taken toward shortcomings and mistakes, as well as the spirit of democracy and self-criticism, inspired the Party and strengthened its cohesiveness. The meeting played a positive role in helping the Party to unite and overcome difficulties.

After the meeting, measures were taken to adjust the national economy. These mainly included considerably streamlining employed workers and reducing the urban population; cutting back the scale of capital construction and suspending a large number of capital construction projects; reducing the size of the industrial sector and having enterprises switch to the production of other products, merge with other companies, suspend operations, or simply close; and providing more support for agriculture in the form of materials, capital, and human resources and strengthening leadership at community level in the countryside. In the adjustment of agricultural policies, various responsibility systems for agricultural production, including fixed output quotas for each household, were tried out in some places to good effect.

Thanks to nearly two years of adjustments in the period before

and after the Meeting of Seven Thousand, various construction undertakings began to show clear signs of robust development in the summer of 1963. By the end of 1965, the task of adjusting the economy was fully accomplished. Gross output in industry and agriculture reached historical highs; the ratio between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry was improved; the ratio between accumulation and consumption basically returned to normal; and revenue and expenditures were balanced, the market was stable, and living standards were improved. Through the efforts of the Party and the people, the serious difficulties brought about by the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune Movement had finally been dealt with.

With economic adjustments producing major achievements, the Party saw this as the appropriate time to set a new goal. At the First Session of the Third National People's Congress at the end of 1964, Zhou Enlai defined the historical task of the Four Modernizations, namely, "turning China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense, and modern science and technology over not too long a period." The Central Committee also decided on a two-step strategy for achieving modernization. Starting from the Third Five-Year Plan, the first step was to establish an independent and complete industrial system and economic system over three five-year plan periods; the second step would be to then fully realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology, to put China's economy at the forefront of the world. From this point on, the Four Modernizations was a common goal of the Party and the Chinese people and a powerful force that united the entire nation in making unremitting efforts.

Maintaining an Independent Stance and Opposing Hegemony

From the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, the world was in turmoil.

Amid the Cold War landscape dominated by the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union, China was confronted with overt and potential threats of aggression, war provocations, and military pressure from all sides. How to maintain independence and oppose the hegemony of both sides in order to safeguard China's national dignity and national interests was the Party's central consideration in international relations issues.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Mao revisited the issue of "intermediate zones" in the light of new developments, positing that two such zones existed. One covered the vast economically backward countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the other the imperialist countries and developed capitalist countries represented by Europe. Both zones opposed US control, while in Eastern European countries, the issue of opposition to Soviet control had arisen. Winning over these intermediate zones and developing relations with Asian, African, and Latin American countries became an important pillar of China's foreign policy in that period. The establishment of diplomatic relations with France in 1964 was a major achievement that opened the way to diplomatic relations with developed countries in the West.

During this period, the confrontation between China and the United States revolved around US armed intervention in Taiwan and interference in China's internal affairs as well as the US armed invasion of Viet Nam, which threatened China's security. In August 1958, the Central Committee and Mao put the Taiwan question under the spotlight with artillery attacks on Kinmen, dealing a heavy blow to the Chiang Kai-shek group's call for "counterattacks against the mainland" and the US attempt to create "two Chinas." The move forcefully illustrated the Chinese people's opposition to US interference in China's internal affairs and determination to safeguard national unity. The struggle against the US in support of Viet Nam that began in 1965 also

embodied the Chinese people's fearless spirit in opposing the threat of aggression and protecting world peace.

Since the late 1950s, problems and conflicts between China and the Soviet Union had been intensifying. The Soviet Communist Party acted as a patriarchal party and demanded that the CPC follow its strategy for world domination through Soviet-American cooperation in military and diplomatic matters. As Deng Xiaoping said, "The basic problem was that the Chinese were not treated as equals and felt humiliated." By staying independent and resolutely withstanding great pressure from the Soviet Union, the CPC was able to safeguard China's national sovereignty and the dignity of the nation and the Party.

A Decade of Achievements in Socialist Development and the Enterprising Spirit of Struggle and Hard Work

The period from 1956 to 1966 was a decade of all-around socialist development in which the Party undertook difficult explorations in building socialism. Despite twists and turns, the decade brought undeniable achievements. It was in this period that China began to lay out its industrial development, scientific research and the development of cutting-edge national defense technology, as well as the development of agricultural water conservancy and the mechanization and modernization of agriculture.

A comparison between industrial development in the years of 1956 and 1966 shows that the country's industrial fixed assets tripled in terms of original prices. In the iron and steel industry, in addition to the further development of the Anshan Iron and Steel Base, the largest in China, the decade also saw the creation of two major inland iron and steel bases in Wuhan and Baotou. In terms of machinery-based industries, metallurgy, mining, power stations, petrochemical, and other industrial equipment manufacturing industries were created, along with a dozen other basic

industries such as aircraft, automobile, and engineering machinery manufacturing. In addition, China developed the ability to independently design and manufacture some modern large-scale equipment. In 1964, China's self-sufficiency rate for main machinery and equipment reached more than 90 percent.

Particularly notable was the oil industry, which became a pillar of China's economy during this period. The construction of Daqing Oilfield was completed, followed by the development of Shengli Oilfield and Dagang Oilfield. By 1965, China was able to meet all domestic oil demand, enabling the country to proudly declare that the era of dependence on imported oil was over.

The transportation industry grew significantly. From 1958 to 1965, more than 9,000 kilometers of railroads were put into operation nationwide. New railways included the Yingtan-Xiamen, Baotou-Lanzhou, Lanzhou-Xining, Lanzhou-Urumqi, Chongqing-Guiyang, and Longli-Liuzhou lines. Save for Tibet, every province, autonomous region, and municipality directly under the central government was connected to the rail network, as Fujian, Ningxia, Qinghai, and Xinjiang welcomed their first rail lines. Considerable progress was also made in the development of road, water, and air transport.

Significant achievements were made in the construction of irrigation works on farmland, with large pivotal projects and reservoirs of various types playing a key role not only at the time but long into the future. Notable success was also achieved in science and technology. China exploded its first atomic bomb on October 16, 1964, bringing to an end the nuclear monopoly and blackmail of the great powers while also raising China's international status in the process. And breakthroughs were made in missile and satellite development. In an example of basic scientific research, China became the first country to artificially synthesize bovine insulin crystals in 1965.

The achievements in education and health were impressive, too. In 1957–1966, 1.4 million students graduated from colleges, and 2.11 million graduated from specialized secondary schools, 4.9 and 2.4 times higher than the period of 1950–1956, respectively. The number of medical and health institutions increased dramatically, and a national urban and rural medical network was basically established. Dangerous diseases such as smallpox, cholera, schistosomiasis, malaria, and plague were either eliminated or



• October 16, 1964, China explodes its first atomic bomb.

effectively prevented and controlled. Mao Zedong even wrote a poem to extol the miracle of eradicating schistosomiasis. Part of the poem reads, “We ask the God of Plague: Where are you bound? Paper barges aflame and candle-light illuminate the sky.”

A large volume of outstanding literary and artistic works were produced, including the novels *Song of Youth* and *The History of the Pioneers*, the movies and stage plays *The Red Detachment of Women* and *Sentinel under the Neon Lights*, and the opera *Sister Jiang*. The large musical and dance epic *The East is Red* is considered a classic of the period.

Areas with large ethnic minority populations took major strides in economic and cultural development. Many of them built large modern industrial bases, finally bringing to an end their history of not having modern industry. A number of higher education institutions were also

established in these areas, which developed the diverse array of talent need for local development.

During this decade, China trained a large number of specialists for Party, national, military, and socialist development, many of whom would go on to form the backbone of its reform, opening up, and modernization endeavors. The Party was strengthened, and its membership grew further. The number of Party members nationwide rose from 10.73 million in 1956 to 18.95 million in 1965.

As the “Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China” states: “A large part of the material and technical foundation on which we are now carrying out modernization was built during this period; the backbone of the country’s economic and cultural development and most of their working experience were also cultivated or accumulated in this period. This was the dominant facet of the Party’s work during this period.”

It is a matter of pride that the Party led the people through arduous explorations that yielded great achievements in socialist development, while at the same time building cultural and intellectual strength. The people of China enthusiastically committed themselves to the thriving socialist development of the time, and a large number of advanced models and heroes emerged to write numerous epics about achieving immense change; they forged an era-defining spirit that has transcended time and space and remains relevant right up to the present day.

To see China quickly shake off its status as a country poor in oil resources, Wang Jinxi, known as the Iron Man, and the other workers of Daqing Oilfield, demonstrated a willingness to “sacrifice 20 years of our lives to develop a major oilfield,” and the determination “to press on even if we have to create the conditions to do so ourselves.” In just over three years, they built the largest oil base in China, and in doing so forged the Daqing spirit, defined by patriotism, enterprise, pragmatism

and dedication, as well as the spirit of the Iron Man.

Even as he was battling chronic liver disease, Jiao Yulu, secretary of the Lankao County Party Committee in Henan Province, led the people of Lankao in fighting desertification, harnessing rivers, and improving farmland in order to transform the poor and backward image of their local area. Through his complete devotion to halting desertification and working for the people in both life and death, and his a public servant's spirit of having a place in his heart for all except himself, Jiao brought into being a spirit all of his own—the Jiao Yulu spirit, which was characterized by love for the people, hard work, a realistic attitude, a determination to rise to difficulties, and selfless dedication.

Under the leadership of the Lin County Party Committee, the people of Lin County, Henan Province, spent ten years building the 1,500-kilometer-long Red Flag Canal, known as the “manmade river of the sky,” in the towering Taihang Mountains—a feat that required them to bore through the mountainside and scale across the sky, leveling 1,250 peaks, boring 211 tunnels, and building 152 aqueducts along their way. During the construction process, 81 people lost their lives. The idea of “the people of Lin County being so ambitious as to vow to rearrange the rivers and mountains,” drove the residents to create the legend about a cohort of Chinese peasants who “transformed heaven and earth.”

Lei Feng was a soldier in the PLA who was willing to play a minor but important role in an ordinary post. Brave in dedication and always ready to help others, he epitomized the noble spirit of communism. Lei's name became the most resonant of that era. When he died in August of 1962, he was just 22 years old. In tribute, Mao Zedong wrote the inscription “Learn from Lei Feng.” Lei Feng's spirit has become a hallmark of the ethos of the People's Republic of China.

When the People's Republic of China successfully developed the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, and an artificial satellite, these

achievements brought great pride to the Chinese nation. A large number of scientists such as Qian Xuesen, Qian Sanqiang, and Deng Jiaxian tied their personal ideals to the fate of the motherland and their personal aspirations to the revitalization of the nation. They achieved amazing feats in virtual anonymity. They were fervently committed to their research in the Gobi Desert, dedicating their youth and their rest of their lives to the cause of national defense development in the PRC. The spirit they displayed, characterized by patriotism, dedication, self-reliance, hard work, and collaboration, as well as the courage of those scientists in scaling new heights, shall always be remembered across the land of China; they are precious cultural assets and serve as an inexhaustible source of strength for the Chinese people.

There are many more examples like these of a hero or an ethos that hold a place of great esteem for the Chinese people. This was a time of great difficulty and hardship in the development of the People's Republic, but also a period when many heroes emerged and spirits were high. In order to build a prosperous and strong People's Republic, the Chinese people, who had become masters of the country, raced against time. With their lives and their sacrifices, they painted a most beautiful picture, and with their practical actions, they proved that the struggle against difficulties is not just a material struggle but a psychological battle. Ethos is something which a nation depends on for its long-term survival, and only when that reaches a certain level can a nation stand firm and forge ahead in the current of history.

3. Socialist Development amid Twists and Turns

The Occurrence of the Cultural Revolution and Difficulties in All Aspects of Work

The Cultural Revolution was set in motion in 1966, just as China was overcoming grave economic difficulties, completing a readjustment of its economy, and launching its Third Five-Year Plan for national economic development.

The occurrence of the Cultural Revolution was due to complex social and historical reasons of both a domestic and international nature. For a long time after the founding of the People's Republic, China faced a severe external environment. The imperialists were hostile to China and imposed a blockade on it for a long period, having pinned their hopes for "peaceful evolution" on the PRC's third and fourth generations. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union also put great pressure on China, following the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations. Such an external environment had a great impact on the Party's well-founded judgments regarding the domestic political situation and its determination of the central tasks and policies of the Party and the state. Having coming through a long and brutal war, the CPC transitioned immediately into the stage of socialism, without having first gained a proper understanding of how to carry out socialist development in a country that was economically and culturally underdeveloped, or having made adequate ideological preparations for such an undertaking. In the period of revolutionary war, the Party had accumulated a great deal of experience in class struggle, experience which people applied and copied all too easily when it came to judging and handling the new problems of socialist development. As a result, they saw problems that were unrelated to class struggle as being part of the class struggle. They viewed the class struggle as being dominant

when it was in fact much more limited, and they continued to resort to large-scale political movements as the solution to this problem.

In May 1966, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted the "May 16 Circular," which pointed out that "the bourgeois representatives who have infiltrated the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a group of counter-revolutionary revisionists who, once conditions are ripe, will seize power and change from the dictatorship of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

In August, the 11th Plenary Session of the Eight Party Central Committee adopted the Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, proposing that "the focus of this campaign is to rectify those in power in the Party who have taken the capitalist road." The convening of these two meetings signified that the Cultural Revolution had begun in earnest. Following this, the country was engulfed by the Red Guard movement.

From January 1967 onward, the Cultural Revolution entered the stage of an all-out grab for power, and began to move very quickly toward a phase of "overthrowing all," and even full-scale civil war. Around February, Tan Zhenlin, Chen Yi, Ye Jianying, Li Fuchun, Li Xiannian, Xu Xiangqian, Nie Rongzhen, and other revolutionaries of the older generation moved to sharply criticize the erroneous practices of the Cultural Revolution at different meetings. However, their actions, which were labeled the "February adverse current," were suppressed and attacked.

By September 1968, revolutionary committees had been established nationwide. To some extent, this helped stop the anarchism that was rampant in the early days of the decade-long Cultural Revolution. In October, under extremely abnormal circumstances within the Party, the enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee

announced the decision to “expel Liu Shaoqi from the Party forever and remove him from all posts he holds in and outside the Party.”

The Ninth National Congress of the CPC, convened in April 1969, further systematized and legitimized the erroneous theory and practice of the Cultural Revolution. Between 1970 and 1971, a plot to seize supreme power was carried out by a counter-revolutionary group led by Lin Biao, which culminated in the staging of a counter-revolutionary armed coup. The incident signaled the failure of the Cultural Revolution in both theoretical and practical terms.

In 1972, Zhou Enlai issued a repudiation of ultra-Left thinking, which led to significant improvements in all areas of work. The Tenth Party Congress held in August 1973 continued to affirm the political and organizational lines of the Ninth Congress. After the Tenth Congress, Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan formed the Gang of Four that would attempt to seize supreme power of the Party and the state.

In January 1975, the First Session of the Fourth NPC reaffirmed the goal of achieving the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology in the 20th century and appointed Zhou Enlai as premier and Deng Xiaoping as first vice premier. This gave Chinese officials and people who had suffered during the repeated upheaval hope for the Party and the state.

The main considerations in launching the Cultural Revolution were to prevent the restoration of capitalism and seek China's own way of building socialism. As a leader of the ruling proletarian party, Mao Zedong constantly observed and thought about the real life problems of the emerging socialist society. He paid great attention to strengthening the Party and the people's power, which had been developed with such difficulty, remained highly alert to the danger of capitalist restoration, and made continuous explorations and struggled

tirelessly to eliminate corruption, privilege, and bureaucratism in the Party and the government. However, a weak understanding of the laws of socialist social development and an accumulation of “Leftist” mistakes in theory and practice meant that many of the right socialist development ideas were never implemented, which eventually resulted in civil unrest.

The Cultural Revolution lasted for ten years and caused the Party, the country, and the people to suffer the longest, most extensive, and most costly setback since the founding of the People’s Republic. The Party’s organization and state power were greatly weakened, many cadres and ordinary people were brutally persecuted, and democracy and the rule of law were trampled on, as the entire country sank into a grave political and social crisis. The Cultural Revolution was in no sense a revolution or a period of social progress. It was a period of civil strife that was erroneously initiated by the leadership and exploited by counter-revolutionary groups, with disastrous effects for the Party, the country, and the people. It left behind extremely painful lessons.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Party and the people never stopped fighting against “Leftist” mistakes. It was the resistance of Party members, workers, peasants, PLA members, intellectuals, and cadres at all levels that limited the damage of the Cultural Revolution. Progress was still made in some important areas of socialist development, and the nature of the Party, the people’s political power, the people’s armed forces, and society as a whole remained unchanged.

There is a difference between the Cultural Revolution as a political movement and the historical period of the Cultural Revolution. During this period, though China’s economy experienced major ups and downs, the Party and the people jointly worked through the difficulties to make important progress in all areas. In the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, the turmoil was mainly limited to cultural and educational sectors and Party and government institutions. The system of production,

by and large, remained intact. Thanks to the relatively sound economic foundation set during the preceding five-year readjustment, all fields of production posted comparatively satisfactory results in 1966.

In 1969, as the domestic situation gradually stabilized, the leaders in charge of government work like Zhou Enlai seized the opportunity to resume work in major industries and other economic fields and strengthened planned management of the economy. Their efforts brought about a reversal in the national economy in 1969 after two consecutive years of decline.

In 1970, measures were adopted to expedite the swift, extensive building of a strategic rear area (mainly for defense industry projects), and the “five small works” (small iron-and-steel, machinery, chemical fertilizer, small coal pits, and cement works) developed vigorously. The actual levels of economic progress for this year were sufficient to basically fulfill the main annual targets and the major targets for the Third Five-Year Plan.

In 1971, China began carrying out its Fourth Five-Year Plan. Due to the neglect of economic problems and the blind push for high targets, the rash advance in economic development was further accelerated. In 1972 and 1973, in accordance with Zhou Enlai’s instructions, the State Council adopted a raft of measures for readjusting the national economy. By the second half of 1973, the economic situation had taken an obvious turn for the better, and the major targets in the year’s economic plan were fulfilled or surpassed. During this period, China incorporated a population control index into its national plan for economic development for the first time, formulated its first document on environmental protection, and imported a number of technologically advanced pieces of machinery and complete sets of equipment, which greatly helped boost economic development and technological progress.

During this period, China also made notable progress with construction

in the Third-Line Region. In May and June 1964, Mao Zedong, when considering the strategic layout of economic and national defense development, divided the country into the first-, second-, and third-line regions and introduced the idea of third-line construction. Not long after this, development of the third line got under way. Between July 1970 and October 1973, railway engineering troops along with railroad engineers worked under extreme conditions to construct the Chengdu-Kunming, Zhuzhou-Guiyang, and Xiangyang-Chongqing railway lines, overcoming extremely challenging mountain terrain to greatly improve the transportation of southwestern China, which had for a long time remained poor and isolated. In addition, the construction of large coal mines such as Liupanshui in Guizhou and Baodingshan in Sichuan, and the building large and mid-sized hydropower stations such as Liujiaxia in Gansu and Danjiangkou and Gezhouba in Hubei were either ongoing or completed during this time. On the Jinsha River, where work and living conditions were extremely harsh, builders relied on their own manpower to transport large machinery weighing thousands of tons in order to complete the construction of the Sichuan Panzhihua Iron and Steel Base, a large-scale enterprise intricately carved into Sichuan's steep mountainous terrain. The third-line construction largely changed the unbalanced industrial layout of the old China. By bringing a large number of top military enterprises, state-owned enterprises and research institutes westward, it created rare development opportunities for the western region.

A number of transportation lines and oil pipelines were completed. The Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was built in 1968, becoming the largest Chinese-designed railway-highway bridge. The Baoji-Chengdu Railway was converted into the first electrified railway in China. In 1974, the first long-distance pipeline was laid to transport oil from the Daqing Oilfield in northeast China to the port of Qinhuangdao on the Bohai Sea.

China also made remarkable achievements in science and technology for both defense and civil purposes. Included among these were the launch of its first missile carrying an atom bomb in October 1966, the detonation of its first hydrogen bomb in June 1967, the launch of its first man-made satellite *Dongfanghong-1* in April 1970, and the launch of its first recoverable satellite in November 1975. In 1972, China Academy of Chinese Medical Sciences isolated a new compound called *qinghaosu*, or artemisinin, which could be used to treat malaria; the discovery has saved millions of lives worldwide, especially in developing countries. In 1973, Chinese scientists succeeded in breeding a new strain of indica hybrid rice, the first of its kind in the world.

These achievements, particularly the cutting-edge defense technologies, which strengthened China's composite national strength and strategic defense capability, held great political significance.

As Deng Xiaoping later commented, "If it were not for the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb and the satellites we have launched since the 1960s, China would not have its present international standing as a great, influential country." These achievements can be attributed to the concerted efforts of numerous Party members, officials, and the general public.

A Fresh Phase in Diplomacy

After the founding of the People's Republic, the Party adhered to an independent foreign policy of peace. During the early days of the Cultural Revolution, China's diplomatic work was subject to serious interference and disruption. By the early 1970s, more than twenty years after World War II, significant changes had occurred in the world and a new international landscape was emerging. This molded the conditions for changes to China's diplomatic strategy. Thanks to the efforts of different sides, a new phase was opened in Chinese diplomacy in the

early 1970s, culminating in a second wave of establishing diplomatic relations since the PRC's founding.

The key factor in this favorable change was the *détente* in China-US relations. The United States was scrambling to alleviate the impact of its failure in the Viet Nam War, preserve its superpower status, and meet the challenge of the Soviet Union, all of which made it extremely anxious to mend relations with China. China, for its part, needed a rapprochement with the United States in order to meet the direct and serious threat posed to its security by the Soviet Union, resolve the Taiwan question and achieve national reunification, and restore and expand its relations with other countries.

After assuming office in January 1969, President Richard Nixon expressed his wish to improve relations with China. In April 1971, Mao Zedong agreed to invite the US table tennis team to China. This “ping-pong diplomacy” brought about an unexpected improvement in



• Mao Zedong with Richard Nixon at Zhongnanhai on February 21, 1972.

China-US relations and precipitated changes to the global situation. In July, Dr. Henry Kissinger, special national security assistant to the US president, made a secret trip to China. The world was stunned by this news when it emerged. Then in February of 1972, President Nixon himself visited China. After talks between the two sides, the Sino-US Joint Communiqué was issued on February 28 in Shanghai. This marked the beginning of the normalization of relations between the two countries.

On October 25, 1971, the 26th General Assembly of the United Nations passed Resolution 2758 on the restoration of all lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and on the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan from all UN organizations. On November 1, the national flag of the People's Republic of China was raised for the first time in the UN headquarters. This was a major diplomatic victory for China. Since then, China, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, has worked tirelessly within the organizations of the UN to realize the purposes of the UN Charter, maintain world peace, strengthen friendship and cooperation among nations, and promote the cause of human progress.

The Sino-US détente opened the way for an improvement in Sino-Japanese relations. Japanese Premier Tanaka Kakuei began a visit to China on September 25, 1972. On September 29, a joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries was signed.

By the end of 1973, China had established diplomatic relations with most developed capitalist countries save for the United States, as well as formal relations with the European Community. China engaged in cooperative exchanges with these countries in the economic, trade, technological, and cultural spheres. It also restored, improved, or

developed relations to varying degrees with the countries of Eastern Europe.

Another impressive achievement of China's diplomacy in this period was the development of friendly, cooperative relations with many developing countries, which helped to further expand the wave of establishing new ties. China established diplomatic relations with more than 40 Asian, African, and Latin American countries, and extensively supported the just struggles of these countries to defend their independence and sovereignty, oppose foreign aggression and interference, and maintain peace in their respective regions and beyond. China worked earnestly to promote solidarity among these nations, and jointly strove with them to change the old international order under which the small were bullied by the big and the poor exploited by the rich, and to establish a new international order based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

During the first half of the 1970s, Mao Zedong gradually developed his concept of the "three worlds." Mao contended that the two superpowers of the Soviet Union and the United States belonged to what he termed the first world. Other developed countries in the West and the East European countries made up the second world, while the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which were great in number, constituted the third world. During that period, this important concept guided China's diplomacy, as it strove to respond to superpower hegemony and the threat of war and build friendly and cooperative relations with the third world and other countries, including the US with whom it sought to normalize relations.

The first half of the 1970s was a period of diplomatic breakthroughs for China. By 1976, it had established diplomatic relations with more than 110 countries, a majority at the time. This achievement greatly improved China's security environment and expanded the arena for its diplomatic

activities. It also created favorable conditions and laid a foundation for introducing the reform and opening up policy and participating in international affairs after the Cultural Revolution.

The Comprehensive Rectification of 1975

In early 1975, after the closing of the First Session of the Fourth NPC, Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, took charge of the daily work of the Central Committee and the State Council and initiated a root-and-branch rectification.

In accordance with Mao's instructions to promote stability and unity and develop the economy, Deng Xiaoping clearly and firmly set out the guiding principles for this rectification. He emphasized that things must be put right in all fields nationwide. Industry, agriculture, commerce, finance and trade, culture and education, science and technology, and the military were all to be put in order. The priority was to rectify Party organizations, and especially Party leadership. After the rectification, robust and courageous leadership would be established. It was necessary to successfully achieve stability and unity and to develop the socialist economy. Party leadership would need to be strengthened, and its fine conduct promoted. Deng also put forward the important Marxist view that science and technology are a productive force, and demanded that science and technology work be done well.

The rectification of the railroad sector was the breakthrough point for Deng in reversing the chaos in the economy. The Party Central Committee made a decision on March 5, 1975 to focus on solving the problem of railroad transportation and sent a working group to rectify several railway bureaus with serious problems along with the relevant local Party committees. The working group removed from their posts a number of bad leaders who were heavily involved in factional activities and consistently causing trouble, redressed injustices, determinedly

reshuffled leading bodies, and restored and even improved rules and regulations. The rectification of the railroad sector led to the rectification of the entire industrial sector, starting with steel. After several months of rectification, the economy began to improve.

During this period, the Party Central Committee took some important measures in organizational work on further reinstating officials, allowing veterans who had been expelled from office to resume their work as soon as possible. The rectification of the military achieved major progress in addressing the problems of bloating, laxity, conceit, extravagance and inertia, in adjusting the leadership of major units, and in reinstating cadres. In literature and art, the Party reemphasized its policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, and lifted restrictions on the publication and performance of some outstanding works. The documents "Some Issues on Accelerating Industrial Development" and "Report on the Work of the Academy of Sciences" were particularly important in that they offered systematic proposals for correcting "Leftist" mistakes and restoring or establishing the correct policies in industry, science and technology. These documents put forward farsighted and important ideas for industrial reform and science and technology work, laying the theoretical foundations for the subsequent reform of these two areas.

Following the comprehensive rectification, things improved significantly. Public order was stabilized in most areas, and the economy rebounded rapidly. The total output value of industry and agriculture and the output of most products in 1975 were basically in line the goals of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. Deng Xiaoping later remarked, "We had begun to set things to rights as early as 1975.... Speaking of reform, actually we had already experimented with it in 1974 and 1975.... In those days, the reform was called rectification, and we emphasized the need to develop the economy, first of all by bringing order to production. In

every place where this was carried out, it was successful.”

The End of the Cultural Revolution

On January 8, 1976, Premier Zhou Enlai, who was dearly loved by the Chinese people, passed away. The Gang of Four enforced a series of prohibitions to stop people from mourning the late premier, which served only to fuel the indignation of a large number of officials and citizens. In late March, people in all parts of the country began to ignore the restrictions and stage commemorative activities to honor Zhou. By going directly against the will of the Gang of Four, the people were expressing their opposition to their wicked actions.

Then on July 6, 1976, the esteemed Zhu De passed away.

Finally on September 9, 1976, Mao Zedong, a principal leader of the Party and the state, passed away. Mao was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist, and a great pioneer in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. He was a great patriot and national hero of modern China who was at the core of the first generation of the Party's central collective leadership. He was a great person who led the Chinese people in completely changing their destiny and their country.

In just nine months, three outstanding Party and state leaders had passed away one after another. The entire Party and the nation were plunged into a state of deep mourning and profound contemplation about the future of the Party and the state.

In the period before and after Mao's death, the Gang of Four intensified their efforts to usurp supreme power of the Party and the state. This sparked profound anxiety among many veteran revolutionaries. On the night of October 6, Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and others, representing the Political Bureau and fulfilling the will of the Party and the people, put the Gang of Four and the faction's core



- People gather at Tian'anmen Square to celebrate the downfall of the Gang of Four.

members in Beijing under investigation. On October 14, the Party Central Committee announced that the Gang of Four had been smashed. Word spread quickly and people were elated by the news.

The downfall of the Gang of Four marked the end of the Cultural Revolution. Social order was restored in the country, and the work of the Party and the state began to be put back on track.

The Cultural Revolution represented a serious setback for China in the pursuit of its own socialist path. Relying on its own strength, however, the CPC was able to eventually correct this serious mistake. This period of history once again proved that the Chinese people are a great people, that the CPC is able to rely on its own efforts to correct mistakes, and that the Party and the socialist system possess enormous vitality.

The decade-long Cultural Revolution revealed the serious defects of Party and state structures, policies, and work at that time in a most

unimaginable way.

As Deng would later say when summarizing the historical experience in the period after 1957, "The experience gained during those 20 years—particularly the lessons of the Cultural Revolution—taught us that we could not proceed unless we carried out reform and formulated new political, economic, and social policies."

From the founding of the People's Republic to the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Party led the people in arduously exploring the path of socialist revolution and development. Although it experienced serious twists and turns, it still managed to create original theories and make great achievements. Working off the foundation of dire poverty left behind by the old China, the Party was very quickly able to lead the people in carrying out vibrant socialist development of a kind unprecedented in the history of China. As it underwent radical social change, China established independent and relatively complete industrial and economic systems, independently developed an atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, and artificial satellites, effectively protected national sovereignty and security, and became a major country with significant influence in the world, thus creating important experience of socialist development in a large Asian country with extremely backward productive forces. The Party strove to explore a path of socialist development that conformed with China's conditions. Through these explorations, it gradually developed several very important understandings:

- The focus of the work of the Party and the state should be shifted to socialist development and technological transformation;
- China should follow its own path and explore socialist development that suited its conditions;
- Under the fundamental and primary contradictions of socialist society, the development of the productive forces should be the

fundamental task;

- Socialist modernization should be realized in two steps, and the development of Chinese socialism should come in two stages;
- There should still be commodity production and commodity exchange in socialist society, and the law of value should be respected and commodity production developed;
- The contradictions between the Party and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be correctly distinguished and properly handled.

These innovative theoretical advancements and achievements provided the Party with valuable experience; they laid the theoretical preparations and material foundations for the creation of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new historical period.

Chapter VII

A Turning Point in History and the Beginning of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, the whole nation was overjoyed. People had ardent expectations that the mistakes of the Cultural Revolution would be put right, the dire situation arising from the past decade of unrest would be reversed, and the Party and the nation fully emerge from crisis. This was a time of rapid growth in the global economy and constant progress in science and technology. Developments both at home and abroad required the CPC to make swift political decisions and strategic choices regarding fundamental policies that would determine the future of the Party and the country.

At this major historical juncture, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was convened in Beijing in December of 1978. The meeting took the historic decision to shift the focus of the Party's work to socialist modernization and implement a policy of reform and opening up. In the history of the Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the decision represented a significant and far-reaching turning point, as it ushered in a new period of reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

1. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee: A Turning Point in History

Taking Faltering Steps Forward and Discussing the Criterion for Testing Truth

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, the Central Committee took firm measures to investigate and eliminate factionalism, rectify unjust and false cases, and adjust and establish leadership teams at all levels of the CPC, the government, and the military. It launched a campaign to expose and criticize the crimes of the Gang of Four, and worked to restore normality in the Party and the state. A long-awaited political stability began to take shape.

It was no easy task, however, to quickly eliminate the political and ideological chaos and confusion sown by the Cultural Revolution. A key source of this chaos and confusion was the rise of the two counterrevolutionary groups led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, but it could also be linked back to the “Leftist” mistakes that had lingered within the Party for a long time. The most prominent obstacle to putting things right, however, was the misguided policy of the “two whatevers”—a commitment to resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave. Based on a refusal to question any Mao’s decisions and instructions, this policy ran contrary to the basic tenets of Marxism and to the Party’s guiding principle of seeking truth from facts. It therefore constituted a major roadblock to the Party’s practice of upholding truth and correcting mistakes under the new circumstances.

On April 10, 1977, shortly after the proposal of the “two whatevers” policy, Deng Xiaoping, who had yet to resume his leadership role, wrote to the Central Committee. “From generation to generation, we

should use genuine Mao Zedong Thought taken as an integral whole in guiding our Party, our army and our people," he pointed out. Deng would later criticize the "two whatevers" on numerous occasions. Ye Jianying, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian, and other revolutionaries of the older generation also stressed the need to carry forward the Party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and rejected the "two whatevers."

At its Third Plenary Session in July 1977, the 10th Central Committee decided to reinstate Deng Xiaoping as a member of the CPC Central Committee, a member of its Political Bureau, a member of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee, vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee, vice chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission, vice premier of the State Council, and Chief of the General Staff of the PLA.

On his return, Deng volunteered to take charge of science and education, two sectors he would use as a strategic starting point for restoring order. He led the criticism against the "sinister line" peddled by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, which had dictated the literary, art, and education circles, and overturned the "two appraisals"¹ under which intellectuals had suffered for many years. He called for respect for knowledge and talent, emphasizing that "science and technology are productive forces," and that intellectuals working for the socialist cause were an integral part of the working people.

The Party thus overturned its "Leftist" policy toward intellectuals. Knowledge and intellectuals regained the respect of the Party and the state, a change that greatly inspired intellectuals in the fields of science, education, literature, and the arts. A large number of banned films and

¹ The first of the "two appraisals" was that in 17 years prior to the start of the Cultural Revolution, the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in the education sector, a so-called "dictatorship by the proponents of a sinister line;" the second appraisal was that the world outlook of the vast majority of intellectuals was basically bourgeois, that is, they were bourgeois intellectuals.

operas were put on the screen and stage again, including *Ashima*, *Peach Blossom Fan* and *Li Shuangshuang*. Meanwhile, bans were lifted on many outstanding artistic and literary works from China and abroad. Artistic creation was given a new lease of life as people's organizations resumed their work, including federations of literary and art circles and writers' associations.

At the end of 1977, China restored the national college entrance examination, the higher education admission system that was suspended during the Cultural Revolution. Out of a total 5.7 million, 273,000 candidates won admission to colleges and universities nationwide and joyfully embarked on a new life on college campus. With the convention of the National Science Conference in March 1978, the country ushered in a new period of scientific development.

The CPC held its 11th National Congress from August 12 to 18, 1977. At the Congress, it declared the end of the Cultural Revolution and reaffirmed the Party's fundamental objective of building China into a strong modern socialist country before the end of the 20th century. Due to historical constraints, however, the Congress still endorsed some of the misguided theories and practices of the Cultural Revolution and failed to fundamentally correct the Cultural Revolution's mistakes. The Congress formed a new Central Committee, which elected Hua Guofeng as chairman, and Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Wang Dongxing as vice chairmen.

Two years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Party and the state achieved progress in their work, and some sectors began to restore order. Economic development, social services, and foreign affairs gradually returned to normal and achieved some progress. The people eagerly anticipated that the Party and the state would very soon put their difficulties behind and start taking giant strides forward. However, every single step to set things right was slow and difficult, due to the

lasting impact of “Leftist” mistakes committed during the Cultural Revolution and the constraints imposed by the “two whatevers.” The Party and the state were faltering in their efforts to seek progress. The situation led many people both in and outside the Party to ponder about the right attitude to take toward Mao’s instructions, and the right criteria for judging right and wrong of the historical practice. These questions inevitably led to a debate over “seeking truth from facts” and “the two whatevers.”

On May 10, 1978, *Theoretical Trends*, an internal publication of the Central Party School, published an article entitled “Practice is the Only Criterion for Testing Truth.” The article was publicized in the *Guangming Daily* the next day under the byline of a “special commentator,” and released to audiences nationwide by Xinhua News Agency. The article pointed out that social practice was the one and only criterion for testing truth. It called for courage in questioning the taboos and dogmas set by the Gang of Four and in setting the facts straight. Instead of taking ready-made formulas to restrict, stifle, and curtail the abundant and fast-growing revolutionary experience, it called for courage in studying fresh problems that had emerged in new practices. The article sparked a strong response among officials and the public and triggered a great debate on the criterion for truth.

The idea that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth was common sense according to Marxism. Yet because it sharply contradicted the “two whatevers” and challenged the longstanding patterns of rigid thinking and cult of personality, people began to criticize the discussion on the criterion for truth from the very outset.

Deng Xiaoping provided prompt and strong support to the discussion at a critical moment. In his speech to the All-Army Political Work Conference on June 2, 1978, Deng elaborated on Mao Zedong’s point of view on seeking truth from facts, criticized the “two whatevers”

in relation to some people's erroneous interpretation of Mao Zedong and his thought, and called on the nation to "set things right, and cast off our mental shackles so that we can really emancipate our minds." Led by Deng Xiaoping and backed by many other older revolutionaries, a great debate began about the criterion for truth, very soon involving the entire Party and Chinese society at large. At the central and provincial levels, newspapers and magazines published more than 650 articles on the matter, creating an enthusiastic wave of discussion on emancipating the mind.

This profound and widespread campaign on the emancipation of the mind was an ideological prelude to China's efforts to set the record straight, restore order, and launch the policy of reform and opening up.

During the debate, the country denounced the ultra-Left trend of thought that had caused many years of harm, restored the Party's Marxist guiding principles, and reflected on the twists and turns of the past and pondered over the way forward. People in and outside the Party were filled with questions and ideas, and new prospects of opening up and systematic reforms began to take shape.

After the downfall of the Gang of Four, China rapidly expanded its contacts with other countries. Many Party and state leaders travelled abroad to learn about the outside world. All lamented the time that had been wasted over the past years and the large gap that had grown between China and the developed countries in the economy, science and technology, and management. Party and state leaders were driven by a strong sense of crisis and urgency to place the introduction of advanced international management expertise and scientific and technological developments on top of the agenda. China began to give shape to a general blueprint to accelerate development through reform and opening up.

At the National Science Conference in March 1978, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that independence does not mean shutting the door to

the world, nor does self-reliance mean blind opposition to everything foreign. "Every person or country should learn from the advantages and advanced science and technology of others." At a forum held by the State Council from July to September 1978, the heads of many government departments proposed to reform the rigid economic management system and introduce state-of-the-art foreign technologies and foreign capital into China. At the National Planning Conference in late September, three transformations were proposed for the economic sector. Firstly, reforms should focus on production and technological revolution; secondly, management systems and methods should be made more scientific and conform to economic rules; thirdly, there should be a major shift from the former state of isolation or semi-isolation to an open policy of actively bringing in state-of-the-art foreign technologies, using foreign capital, and boldly entering the international market.

In September 1978, Deng Xiaoping inspected the three northeastern Chinese provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning. During the visit, he stressed repeatedly that the world was changing every day, and new things were constantly emerging and new problems were continually arising. He said, "We can't afford to lock our doors, refuse to use our brains and remain forever backward. We must make use of the favorable conditions we now enjoy to accelerate the growth of our productive forces and improve the people's life." He proposed that the mass movement to expose and criticize the crimes of the Gang of Four should come to an end at the appropriate time so that the people could resume their normal work. On this basis, he put forward the very important proposal of shifting the focus of the work of the Party and the state to modernization. This laid the ideological foundation for the subsequent Central Working Conference and the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee

Before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was convened, the CPC Central Committee held a working meeting in Beijing from November 10 to December 15, 1978. The theme of the meeting was originally economic work. The meeting placed Deng's proposal to shift the focus of the Party and the state high on its agenda, as it had received the backing of the Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. Participants unanimously endorsed the proposal. But they thought such a shift impossible, unless the issue of guiding ideology was properly settled, "Leftist" mistakes, including those of the Cultural Revolution, were rectified, problems such as dogmatism, book worship, and rigid thinking were addressed, and the right criterion for truth was adopted. During its discussions, the northeast China group suggested the problems arising during the Cultural Revolution and from the period before the Cultural Revolution should be systematically



• Deng Xiaoping at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee.

settled. This proposal was echoed by all other participants at the meeting. What followed was an exchange of ideas on the criterion for truth and heated discussions on economic issues, Party building, and democracy and the legal system, which constituted changes to the meeting's agenda. Strong calls were made for the Party to reestablish its guiding principle of seeking truth from facts. On November 25, the Political Bureau settled a number of outstanding historical grievances when it reexamined the Tian'anmen incident and redressed the misjudged treason cases of Bo Yibo and 60 others.

On December 13, at the closing session of the Central Working Conference, Deng Xiaoping gave an important speech "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future." In his speech, Deng pointed out that "the primary task is to emancipate our minds. Only then can we, guided as we should be by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, find correct solutions to inherited as well as emerging problems.... When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish." Deng stressed that democracy is a major condition for emancipating the mind. He said, "To ensure people's democracy, we must strengthen our legal system...ensure that there are laws to go by, that they are observed and strictly enforced, and that violators are brought to book." In his speech, Deng set out the task of economic structural reform. "Our modernization program and socialist cause will be doomed if we don't make reforms now," he said. In his speech, Deng also proposed a "big policy," the objective of which was to allow some regions, enterprises, as well as some workers and peasants to earn more and improve their quality of life sooner than others, based on their hard work and greater contributions to society. If the standard of living of some people was raised first, this would inevitably set

an impressive example for others. It would help the whole national economy to develop in a wavelike manner and help all Chinese people of different ethnic groups to become prosperous in a comparatively short period. This speech was a manifesto for emancipating the mind and forging a new path for the new era. It subsequently became the keynote report to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee.

The Party held the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in Beijing on December 18-22, 1978. At this meeting, the Party broke free of the shackles of longstanding "Leftist" mistakes and completely rejected the misguided "two whatevers" policy. It highly praised the discussion on the criterion for testing truth and reestablished the Party's ideological principle of seeking truth from facts.

The Plenary Session abandoned the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link," brought the nationwide movement to denounce Lin Biao and the Gang of Four to a timely and decisive end, and decided that from January 1979 onward the Party and the entire nation would focus on socialist modernization. It set the objectives of reform and opening up, and described the Four Modernizations as a wide-ranging and profound revolution. A series of new major economic measures would be taken to thoroughly reform the economic management system and business management methodology. On the basis of self-reliance, China would also actively seek economic cooperation with other countries in the spirit of equality and mutual benefit.

The Plenary Session stressed the need to promote democracy fully, and set out proposals to institutionalize democracy and codify it in law; it made the decisions to improve the Party's system of democratic centralism, refine the Party's rules and regulations, and tighten Party discipline. It was also pointed out that the right attitude was needed in reviewing the historic role of Mao Zedong and the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. This set the direction for upholding and further

developing Mao Zedong Thought.

The Plenary Session elected additional members to the central leadership groups, and established through election the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection with Chen Yun as its first secretary. At the working conference of the Central Committee prior to the Plenary Session, Hua Guofeng made a self-criticism regarding the “two whatevers.” After the Plenary Session, Hua continued as chairman of the Party’s Central Committee, but Deng Xiaoping effectively served as the core of the Central Committee’s collective leadership when it came to reestablishing the Party’s guiding principles and mapping out the major policies for reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee signaled the end of the difficult period following the downfall of the Gang of Four, during which the Party and the state moved forward in a faltering fashion. It reinstated a Marxist ideological, political, and organizational line, marking a significant and far-reaching turning point in the history of the Party since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, which ushered in a new era of reform, opening up and socialist modernization in China. The historic decision to pursue reform and opening up was based on a clear vision of the future held by the Party and the state, a profound review of the experiences of socialist revolution and development, a keen insight into the trends of the times, and a firm grasp of the expectations and needs of the people. Reform and opening up represented a great awakening for the CPC, an awakening that facilitated great theoretical and practical innovations for the Party. The Plenary Session raised the curtain on reform, opening up and the creation of socialism with Chinese characteristics, as well as the gradual development of Deng Xiaoping Theory. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee is recorded in history as a great turning point.

2. Completing the Task of Setting Things Right

Redressing Unjust and False Convictions on a Large Scale and Adjusting Social Relations

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, efforts were made in full swing at the central and local levels to redress unjust and false convictions under the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting all mistakes.

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee took the most influential step in this process when it adopted the Resolution on the Vindication of Liu Shaoqi in February 1980. The Resolution overturned all charges against Liu Shaoqi and restored his reputation as a great Marxist and a proletarian revolutionary, as well as his role as one of the main leaders of the Party and the state. This showed that the CPC was a serious, conscientious, open, and honest Marxist party that sought the truth from facts and corrected its own mistakes. At the same time, the Party and the people also saw the importance of strengthening democratic centralism and building democracy and the legal system.

By the end of 1982, the nationwide campaign to redress unjust and false convictions was largely completed. More than 3 million wrongfully convicted officials were rehabilitated, and more than 470,000 people were reinstated as Party members. These people were now free to resume their jobs or take up new leadership positions.

While settling historical issues, the Party also did a lot to adjust various social relations. It rehabilitated those who had been wrongly labeled as “Rightists” during the expanded anti-Rightist struggle in 1957. The Central Committee also announced that former industrialists and businessmen had been transformed into workers; small traders, peddlers and craftsmen—formerly categorized as bourgeois industrialists and

merchants—would also be recognized as workers; the absolute majority of former landowners and rich peasants had also been reformed to become members of the working class. This series of measures provided ideal settlements to many problems within the Party and among the people.

The Central Committee regarded the implementation of the Party's policy toward intellectuals with high importance. China took a series of effective measures, and formulated regulations on natural science awards and the awarding of academic degrees to motivate intellectuals and improve the selection and development of talent. The Central Committee also called for improved working and living conditions for scientists and engineers—especially middle-aged science and technological workers in the leading ranks in their fields. Respect for knowledge and talent once again prevailed in Chinese society, injecting fresh vitality into the educational, scientific, and cultural sectors.

The Party regarded correcting some of the “Leftist” practices in its united front work as an important aspect of adjusting social relations. In a speech to the Second Session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee in June 1979, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that China's united front had become a broad alliance of socialist workers and patriots who supported socialism, which was led by the working class and underpinned by the alliance of workers and peasants. China's other political parties had become political unions consisting of that segment of socialist workers with whom they had contact and patriots who supported socialism. Between 1978 and 1979, all other political parties, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and all people's organizations held congresses and elected leading bodies and heads. These parties and industry and commerce federations resume the activities that had been suspended during the Cultural Revolution.

People from all walks of life were greatly buoyed to see the

vindication of those who had been unjustly or falsely convicted, the adjustment of social relations, and the proper settlement of conflicts within the Party and among the people. These efforts played a vital role in promoting social stability, cementing unity among the people, consolidating and expanding the patriotic united front, and ultimately in pushing forward reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

In the course of developing democracy and the legal system, one major event that attracted people's attention was the trials of the chief culprits involved in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. In September 1980, the 16th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth NPC decided to set up a special prosecutor's office in the Supreme People's Procuratorate and a special court in the Supreme People's Court for the public trial of the two counter-revolutionary cliques. Between November 1980 and January 1981, the special court publicly heard the trials of the 10 chief culprits from the two cliques. This was a reflection of the solemnity of China's socialist democracy and legal system.

Restoring the Guiding Ideology and Issuing the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the PRC

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, many officials and ordinary people broke free of the "Leftist" ideas that had shackled them before and during the Cultural Revolution in the course of the campaign to emancipate the mind and set things right. Many inside and outside the Party became passionate about studying new developments and solving new problems. At the same time, however, some alarming phenomena arose that must attract close attention. Some had failed to grasp, or even rejected, the new line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. A

small number distorted the idea of emancipating the mind, exaggerated the mistakes of the Party and Mao Zedong, and attempted to reject Party leadership, socialism, as well as Mao Zedong himself and his eponymous thought.

To address the ideological confusion, Deng delivered a speech “Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles” at a forum on the principles of the Party’s theoretical work in March 1979. He highlighted the importance of keeping to the socialist road in terms of ideology and politics, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat (later referred to as the people’s democratic dictatorship), upholding the leadership of the Communist Party, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These principles were “the basic prerequisite for achieving modernization.” Deng warned that “to undermine any of the four cardinal principles is to undermine the whole cause of socialism in China, the whole cause of modernization.” Deng also put forward a key idea in this speech, stating that “Now, in our national construction, we must likewise act in accordance with our own situation and find a Chinese path to modernization.” Deng’s major address indicated that from the very outset, CPC-led reform and opening up would have a clear socialist orientation.

If the CPC was to pursue reform and opening up and set things right in a comprehensive manner, it would need to reach conclusions on the major historical issues of the Party since the founding of the PRC, in order to achieve unity in the thinking of the Party and the Chinese people as a whole. This would allow everyone to unite and face the future as one. In November 1979, a group was established under the leadership of Deng to draft the Resolution on Certain Historical Questions of the Party since the Founding of the PRC. Over the next two years, Deng convened more than 10 meetings of the group to give important instructions on the draft. He proposed that the resolution should cover what could be

considered three general requirements, principles, or guiding thoughts. First, it should affirm the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and explain the need to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This point was most essential. Second, it should give a matter-of-fact analysis of the rights and wrongs of the major events of the 30 years since the founding of the PRC, including a fair evaluation of the merits and demerits of some leading comrades. Third, it should provide a basic summary of the Party's past work, without going into too much detail, for the purposes of summing up the past to encourage people to close ranks and look to the future. Deng noted the need for a balanced and fair evaluation of Mao's merits and demerits that were grounded on the facts. The banner of Mao Zedong Thought was not to be abandoned, as to do so would be to deny the glorious history of the Party. Deng also stressed that it was Mao who had saved the Party and the nation from many crises. Without Mao, the Chinese people would have spent a much longer period of time searching in the dark.

In June 1981, after more than a year of drafting and extensive soliciting of opinions, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee adopted the Resolution on Certain Historical Questions of the Party since the Founding of the PRC. The document fundamentally rejected the erroneous theories of the Cultural Revolution and "the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It provided a realistic evaluation of some major historical events and important historical figures, and summarized the historical experience of the socialist revolution and development since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Resolution pointed out that the history of the CPC since the PRC's founding, generally speaking, was a chronicle of how the Party had led the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in socialist revolution and development and in making tremendous achievements, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

The Resolution appraised the historical position of Mao Zedong according to the facts, and fully affirmed the great significance of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding thought of the Party held for a long time. It described Mao Zedong as a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician, noting that his contributions were primary while his mistakes were secondary. The Resolution differentiated Mao's mistakes in his later years from Mao Zedong Thought, defining Mao Zedong Thought as the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China and the correct principles and experiential summary of the Chinese revolution. Its correctness had been borne out in practice, and it was the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China. The Resolution provided a systematic summary of the various aspects and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought—seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and self-reliance. It stressed that Mao Zedong Thought was an invaluable intellectual treasure of the Party that would serve as a guide for the Party's actions for a long time to come; the Party must continue to uphold, enrich, and develop it with new principles and conclusions that accord with reality.

The adoption of the Resolution demonstrated the CPC's solemn attitude in admitting, analyzing, and correcting its errors and mistakes, including those of its leaders. By doing so, these errors and mistakes became valuable historical lessons alongside the Party's successful experiences.

The Resolution also summarized the main characteristics of the correct path of socialist modernization as it conformed to the Chinese context from 10 aspects, a path that the Party had gradually established after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. This actually put forth questions such as what type of socialism should be built in China and how it should be built.

The Resolution properly settled two major interrelated historical issues through its systematic evaluation of Mao's historical role and the system of Mao Zedong Thought on one hand, and establishing the right path of China's socialist modernization in light of the new situation and development requirements on the other. This demonstrated the foresight and high level of political maturity of the Central Committee. The adoption of the Resolution marked the successful completion of the Party's efforts to set things right in its guiding ideology.

In line with the recommendation of the Political Bureau, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee endorsed Hua Guofeng's request to resign from his posts as chairman of the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission. Hu Yaobang was elected chairman of the Central Committee, and Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Central Military Commission.

3. Rural Reform, the Creation of Special Economic Zones, and the Beginning of Reform and Opening Up

Adjusting China's Economy

In a bid to rectify many years of deviations in economic development policies and redress the disequilibrium in the national economy that had become apparent after the Cultural Revolution. The Central Committee held a working conference in April 1979 and formally established the policy of "adjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" the national economy, so that it was called a new policy of Eight Chinese Characters. The new policy was not only an important step in adjusting economic relations, but also constituted a process of rectifying economic development policies, exploring a path of socialist modernization suited to China's contexts, and promoting reform and opening up.

When discussing adjustments to the national economy, Deng Xiaoping underlined two important characteristics that must not be neglected in China's modernization: the country had a poor economic foundation, and it had a huge population but insufficient arable land. Chen Yun also noted the need to keep in mind the social and economic conditions under which China was modernizing: 80 percent of the population lived in rural areas, and the country's arable land was scant in contrast to its huge population.

In the process of economic adjustment, the Central Committee made a preliminary summary of the experiences and lessons learned in economic development since the founding of the People's Republic. It pointed out that economic development must suit domestic conditions and follow the laws of the economy and nature; the economic development must correspond to China's capabilities and be gradual, evidence-based, and efficient, and go hand in hand with the improvement of people's lives; under the premise of independence and self-reliance, China must also actively promote economic cooperation and technological exchanges with other countries. Under these guidelines, China began to adjust its national economy and reform its economic system.

In December 1981, the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC adopted the report on the work of the government, which proposed that China should blaze a new path based on its domestic situation to promote faster growth and improved efficiency in the best interests of the people. Having affirmed the success of the adjustments, the report predicted that China would fulfill the 1981 national economic development plan and basically achieve the goal of economic stabilization. The task of adjusting the economy had been successfully completed.

Breakthroughs in Rural Reform

China is a large agricultural country. Agricultural development, therefore, must play a vital role in its overall success. Before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, peasants' enthusiasm for agricultural production had been blunted by excessively centralized operation and management and extreme egalitarianism in distribution. As a result, only slow progress was being made in agricultural development and farmers' livelihoods. By 1978, a total of 250 million Chinese lacked sufficient food and clothing.

At the end of the summer of 1978, Anhui Province was hit by a severe drought, which threatened autumn planting. The Provincial Party Committee decided to loan some cropland to local farmers to grow grain and vegetables. Their yields would neither be requisitioned nor be counted as farmers' rations. The measure quickly motivated people in production, and the province overfilled its autumn planting targets for the year.

Inspired by the land loaning experience, some primary-level officials and peasants in Anhui broke free of the shackles of the old system by contracting land and production quotas to production teams and even to households. Taking a major risk, peasants from 18 households in Xiaogang Village of Liyuan Commune in Fengyang County impressed their thumbprints on responsibility contracts. The general idea of Xiaogang's household contract responsibility system was that after ensuring the needs of the state and the collective, the remaining produce would belong to the farmers themselves. It was a simple, feasible, and effective practice that was applauded by farmers. In Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan, and Guangdong provinces, local authorities loosened their policies and adopted similar practices. These bold trials were a prelude to rural economic reform in China.

There was some disagreement both inside and outside the Party over the responsibility system in agricultural production such as the systems of contracting land and production quotas to households. Many people feared that these practices might affect the rural collective economy and deviate from socialism in rural development. Deng Xiaoping, however, spoke highly of the peasants' pioneering move in May 1980. He said, "Now that more flexible policies have been introduced in rural areas, the practice of fixing farm output quotas on a household basis has been adopted in areas where it is suitable. It has proved quite effective and changed things rapidly for the better." Deng said that fears over the adverse effect on the collective economy were unwarranted, for as long as production expanded, division of labor increased, and the commodity economy developed, lower forms of collectivization in the countryside would develop into higher forms and the collective economy would acquire a firmer basis.

In September 1980, the Central Committee issued a document *On Certain Questions concerning the Further Strengthening and Improvement of the Responsibility System in Agricultural Production*. Breaking with the old conception that equated the household contract responsibility system with land division, private farming, and capitalism, the document affirmed the household responsibility contracting system led by production teams.

Document No.1 issued by the Central Committee in 1982 stated that all responsibility systems—including the systems of contracting land and production quotas to households—were production responsibility systems of the socialist collective economy.

With the support of the Central Committee, the household contract responsibility system was soon being adopted around the country, mainly in the form of fixed output quotas based on the household or the production team. This greatly motivated farmers and led to

rapid growth in agricultural production. In many places, the new systems produced good results in the very first year of implementation. With significant increases in grain output, great changes took place in just a couple of years.

As the new management system was adopted in the majority of rural villages, farmers not only gained a bigger say in agricultural production and operation, but were able to use their surplus labor and

capital to explore various types of business operations. Township and village enterprises began to mushroom in rural areas, along with rural professionals specializing in agricultural production and management. This marked the beginning of a major rural shift toward professional, commercial, and socialized production.

In forging ahead with rural reform, some areas with a solid collective economy continued with collective management, but reformed their egalitarian distribution methods to gradually advance toward a high level of collectivity. Such practices also conformed to the Central Committee's spirit of "pursuing centralization or decentralization wherever appropriate."

Rural reform was a major feat of China's farmers. It was no coincidence that rural areas achieved the first breakthrough and success in reform, but the result of the reality of the Chinese context and the difficulties in rural economic development at the time. The Third



• Farmers sell grain to the state after a bumper harvest.

Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee provided the important ideological conditions and favorable political environment for rural reforms. To improve the overall situation in the countryside and their own personal fates, multitudes of primary-level officials and hundreds of millions of farmers launched a great wave of reform by boldly breaking the shackles of the old system that was no longer conducive to the development of productive forces. The practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics was beginning to advance, gradually and firmly, through the innovations of the Party and the people.

The Beginning of Urban Economic Reforms

Economic reform in urban areas proved far more complicated than rural reform.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the whole country gradually launched urban economic reforms, which featured expanded decision-making power for enterprises, based on the rural reform experience of expanding production and management autonomy. In May 1979, eight large enterprises, including Capital Iron and Steel Company, Tianjin Bicycle Factory, and Shanghai Diesel Engine Factory, began piloting reform programs. By June 1980, 6,600 enterprises were participating in the reform. The reform to expand the decision-making power of enterprises marked a break with the traditional system of the planned economy, and brought preliminary changes to the old production practice of blindly following the country's mandated planning while ignoring market demand, product marketability, and profit and loss. These reforms helped heighten enterprises' consciousness of independent management and market awareness.

Based on expanding the decision-making power of enterprises, urban areas promoted gradual reforms in the terms of the economic responsibility system. In the spring of 1981, reform was first tested in

enterprises in Shandong Province. Reforms concerning the economic responsibility system aimed at aligning the economic interests of enterprises and employees with the responsibilities they shouldered and the economic returns they produced. In this way, the employees—as masters of their enterprises—were encouraged to achieve the maximum economic return with the minimum input of manpower and material resources. The economic responsibility system was soon expanded to 36,000 industrial enterprises nationwide.

Reform was also launched in the commodity circulation system. Starting from 1979, China reset the scope for the unified purchasing of agricultural and sideline products, and relaxed policies concerning their purchase and marketing. Supply and marketing cooperatives at the community level were allowed to purchase and sell outside their counties and provinces, and collectively-owned businesses, private vendors, and individual peasants were allowed to transport goods for sale over long distances. This reform created favorable conditions to accelerate the circulation of commodities between urban and rural areas.

In the meantime, reform of the ownership structure also made headway. In 1979, large crowds of educated youths—young urbanites sent to work in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution—returned to their home cities across China. To ease growing employment pressure, the Central Committee and the State Council adopted a policy that encouraged the development of the urban collective economy and private economy, thus launching reforms that made public ownership the mainstay with diverse economic forms coexisting. Such circumstances gave rise to the self-employed. In Qianmen, at the heart of Beijing, a group of young people started “Dawancha,” a teahouse where tea served in big bowls. In Wuhu city of Anhui Province, Nian Guangjiu launched his snack brand “Shazi Guazi,” which sold roasted seeds.

In the Decision on Creating More Opportunities and Revitalizing

the Economy to Solve Urban Employment Problems published by the Central Committee and the State Council in October 1981, it stated that “Under the fundamental premise that socialist public ownership of the economy was dominant, China would allow various economic forms and diverse modes of operation to coexist in the long run. This is a strategic decision of the Party, not a matter of expediency.” This new policy boosted development of the collective economy and individual economy and gave rise to new economic forms featuring common development of public, collective, and joint operation of individually run businesses.

Opening to the Outside World and Creating Special Economic Zones

While forging ahead with reforms, China also gradually opened up to the outside world and achieved major breakthroughs in this regard.

An important step in the opening up process was to attract and utilize foreign funds and establish Chinese-foreign joint ventures and Chinese-foreign cooperative ventures or projects. In 1979, China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC) was established to provide international trust, investment, and leasing services. In 1980, China resumed its place in the World Bank and in the International Monetary Fund, joined the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and began to obtain loans from these international financial institutions.

China also reached agreements with companies from Japan, France, and the United States to participate in offshore oil exploration and development projects. With the promulgation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Joint Ventures in July 1979 and a series of related laws and regulations issued thereafter, Chinese-foreign joint ventures, a brand new business type in China, were created. Tourism, an emerging industry, experienced rapid growth and soon stood at the front of the opening to the outside.



- Explosives are detonated for the construction of the Shekou Industrial Zone, Shenzhen.

The creation of special economic zones was a great initiative of the Party and the state for forging ahead with reform, opening up and socialist modernization. As early as April 1978, an economic and trade inspection group was sent by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade to Hong Kong and Macao. After the visit, the group proposed to the Central Committee that Bao'an and Zhuhai in Guangdong Province neighboring Hong Kong and Macao respectively should be developed into export bases. In January 1979, Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and the Ministry of Transport submitted a proposal to the State Council on the establishment of an industrial zone in Shekou. Shortly after the proposal was approved, Shekou Industrial Zone was created, with hills being flattened to clear the way for construction.

At a work conference of the Central Committee in April 1979, Xi Zhongxun, first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, expressed the hopes that the central government would delegate certain powers for Guangdong to make independent decisions

in its foreign economic activities, and allow the establishment of export and processing zones in Shenzhen and Zhuhai adjacent to Hong Kong and Macao and in Shantou, which is home to many returned overseas Chinese. The Fujian Provincial Party Committee put forth a similar proposal. These ideas won the support of the Central Committee. Regarding the names of these areas with special policies, Deng Xiaoping suggested “special zones,” after the special zones of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia, an important revolutionary base in northwest China. However, Deng warned that the central government would be unable to provide financial support; it could only offer preferential policies to allow these zones to blaze a trail themselves.

In July 1979, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council approved the reports from the Party committees of Guangdong and Fujian and granted special policies and flexible measures for foreign economic activities in the two provinces so that they could take the first steps toward rapid economic development. In the meantime, it was decided that parts of Shenzhen and Zhuhai should be set as the locations for special export zones. In May 1980, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council officially named these export zones special economic zones. In August, the 15th Meeting of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee approved the establishment of special economic zones in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou in Guangdong Province, and Xiamen in Fujian Province.

Encouraged by the central leadership’s decisions, construction teams from all over the country overcame countless obstacles and worked tirelessly to build the special economic zones. In just a few years, they built these deserted border towns and fishing villages such as Shenzhen and Zhuhai into vibrant modern cities, demonstrating a pioneering, courageous, and hardworking spirit. As major showcases of China’s reform and opening up, the special economic zones demonstrated

China's mighty power in forging ahead its reform.

Reform of the Leadership System of the Party and State

At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, it was pointed out that the realization of modernization would require substantial development of the productive forces, and it was, therefore, imperative to reform those elements in the relations of production and superstructure that were not conducive to the development of productive forces. From that point, the Central Committee began to seriously review and learn from the experience and lessons gained in the political life of the Party and state. This began the reform of the political system with a focus on reforming the leadership system of the Party and state, institutionalizing socialist democracy and codifying it into law.

In July 1979, the second meeting of the Fifth NPC reviewed and endorsed seven key laws including the organic law of the people's congresses and governments at local levels, the electoral law of the NPC and people's congresses at local levels, the criminal law, the criminal procedure law, the organic law of the people's courts and the organic law of the people's procuratorates, and the law on Chinese-Foreign joint ventures. The country thus took an important step toward institutionalizing socialist democracy and codifying it into law.

In the course of promoting democracy and consolidating the legal system, the CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation system was also restored and developed. At a reception held by the CPPCC National Committee and the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee in October 1979, Deng Xiaoping stressed that multiparty cooperation led by the CPC was determined by China's specific historical and practical conditions, and was a trait and advantage of China's political system. He said that long-term coexistence and mutual supervision between the CPC and China's other

political parties would remain a consistent policy for a long time. Also in October, when approving and releasing the report submitted by the Central Organization Department and the Central United Front Work Department, the Central Committee pointed out that Party committees at all levels should overcome the “one-party” mentality and arrange posts for non-Communists, particularly those with professional and technical expertise in order to sincerely cooperate with them in running the country’s affairs well.

The Central Committee took a series of measures to reform the leadership systems of the Party and the state. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, held in February 1980, was themed “upholding and improving CPC’s leadership, and enhancing the Party’s competence,” and carried out specific studies and made plans in this regard. The Plenary Session decided to reestablish the Secretariat of the Central Committee as a standing working body under the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee. Hu Yaobang was elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held an enlarged meeting in August 1980. Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech *On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership*. He pointed out that problems in the leadership and organizational systems were fundamental, consistent and longstanding and had an overall bearing on socialist modernization. If these systems were sound, they could place restraints on the actions of bad people; if they were unsound, they might hamper the efforts of good people or indeed, in certain cases, might push them in the wrong direction. Deng stressed that the purpose of reforming the leadership of the Party and the state was not to weaken Party leadership or relax Party discipline, but to uphold and strengthen them. This speech defined the fundamental guidelines for the reform of the leadership system of the Party and state.

While upholding Party leadership, the Party and the government endeavored to solve a wide range of problems including the unclear definition of the respective duties and responsibilities of the Party and the government, the phenomenon of Party committees monopolizing everything, and inefficiency, overstaffing, and procrastination. They delegated more power to local governments, expanded democratic rights at the primary level, and took concrete measures to ensure courts and procuratorates can exercise judicial and procuratorial powers conferred by the Constitution.

Organizational reform was also soon put on the agenda. In January 1982, Deng Xiaoping said at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee that streamlining organizations constituted a revolution and the key was to elect younger officials with both political integrity and professional competence to leading bodies. After the reform, the number of bureau-level organizations under the direct control of the Central Committee was reduced by 11 percent, and the number of staff was downsized by 17.3 percent. The 100 ministries, commissions, and organizations under the State Council were regrouped into 61, and their staff were reduced by about one third. Of the members of the newly formed leading bodies, 32 percent were young and middle-aged officials, and the average age of the leadership team was reduced from 64 to 58.

In February 1982, the Central Committee adopted the Decision on Instituting the Retirement System for Veteran Officials, whereby the de facto life tenure of leading officials was abolished. In response to the call of the Central Committee, a large number of veterans willingly retired, left their posts or took a back seat, allowing a raft of young and middle-aged tested officials to assume leadership posts. This strategic move solved the problem of aging leading bodies within the Party and the government, which had arisen under special circumstances.

In more than three years following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, efforts were in full swing to set things right; socialist democracy and the legal system were gradually moving along the right track, reforms to the leadership system of the Party and state were making steady progress; reform, opening up and adjustment of the national economy had achieved positive results, and all undertakings were prospering. This laid a solid foundation for the convening of the 12th National Party Congress.

4. The 12th National Party Congress and Full-Scale Socialist Modernization

Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Proposed at the 12th National Party Congress

From September 1 to 11, 1982, the 12th National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping loudly said, "We must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics." The great new proposition of building socialism with Chinese characteristics settled the question over what direction China should take on entering the new period of reform and opening up, a question of primary concern for the Party and the Chinese people. It became the great banner that would guide reform, opening up and socialist modernization.

The Congress adopted Hu Yaobang's report *Create a New Situation in All Fields of Socialist Modernization*, which put forth a program for opening up new horizons across the board. The Congress defined the general task of the Party in the new historical period as: to unite Chinese people of all ethnic groups to work hard, strive for regeneration

through our own efforts, and gradually modernize our industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country. It decided that the general objective of China's economic development for the two decades between 1981 and the end of the 20th century was: on the basis of continuously improving economic results, to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production, from 710 billion yuan in 1980 to 2,800 billion yuan or so by the year 2000, thus enabling the Chinese people to become comparatively well-off. The Congress pinpointed agriculture, energy, transportation, education, science and technology as strategic areas in economic development. At the congress, the earlier objective of achieving the four modernizations by the end of the 20th century was changed into reaching a stage where people would



• The 12th National Congress of the CPC.

be comparatively well-off. This adjustment resolved the longstanding problem of rashness in seeking quick results from the perspective of the strategic guidance. This was a historic decision taken by the CPC Central Committee through the reviewing of the historical lessons.

Another important contribution of the Congress was its proposition that while setting objectives for economic development, China must strive to attain a high level of socialist cultural and ethical standards and a high level of socialist democracy. The Congress pointed out that socialist cultural and ethical progress constituted an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of the system's strength; sustained socialist democracy provided a guarantee and support for promoting socialist material and cultural and ethical progress; and it was imperative to closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system. These propositions reflected the overall requirements of socialist modernization, enriched the theories of scientific socialism, and signified the deepening of the Party's understanding of socialism.

The Congress adopted the new CPC Constitution, which further summarized the historical experience and lessons in Party building and put forth a series of new regulations to reflect the new requirements in the Party's practical activities. The new Party Constitution stressed that Party members are at all times ordinary members of the working people. It stipulated eight obligations of Party members, and specified that Party members must follow the principle that the interests of the Party and the people stand above everything else. They must subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the Party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and work selflessly for the public interests and strive to contribute more. They are prohibited from acting in the public service for their own ends. It required that probationary Party members must take an admission oath before the

Party flag, and specified the text of that oath. The new Party Constitution stipulated that the Central Committee had no chairman but only a general secretary, who would be responsible for convening meetings of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee, and take charge of the work of the Secretariat. Advisory commissions were to be established at the central and provincial levels as transitional organizations to facilitate the succession of older officials by younger ones, so that many veteran comrades with rich experience who had retired from their posts might act as consultants in the service of the Party's cause. The new Party Constitution stipulated the fundamental principle of democratic centralism, stressing that the Party should maintain a high degree of consistency in politics and ideology; that Party committees at all levels should function on the principle of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility based on the division of work; that all Party members are equal before Party discipline, and that they must strictly observe Party discipline and abide by the laws and regulations of the state.

The Congress elected the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission, and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. The First Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee elected Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun as members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee Political Bureau, and Hu Yaobang as general secretary of the Central Committee. Deng Xiaoping was named chairman of the Central Military Commission and the Central Advisory Commission, and Chen Yun was elected as first secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

This was the first National Party Congress held in the new historical period of reform and opening up. The National Party Congress has since been institutionalized and held once every five years as stipulated by the Party Constitution.

Promoting Economic Structural Reforms and Forming a New Pattern of Opening Up

After the 12th National Party Congress, rural reforms were consolidated and intensified. China gradually shifted its focus of reform to the cities where reforms were carried out in full swing.

From 1982 to 1984, three documents No.1 issued by the Central committee concerned rural work, and the household contract responsibility system was swiftly implemented nationwide. By 1987, 98 percent of China's rural households had adopted the household contract responsibility system. This motivated hundreds of millions of farmers and lifted China's agricultural production out of stagnation. It also fundamentally shook up the people's commune system that featured a three-level system of ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit and the integration of government administration and commune management. In 1982, China's new Constitution stipulated changes to this integrated system, established township governments as the organ of state power at the primary level, and set up villagers' committees universally as a people's organization for self-governance. By the end of 1984, the whole country had basically separated government from the people's commune, putting an end to the people's commune system which had existed more than two decades. This constituted a major reform of China's rural economic and political systems.

By implementing a household contract responsibility system, the conditions were created for the development of the rural commodity economy. In 1985, the Central Committee's Document No.1 introduced a new policy for planned state purchases of only a few important farm products such as grain and cotton based on contracts. Farmers were free to sell all products not included in the contract-based purchases themselves, or they could sell them to the state at negotiated prices. Most

other agricultural and sideline products could be freely traded on the market, and the state would no longer issue mandatory production plans to farmers. This fundamentally altered the policy of planned purchases and marketing, which had been practiced by the state for more than 30 years. The rural economy was integrated into the mainstream planned commodity economy.

Rural reforms also gave rise to booming township and village enterprises as a large number of rural workers who were freed from farm work moved into the industrial, commercial, and service sectors. Lu Guanqiu, head of a U-joint factory in Xiaoshan, Zhejiang Province, signed a contract with the township government promising to take responsibilities for all risks. Later, he turned this small township workshop into first Chinese automotive parts maker to enter the US market. Township and village enterprises expanded at an astonishing speed, bringing tremendous changes to China's countryside. By 1987, these enterprises reported a total output value of 476.4 billion yuan, surpassing that of the agricultural sector for the first time. This marked a historic change in the rural economy.

Rural economic reform was a successful practice in which the Party grounded its efforts on reality, opportunely reviewed the innovative creations of rural residents, and pushed forward them when conditions were ripe. As an instance of profound social reform that was carried out smoothly by several hundred million people in the Chinese countryside, it had a far-reaching effect on the development of the rural economy and the entire Chinese economy, including the reform in other sectors.

Based on the momentum of rural reform, reform in urban areas also achieved further progress. In October 1984, the Third Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee adopted the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Economic Structural Reform, which put forward and elaborated on a series of important questions, both theoretical and

practical, concerning economic structural reform. The Decision broke the shackles of the traditional view of holding the planned economy and the commodity economy as being opposed to each other, and proposed that China's socialist economy was "a planned commodity economy based on public ownership." It also shattered the traditional concept according to which state ownership was confused with the direct operation of enterprises by state agencies, and confirmed that ownership could be properly separated from management. This represented the Party's new understanding of the relationship between planning and the market.

After this, reforms focused on the cities were carried out across the board. One key issue of the reform was enhancing the vitality of state-owned enterprises. One measure taken in this regard was the enterprise contract responsibility system which enhanced business operators' sense of responsibility by setting clear stipulations on responsibilities, rights, awards and punishments. By 1987, about 80 percent of all state-owned enterprises had adopted enterprise contract responsibility systems of various kinds. Some even trialed shareholding reforms. In November 1984, Shanghai Feile Acoustics Co. began issuing stocks and became the first shareholding company in Shanghai since the introduction of reform and opening up. When the then chairman of the New York Stock Exchange visited China in November 1986, Deng Xiaoping gifted him a Feile stock certificate with a face value of 50 yuan. It was a symbolic gesture which showed that stocks and the shareholding system were not exclusively capitalist, but could be used by socialist countries as well.

As state-owned enterprises underwent reform, other economic entities under diverse ownership forms also developed. With the approval and guidance of the state, non-public enterprises—including Sino-foreign joint and cooperative ventures, wholly foreign owned enterprises, self-employed individuals, and private businesses—maintained rapid growth. With the establishment of an ownership

structure under which socialist public ownership is dominant and diverse economic sectors coexist, a new phase of economic development took shape, leading to improvements in people's lives and greater job opportunities.

In line with the needs of developing the socialist planned commodity economy, the government gradually decentralized economic planning and management authority, reduced mandatory plans, and increased its guiding plans. It adjusted and improved the scope and methods of macro regulation, with small commodities and those falling outside of state planning coming under market regulation. The role of economic levers such as pricing, taxation and financing in macro regulation was strengthened, which helped to promote the development of the commodity economy.

Reforms in science, technology and education were also placed on the agenda. In March 1985, the Central Committee made the decision on structural reforms in science and technology, introducing the strategic guidelines that economic development must rely on science and technology, and scientific and technological work must be carried out with a view to serving economic development. This greatly motivated China's scientists. In March 1986, four scientists issued a proposal to the Central Committee of tracking the development of high technologies around the world and promoting advanced tech development in China. The proposal was soon approved by Deng Xiaoping. In November, China adopted the Plan for Research and Development of Advanced Technology, also known as the "March 1986 High-Tech Program." More than 10,000 scientists across diverse fields worked together to achieve technological breakthroughs. Their work soon bore fruits, pushing China's high-tech research into a new phase of development.

In October 1983, Deng Xiaoping proposed that "education should be geared to the needs of modernization, of the world, and of the future,"

setting the tenor for the reform and development of China's education sector. In May 1985, the Central Committee issued the Decision on Structural Reform in Education, proposing that the ultimate purpose of the reform was to enhance the quality of the Chinese nation and cultivate more talents. Structural reforms in education spurred the enthusiasm of people in all localities around the country and particularly in non-governmental sectors. As nine-year compulsory education was gradually implemented according to plans, all types and levels of education witnessed development, and a large stream of professionals emerged in various fields to meet the needs of China's modernization drive.

After the 12th National Party Congress, China made new strides in opening to the outside world. At the start of 1984, Deng Xiaoping visited the special economic zones of Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Xiamen, and wrote messages affirming the achievements in their construction. "In establishing special economic zones and implementing an open policy, we must make it clear that our guideline is just that—to open and not to close," he said. "A special economic zone is a medium for introducing technology, management, and knowledge. It is also a window for displaying our foreign policy." Deng's southern tour and his affirmation of the special economic zones brought new opportunities for reform and opening up.

In May 1984, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council decided to open up 14 port cities of Dalian, Qinhuangdao, Tianjin, Yantai, Qingdao, Lianyungang, Nantong, Shanghai, Ningbo, Wenzhou, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang and Beihai. In February 1985, the State Council issued the notice, stating that the Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta, and the Xiamen-Zhangzhou-Quanzhou Delta in Fujian were established as coastal economic development areas. Thus, in the implementation of the opening up policy, a tiered framework with several focal points and a wide spread of cities and areas began to take shape, extending from



- Deng Xiaoping writes a message for Shenzhen Special Economic Zone.

special economic zones, to open coastal cities, and to coastal economic development areas, overran area with about 150 million people in two municipalities directly under the central government, 25 provincial cities, and 67 counties. This opening up process became an important driving force in China's economic and social development.

Fulfilling the Sixth Five-Year Plan and Mapping Out the Seventh Five-Year Plan

The end of 1985 saw the successful fulfillment of China's Sixth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. During the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the output of major industrial and agricultural

products increased substantially. National revenues, which had declined year-on-year during the latter period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, began to climb annually, helping to achieve a basic balance between revenue and expenditure. Major progress was made in capital construction and technological transformation. Foreign trade, economic and technological exchanges opened up new vistas. The completion of the Sixth Five-Year Plan brought solutions to many economic problems that had long perplexed the nation. The remarkable increase in grain and cotton outputs provided conditions for ensuring people had sufficient food and clothing. A relatively sufficient supply of consumer goods meant that many commodities, with the exception of grain and vegetable oil, were sold without any restrictions and many types of ration coupons were abolished. These accomplishments and changes were particularly striking when compared with what had been achieved in the previous five-year plan periods since the People's Republic was founded.

A notable trait of the Sixth Five-Year Plan was that while stressing economic growth, it also highlighted social development. All previous five-year plans were known as economic development plans, but starting from the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, the name was changed to the "five-year plan for economic and social development." During the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, the Party and the state worked to promote social development in the areas of population, labor and employment, residents' income and consumption, urban and rural construction, social welfare, culture, health, sports, and environmental protection. Family planning was adopted as a basic state policy, and each couple was encouraged to have only one child. Under the historical conditions of the time, this policy ensured that population growth corresponded to national economic growth and played an important role in improving the quality of the population. During this period, environmental protection was also adopted as a fundamental state policy. The Party

and the government worked hard to solve the outstanding issue of environmental pollution, and the urban environment was improved in major tourist cities such as Beijing, Hangzhou, Suzhou, and Guilin.

Based on the smooth implementation of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the Party Central Committee began to draft the Seventh Five-Year Plan in 1983. In September 1985, the National Party Conference approved the Proposal for the Seventh Five-Year Plan for the National Economic and Social Development. Based on this proposal, the State Council drafted the Seventh Five-Year Plan. In April 1986, the plan was approved for implementation by the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC.

Promoting Socialist Democracy and Developing the Legal System

On December 4, 1982, the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC adopted the newly amended Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Based on the 1954 Constitution, it rectified the shortcomings of the 1978 Constitution and was a much more complete document. Based on a review of the historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic, the new Constitution defined China's fundamental task for the future as working toward socialist modernization. As China's fundamental law, it contained clear provisions for major issues including China's fundamental and basic political systems, its basic economic system, the basic rights and obligations of citizens as well as the structure and responsibilities of state institutions. Among these were many new provisions regarding the structure of the state institutions, which included strengthening the system of people's congresses, re-establishing the offices of president and vice president, establishing the Central Military Commission to lead all the nation's armed forces, and assigning charge of the State Council to the premier. These new provisions added not only new content but new features to the socialist system with Chinese characteristics.

The implementation of the new Constitution accelerated the development of China's legal system. During the sixth and seventh NPCs, a total of 96 laws were passed after deliberation. The legislation was aimed at meeting the demands of modernization, economic structural reforms and opening up, as well as to protecting citizens' rights. In 1986, the first five-year plan to promote citizens' knowledge of the law was launched nationwide. Thereafter, similar plans were drawn up once every five years to step up publicity campaign to raise awareness of the rule of law among the public.

In the course of developing and improving the CPC-led multiparty cooperation and the political consultation system, the 12th National Party Congress expanded the basic principles guiding cooperation between the CPC and other political parties, with "sincerity and sharing good and bad times" being added to "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision." Other political parties took on a larger role in China's political life, marking a new stage of CPC's cooperation with these parties. To enhance regional autonomy in ethnic regions, China enacted the Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional Ethnic Autonomy in May 1984, and the practice of regional ethnic autonomy was adopted as a basic political system. To promote primary-level democracy, workers' congresses were widely established in enterprises and public institutions across the country. Neighborhood committees were further developed in cities, while villagers' committees were gradually established in rural areas, which marked the beginning of a socialist primary-level self-governance system with Chinese characteristics.

The development of the socialist democracy and legal system and achievements of the political structural reform, as represented by the enactment of the 1982 Constitution, not only consolidated and improved China's socialist political system, but also provided an important political guarantee for further economic structural reforms, economic

development, and social stability.

Strengthening and Improving the CPC Leadership

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the Party took concrete measures to strengthen its rules and regulations and rectify its style of work, in order to further enhance the Party's cohesion and competence and carry forward its glorious traditions and styles.

In February 1980, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee adopted and published the Code of Conduct for Intraparty Political Life. The document reviewed the historical experience and lessons drawn from intraparty political activities, and specified relevant regulations of the Party Constitution and principles of democratic centralism. It set 12 requirements for Party members:

- maintain the Party's political and ideological lines;
- uphold collective leadership and oppose arbitrary action by individuals;
- maintain the centralism and unity of the Party and strictly observe Party discipline;
- uphold the Party consciousness and eradicate factionalism;
- speak the truth and ensure consistency in words and actions;
- carry forward democracy within the Party and treat different opinions in the right way;
- guarantee that the rights of Party members are not infringed;
- ensure that elections fully reflect the will of the voters;
- fight against negative tendencies, persons, and acts;
- treat comrades who have made mistakes with the right attitude;
- accept the supervision of the Party and the people and do not seek personal privileges; and
- study hard to be both socialist-minded and professionally competent.

The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held three forums within a year to promote the implementation of the code of conduct. At a forum in November 1980, Chen Yun incisively stated, "The style of a political party in power determines its very survival." He called for a better understanding of the problems of Party organizations at all levels and greater efforts to strengthening the Party conduct. The promulgation and implementation of the code of conduct played an important role in restoring and improving intraparty democracy, maintaining the centralism and unity of the Party, strictly implementing Party discipline, promoting Party solidarity, and paving the way for reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

To solve some outstanding problems within the Party, a Party-wide rectification initiative was carried out in phases and groups between October 1983 and May 1987, based on a decision of the Central Committee in this regard taken at the Second Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee. The principle tasks of the Party rectification were to unify thinking, correct the Party's style of work, strengthen discipline, and maintain organizational purity. Through the rectification, Party members, especially officials, more consciously aligned themselves with the Central Committee in terms of thinking, political stand, and action; a number of Party members and officials were investigated for violations of the law and Party discipline, and three kinds of people were removed—rebels who climbed to relatively high positions by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, persons whose thinking was dominated by factionalism, and those who had taken part in the reckless beatings, vandalism, and looting during the Cultural Revolution. The rectification played an important role in settling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution, including defects in thinking, conduct, and organization as well as slack discipline.

The drive for the four modernizations required a large number of

younger and more professionally competent officials at all levels. Under the new situation of reform, opening up and socialist modernization, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and other veteran revolutionaries reminded the whole Party to train and appoint qualified successors, and develop a more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more professionally competent team of officials, so as to ensure the Party would have successors to continue advancing its cause. The Central Committee accelerated the process of appointing young and middle-aged officials according to these standards. This allowed a large number of young, well-educated, and professionally competent officials with both ability and political integrity to come to the fore. In September 1985, the National Party Conference made considerable adjustments to the central leadership, which significantly reduced the average age of the leading group, promoted the succession of new officials, and improved the leadership structure. This ensured the Party would have new officials to take over the baton and continue advancing its cause.

Promoting Socialist Cultural and Ethical Advancement

In an environment of advancing reform, opening up, and the development of the commodity economy, it became essential to promote socialist cultural and ideological advancement. The CPC Central Committee attached great importance to socialist cultural and ethical advancement, and under its firm leadership, a campaign featuring “five things to stress,” “four things to beautify,” and “three things to love” was launched nationwide in the early 1980s.¹ The efforts toward socialist cultural and ideological advancement played a positive role in improving Party conduct and social practices, leading to the emergence of a number

¹ The “five things to stress” include stress on propriety, manners, hygiene, discipline, and morals; the “four things to beautify” are the mind, the language, the behavior and the environment; and the “three things to love” include the motherland, socialism and the Community Party of China.

of role models.

Jiang Zhuying, a researcher at Changchun Institute of Optics, Fine Mechanics and Physics, devoted himself to his work of developing China's first optical transfer function testing device. Luo Jianfu, an engineer at No.771 Institute of the former Ministry of Aerospace Industry, was indifferent to fame and fortune but made tremendous contributions to China's aerospace industry by resolving many of the sector's difficulties. Luo was compared to China's Pavel Korchagin. Zhu Boru, an officer at the air force unit stationed in Wuhan, devoted his life serving the people and was known as the "Lei Feng of the 1980s."¹ Gu Wenchang, Party secretary of Fujian's Dongshan County, led the locals in a long and hard battle against sandstorms to build a coastal windbreak that will benefit many future generations. These role models and their stories greatly inspired the Chinese people in the reform, opening up and modernization drive.

To promote socialist culture and ideological advancement, it was necessary to guard against the negative tendency of indiscriminately worshipping decadent Western capitalist ideology and culture, and to firmly oppose bourgeois liberalization that sought to turn away socialism and the leadership of the Party. At the Second Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee in October 1983, Deng Xiaoping warned that people in the ideological domain must not spread mental pollution, and that one must use Marxism to analyze, distinguish, criticize the bourgeois culture of the modern West, distinguish the good from the bad and exercise critical judgment. In line with the Plenary Session's guiding principles, the cultural and ideological fields took action to combat mental pollution and bourgeois liberalization.

¹ Lei Feng was a model soldier who devoted his life helping those in need. After his death in 1962 at the age of 22, Chairman Mao Zedong called on the whole nation to follow his example.

In September 1986, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee issued the Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Socialist Cultural and Ideological Advancement. The document stressed that bourgeois liberalization, which negated the socialist system and championed a capitalist one, ran directly counter to the interests of the people and the trends of history and was firmly opposed by the people. The Resolution elaborated on the strategic role of and the fundamental tasks in socialist culture and ideology advancement from the perspective of socialist modernization. It stressed the cultivation of socialist citizens with high ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline, and called for using the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics to unite the people of all ethnic groups throughout the country in establishing and developing socialist morality, raising the level of education, science and culture. The Resolution, the Party's first programmatic document on building socialist culture and ideology, provided fundamental guiding principles for China's building of a socialist society with advanced ethical standards.

Nevertheless, as some individuals, including some high-level officials, lacked a sufficient awareness of the nature and dangers of bourgeois liberalization, the Resolution's important ideas on giving Marxism a stronger guiding role in advancing socialist culture and ideology and opposing bourgeois liberalization were not diligently implemented. Towards the end of 1986, student unrest spread to quite a few cities. In January 1987, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee called an enlarged meeting, where Hu Yaobang made a self-criticism for his mistakes with regard to major political issues of principle. While making a serious criticism of Hu's mistakes in a comradely way, the meeting also made a realistic appraisal of his achievements. It approved his request to resign as Party general secretary, but allowed him to remain on as a member of the Political Bureau and its Standing

Committee. Zhao Ziyang was elected acting general secretary of the Party Central Committee. The decisions of the enlarged Political Bureau meeting were confirmed by the Seventh Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee when it met in October of the same year.

5. The 13th National Party Congress and the Establishment of the Party's Basic Line in the Primary Stage of Socialism

The 13th National Party Congress and the Three-Step Development Strategy

In light of the ceaseless advance of both reform and opening up and the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, it became urgent for the Party to further develop clear theoretical and practical answers



• The 13th National Congress of the CPC.

to the fundamental questions of what socialism was, how should China build it, and what basic guidelines for reform, opening up, and socialist modernization should it follow, based on a thorough analysis of China's national conditions and historical experiences.

The Party held its 13th National Party Congress in Beijing from October 25 to November 1, 1987. Zhao Ziyang delivered a report entitled "Advance along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics." The Congress endorsed the report as well as amendments to some clauses of the Party Constitution.

The outstanding contribution of this Congress was its systematic exposition of the theory of the primary stage of socialism and the basic Party line for this stage. Prior to the congress, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the primary task in the socialist period was to develop the productive forces and for China, the first thing was to eliminate poverty. "Poverty is not socialism, and development that is too slow is not socialism either," he said. "The 13th National Party Congress will explain what stage China is in: the primary stage of socialism. Socialism itself is in the first stage of communism, and here in China we are still in the primary stage of socialism—that is, the underdeveloped stage. In everything we do, we must proceed from this reality, and all planning must be consistent with it."

At the 13th National Party Congress, it was pointed out that China being in the primary stage of socialism implied firstly that China was already a socialist society and must persist with socialism, and secondly, that China's socialist society was still in its primary stage. China needed to proceed from this reality, and this stage could not be skipped. It was explained that the primary stage of socialism did not refer to an initial stage which all countries would experience when entering socialism, but rather referred to the specific phase which China had to pass through while building socialism, due to its backward forces

of production and underdeveloped commodity economy. This period would last at least 100 years, from the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in the 1950s to the fulfillment of socialist modernization. The principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism was that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the underdeveloped social production. The primary task of the Party and the state, therefore, was to develop the forces of production and promote socialist modernization. The introduction of the theory on the primary stage of socialism provided the Party with a basic reference for formulating its line, principles, and policies, as well as a powerful theoretical weapon for sustaining reform, opening up, and the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Proceeding from the new understanding of the primary stage of socialism, the Congress proposed that the Party's basic line in this stage was to lead and unite with the people of all ethnic groups, focus on economic development, uphold the four cardinal principles, firmly push forward with reform and opening up, be self-reliant and hardworking, and build China into a prosperous, democratic, and culturally developed modern socialist country. This basic line was summarized as "one central task and two basic points"—the central task was economic development and the two basic points were upholding the four cardinal principles and continuing reform and opening up. In practice, it has been proven that economic development is the essential factor for invigorating the nation, the four cardinal principles are the foundation on which the country is built, and reform and opening up constitute the path to a stronger China. This basic line constitutes the source of the Party and the country's vitality and the people's happiness.

Another major contribution of the 13th National Party Congress was the three-step strategy for economic development, which was based on Deng's strategic vision for realizing China's modernization.

In a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi in December 1979, Deng said, "The four modernizations we are striving to achieve are modernizations with Chinese characteristics. Our concept of the four modernizations is different from yours. By achieving the four modernizations, we mean achieving a comparative prosperity." Following this, the 12th National Party Congress set a two-step strategic objective of achieving moderate prosperity by the end of the 20th century. In April 1987, during a meeting with Alfonso Guerra, deputy general secretary of the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party and vice president of the government of Spain, Deng put forward a three-step modernization strategy, which was later confirmed at the 13th National Party Congress. The 13th National Party Congress pointed out that after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, China's strategic plan for economic development comprised three steps. The first step was to double the 1980 GNP and ensure that the people would have enough food and clothing—this task had been basically fulfilled by that point. The second step was to quadruple the 1980 GNP by the end of the 20th century and guarantee a moderately prosperous life for the people. The last step was to increase the per-capita GNP to the level of a moderately developed country by the mid-21st century—by then China's people would be well-off and modernization would be basically realized. The three-step strategy represented a proactive and prudent plan for China to realize the centenary goal of becoming a strong and prosperous nation. It reflected the ambition, courage, and perseverance of the Party and the people, a scientific ethos of proceeding from reality and following objective laws, and a major achievement of the CPC in its exploration of the laws that governed the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The Congress spoke highly of the path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, which had been blazed since the Third Plenary

Session of the 11th Central Committee, noting its great significance in the historical process of applying Marxism in the Chinese context. It also pointed out that, in the process of combining Marxism with the practices of China over the last sixty years or more, two leaps of historical significance had been achieved. The first was made in the period of new-democratic revolution, when Chinese Communists, by summing up both successful and unsuccessful experiences, found a revolutionary road that was characteristically Chinese and led the revolution to success. The second occurred after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. During this period, Chinese Communists, based on the positive and negative experiences in the more than 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic and on international practice and the global situation, identified the path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and entered a new stage of socialist development. The Congress summarized a series of scientific theories and views that were formed during reform, opening up, and modernization, from the perspective of the stage, tasks, driving forces, conditions, planning, and international backdrop that characterized China's socialist development, hence giving a clearer outline of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The Congress elected a new Central Committee, Central Advisory Commission and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. The First Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee elected Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Hu Qili and Yao Yilin members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with Zhao Ziyang as general secretary; Deng Xiaoping was appointed chairman of the Central Military Commission; Chen Yun was made chairman of the Central Advisory Commission and Qiao Shi secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

After the 13th National Congress, Deng Xiaoping stepped down

from the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. As the chief architect of China's socialist reform, opening up, and modernization drive, he continued to closely follow this cause with a strong sense of responsibility and mission, and continued to play a crucial role in the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics led by the Party.

Progress of Reform and Opening Up and Start of Economic Rectification

According to the plans mapped out at the 13th National Party Congress, the economic structural reform of 1988 would focus on deepening reform of the operating mechanisms of enterprises. In February that year, the State Council issued Interim Regulations on the Contracted Management Responsibility System for Industrial Enterprises Owned by the People. In April, the First Session of the Seventh NPC passed the Law of the People's Republic of China on Industrial Enterprises Owned by the People, which set clearer provisions around the principle of separating ownership from management power. This provided a legal guarantee for the enterprise contract responsibility system. Constitutional amendments approved at the session stipulated that the state permits the private sector of the economy to exist and develop within the limits prescribed by law, and that the private sector of the economy was a complement to the socialist public economy. This affirmed the status of the private sector in law.

China accelerated the pace of its opening up to the outside world. In March 1988, the State Council decided to expand China's coastal economic development zones by opening up an additional 140 cities and counties, including the three provincial capitals of Hangzhou, Nanjing, and Shenyang. In April, the First Session of the Seventh NPC approved the establishment of Hainan Province and Hainan Special Economic

Zone, a reflection of the Central Committee's boldness and determination in accelerating reform and opening up. The island province embraced unprecedented opportunities, as it entered a new stage of profound reform and opening.

Driven by the momentum of comprehensive reform, economic growth accelerated between 1984 and 1988. Over these five years, annual GDP growth averaged 12.1 percent and total industrial output came to more than 6 trillion yuan. China's economic strength and composite national strength reached new highs. But problems of instability and imbalance also emerged, primarily higher inflation, imbalances between social production and consumption, and an irrational economic structure. The Party and the government explored new solutions to these problems, which led to the adoption of a "soft landing" approach in early 1985, involving comparatively mild measures to balance aggregate demand and supply gradually. This approach did not have the impact expected, however. In the summer of 1988, the government introduced reforms to relax state control over prices. In August, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted the Initial Plan for Price and Wage Reform, which set a five-year timeline for fixing the problem. Before the plan could be formally implemented, it sparked fear of higher inflation among the public, triggering bank runs and panic purchasing nationwide.

Faced with this grave economic situation, the Third Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee proposed in September 1988 to improve the economic environment, ensure economic order, and deepen overall economic reform. The session decided to shift the focus of reform and development in the coming two years to improving the economic environment and ensuring economic order. It emphasized that price reform should not be conducted alone, but be accompanied by a full set of supporting reforms. Following the decision, the State Council took a series of measures to reduce fixed asset investment and aggregate

demand, tighten price controls and regulation, and rectify disorder in the economy, particularly with regard to circulation. After a year of rectification, excessive social demand was brought under control, but the national economy had yet to fully emerge from its difficulties, and deep-rooted structural and institutional problems remained.

6. Adjustments to the National Defense Strategy

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, China entered a new period in national defense and military development. Taking account of international and domestic changes, China altered its military strategy from one of “active defense and luring the enemy in deep” to “active defense.” Speaking during military exercises in north China in September 1981, Deng set the direction for military development in the new period when he proposed the goal of building a strong, modern, and standardized revolutionary military.

At an enlarged meeting in May and June 1985, the Central Military Commission proposed a major strategic change to the guiding thought behind military development. The military would shift from a state of preparedness for “a large-scale or nuclear war at an early date” to the path of economic development in this period of peace. This would mean taking advantage of this peaceful period where major wars were less likely to break out to adopt a policy of streamlining, which would involve planned, systematic, and progressive military modernization with reductions in troops numbers, improvements in quality, and enhancements in fighting capabilities in line with modern conditions, all of which would be subject to the overarching context of economic development. The meeting took the decision to cut troop numbers by one million and approve a plan for structural reform, streamlining, and reorganization. The reduction of troop numbers, which attracted

widespread attention, was basically completed between the second half of 1985 and early 1987. Following the restructuring, the number of military area commands was reduced from 11 to 7, and the agencies of the General Staff Department, the General Political Department, the General Logistics Department, and the military area commands were nearly halved. In 1988, a new military rank system and a civilian personnel system were introduced. The PLA made significant progress in streamlining its organization, improving efficiency, and instituting standard procedures for all operations.

With its efforts subject to and serving the overarching context of economic development, the PLA made continuous achievements and contributions to the building of socialism. A number of military facilities were converted for civilian use, there was a gradual integration of defense and civil technologies, and a large team of professionals were cultivated with expertise for both the military and civilian sectors,



- Deng Xiaoping reviews PLA troops during the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PRC on October 1, 1984.

providing strong support to China's economic development. PLA service personnel played an active role in landmark projects, including water diversion from the Luan River to Tianjin, construction of the Shengli Oilfield as well as flood control and disaster relief operations.

In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, the PLA fulfilled its duty of protecting China's territory and sovereignty. In February and March 1979, Chinese border troops launched successful counterattacks in a self-defense war on the China-Viet Nam border. In 1981, the PLA recaptured the Faka and Koulin mountains. In 1984, it recaptured Laoshan Mountain, which was followed by several years of defensive operations there to eventually restore stability in the border region. In March 1988, Chinese naval vessels responded to an invasion of Vietnamese naval vessels in the Chigua Reef region of China's Nansha Islands. These defensive operations protected China's territorial sovereignty and integrity, safeguarded its national dignity, and projected an image of the PLA as strong military force.

7. Conception of One Country, Two Systems

The reunification of the motherland is the common aspiration of the entire Chinese nation. China must be and will be reunified. Chinese Communists have always taken a firm and clear-cut stand on this issue. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee and Deng Xiaoping proposed the highly creative scientific concept of One Country, Two Systems. Based on the idea of seeking the peaceful liberation of Taiwan put forward by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other revolutionaries of the older generation, this concept took an honest view of history and the reality of the time, and opened a new path to peaceful reunification for China.

In the late 1970s, the question of Taiwan was placed high on the

agenda of the Party and the state. On January 1, 1979, the NPC Standing Committee published the Message to Compatriots in Taiwan, which solemnly declared the fundamental policy of striving for China's peaceful reunification. The Central Committee further considered the issue of reunification from a holistic perspective. In January 1980, Deng Xiaoping pointed out three major tasks for the 1980s: to oppose hegemonism and strive to preserve world peace; to work for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and for the country's reunification; and to step up economic development. On several occasions, Deng elaborated on the strategic vision of realizing peaceful reunification on the basis of respecting Taiwan's status quo. In September 1981, Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, gave a speech to elaborate on the nine principles for Taiwan's return to the motherland and for peaceful reunification in a comprehensive and systematic manner. In January 1982, Deng put forth the One Country, Two Systems concept for the very first time. And in June 1983, he proposed six further principles for solving the Taiwan question: "After reunification with the motherland, the Taiwan special administrative region will assume a unique character and may practice a social system different from that of the mainland. It will enjoy independent judicial power, and there will be no need to go to Beijing for final adjudication. What is more, it may maintain its own army, provided that it does not threaten the mainland. The mainland will not station anyone in Taiwan. Neither troops nor administrative personnel will go there. The party, governmental and military systems of Taiwan will be administered by the Taiwan authorities themselves. A number of posts in the Central Government will be made available to Taiwan." These six principles further enriched the One Country, Two Systems concept.

The concept of One Country, Two Systems, initially proposed to resolve the Taiwan question, was first applied in the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland, in which it proved successful.

The Hong Kong question was a historical issue left over from Britain's colonialist invasion of China. After the Opium War in 1840, Britain forced the Qing government to sign unequal treaties including the Treaty of Nanjing, the Treaty of Beijing, and the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory, before forcibly occupying China's Hong Kong Island and Kowloon. Based on the latter convention, it leased the New Territories for 99 years until June 30, 1997. Towards the end of the 1970s, the British government raised the issue of Hong Kong's future status in an attempt to pressure China and gain long-term authority over Hong Kong. In December 1981, the Central Committee made the decision to recover Hong Kong on July 1, 1997. The Chinese government set two principles for settling the Hong Kong question: China must recover Hong Kong and resume its exercise of sovereignty in 1997, with no delay; and on the premise of resuming the exercise of sovereignty, Hong Kong's stability and prosperity should be maintained.

In September 1982, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited China to open Sino-British negotiations on the Hong Kong question. Margaret Thatcher argued that Hong Kong's prosperity depended on British rule. She argued that if major changes were introduced or announced in the British administration, it would have a disastrous effect on Hong Kong. Thatcher strongly argued that the three treaties on Hong Kong could not be unilaterally abrogated. Deng firmly responded that sovereignty was non-negotiable, and China would recover Hong Kong in 1997, not only the New Territories but also Hong Kong Island and Kowloon. This was the premise on which China and Britain negotiated. If China failed to recover Hong Kong in 1997, 48 years after the establishment of the People's Republic, no Chinese leader or government would be able to justify their failure to the people of China or the rest of the world. Deng declared that "If the announcement of the recovery of Hong Kong has, as Madam put it, 'a disastrous effect,'



- Deng Xiaoping meets British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on September 24, 1982.

we shall face that disaster squarely and create new policies.” During this meeting, China gained the initiative in the cause of recovering Hong Kong, and set the tone for resolving the Hong Kong question in accordance with the will of the Party and the people.

After 22 rounds of difficult negotiations over more than two years, the Chinese and British governments signed the Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong in December 1984, which confirmed that the Chinese government would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong on July 1, 1997. This ushered in a period of transition for Hong Kong’s return to China.

In April 1990, the Third Session of the Seventh NPC adopted the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in accordance with the provision of the 1982 Constitution and based on extensive consultations with people from all walks of life in Hong Kong. The Basic Law formalized the central government’s policies

and principles for Hong Kong in legal form, laying the foundation for governing Hong Kong according to law.

As the process of recovering Hong Kong got underway, the return of Macao was also put on the agenda. Macao, including the Macao Peninsula, Taipa Island, and Coloane Island, had been part of China's territory since ancient times. However, beginning in the 16th century, Portugal gradually occupied the region. In June 1986, the Chinese and Portuguese governments began their negotiations on the question of Macao. The negotiations went smoothly, and in April 1987, the two governments signed the Joint Declaration on the Question of Macao, to announce that the Chinese government would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Macao on December 20, 1999. This ushered in a transition period for Macao's return to China. In March 1993, the First Session of the Eighth NPC adopted the Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

The initial experience of resolving the questions of Hong Kong and Macao proves that the One Country, Two Systems concept, which embodies the principles of realizing national reunification and safeguarding national sovereignty, and takes account of the historical and present realities of Hong Kong and Macao, is a highly creative policy that has promoted China's peaceful reunification and had a strong influence on the international community.

8. Adjustments to Foreign Policy

On the eve of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, China made two major diplomatic moves. It signed the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship in August 1978 and the China-US joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations in December of the same year. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central

Committee, as the Party and the state shifted focus and initiated reform and opening up, a consensus grew within the Party that China must strive for a peaceful international environment conducive to modernization. Based on the changes in the international situation, the Central Committee began to make major adjustments to China's foreign policy, and made two important shifts.

The first was a shift away from the belief in the inevitability and imminence of war to make new scientific assessments of both war and peace. In the 1980s, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stated that although there was still the danger of war, the forces that could deter wars were growing, and the world forces for peace were growing faster than those for war. It was, therefore, possible that there would be no large-scale war for a fairly long time to come and there was hope of maintaining world peace. In March 1985, Deng pointed out that "peace and development are the two prevailing issues in the world today," a statement that provided an important reference for the Party and the state in formulating foreign policy in the new period.

The second shift was in the foreign policy featuring a strategic line of defense. Even after the establishment of China-US diplomatic relations, the US Congress adopted the Taiwan Relations Act and continued to interfere in China's internal affairs, threatening its national sovereignty. Though China and the United States issued a joint communiqué on August 17, 1982, as part of a step-by-step process aimed at reaching a final and definitive cessation to US arms sales to Taiwan, the United States failed to honor its commitments. In the meantime, the Soviet Union repeatedly expressed its desire to improve relations with China. Against this backdrop, China altered its policy of uniting with the United States against the Soviet Union.

In September 1982, the report to the 12th National Party Congress solemnly affirmed China's adherence to an independent foreign policy

and to the development of relations with other countries in line with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It also highlighted the CPC's willingness to develop relations with Communists and other working-class parties in all countries in line with the principles of "independence, full equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs." These four principles later became the fundamental principles for the establishment and development of relations between the CPC and political parties around the world.

In April 1986, the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC approved the State Council's report on the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The report expanded on the main content and fundamental principles of China's independent foreign policy of peace in 10 respects, and summarized the adjustments to China's foreign policy since the introduction of reform and opening up. The report stated that China asserted that all countries, big and small, rich and poor, were equal; that a country's affairs should be managed by its own people; and that world affairs should be handled by means of consultation among all countries, not by one or two superpowers. China would never seek hegemony, and resolutely opposed hegemony from all sides or in all forms. China would insist on its independence at all times and under all circumstances, and its attitude and response to all international issues would be based on the individual merits of each matter. China would never rely on or ally itself with any superpower. It would not use similarities or differences between social systems and ideologies to dictate relations with other countries, and would remain firmly opposed to any country occupying any other country, or interfering in the internal affairs of any other country under the pretext of having similar or different social systems or ideologies.

Following these foreign policy adjustments, China achieved development on all fronts of diplomacy, and a sound external environment favorable for reform, opening up and modernization began to take shape.

By 1989, a total of 137 countries had established diplomatic relations with China.

Relations with the United States and the Soviet Union were key aspects of China's diplomacy during this period. China-US ties developed steadily in the 1980s despite the challenges posed by US arms sales to Taiwan. Meanwhile, China and the Soviet Union began negotiations on normalizing relations in 1982. After the main obstacles in relations had been removed, Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, visited China in May 1989. China-Soviet relations were normalized after a rupture of more than 20 years, laying a solid foundation for a new type of relationship between two major countries, which was not based on alignment, confrontation, or the targeting of any third party.

9. Weathering Political Disturbances and Completing Economic Rectification

Political Disturbances of 1989

In late 1988 and early 1989, while efforts to improve the economic environment and ensure economic order were ongoing, a small number of people in several major cities, but particularly Beijing, incited opposition to the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system, taking advantage of mistakes in the work of the Party and the government and people's anxiety over inflation and resentment over the corruption of certain Party members and officials.

On April 15, 1989, Hu Yaobang passed away. The CPC Central Committee affirmed his outstanding contribution to the Chinese revolution, development, and reform over his six-decade revolutionary career. During a memorial service held by the Central Committee, a small

number of people spread rumors and incited people to take to the streets. In Beijing, crowds attempted to force their way into the Xinhua Gate at Zhongnanhai, the headquarters of the CPC and the State Council. In several other cities, people engaged in criminal activities such as assault, destruction of property, looting, and arson. On April 24, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held a meeting to study the situation and concluded that it was facing planned and organized political upheaval against the Party and socialism. On April 26, the *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "A Clear Stand against the Turbulence Is Essential," which shed light on the nature of the unrest for the Party and the country. A very small number of people with ulterior motives, however, continued to incite the people to occupy the Tian'anmen Square and conduct various illegal activities. The upheaval in Beijing eventually escalated into a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

At a critical juncture for the destiny of the Party and the country, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with the strong and firm support of Deng Xiaoping and other veteran revolutionaries of the older generation, relied on the people and took a clear stand against the unrest. On June 4, it took decisive measures to quell the counter-revolutionary riots in Beijing. Beijing and other large and medium-sized cities were returned to normal. With victory in this struggle, China's socialist state power was defended, and social order and the fundamental interests of the people were safeguarded.

This political storm was not a random event, but a result of the interaction of diverse international and domestic factors. As Deng Xiaoping put it, "This disturbance would have occurred sooner or later. It was determined by both the international environment and domestic environment. It was bound to occur, whether one wished it or not."

The international situation had a significant bearing on the events. The capitalist world had survived the crisis that followed World War II, and maintained rapid development in productive forces driven by new science and technologies. At the same time, some socialist countries made serious decision-making errors which caused numerous difficulties in economic and social development. As a result, the superiority of the socialist system could not be brought into full play. This undermined the image of socialist society among the people and led to the fallacy that “socialism is not as good as capitalism.” Meanwhile, political forces in some Western countries had for some time advocated a “peaceful evolution” of socialist countries by supporting and fostering all kinds of anti-Communist Party and anti-socialist activities. To this effect, the political turmoil was, in the first place, incited by hostile international anti-Communist and anti-socialist forces. In terms of the domestic situation, some members of the central leadership had for some time failed to conscientiously implement the principle of opposing bourgeois liberalization while promoting reform, opening up, and economic development. As a result, the bourgeois liberalization tendency was left unchecked, allowing it to steadily expand and become rampant.

The political upheaval prompted the Party to calmly think about the past, the present, and the future. On June 9, 1989, Deng Xiaoping met with officers at the rank of general and above in command of the troops enforcing martial law in Beijing, and gave a clear answer to the fundamental question regarding which direction and what road China would take—a question of great concern for China and the world at large. He said the line, principles, and policies formulated at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the “three-stage” development strategy were correct, as was the “one central task, two basic points” proposition set forth at the 13th National Party Congress. Deng added that China should continue to unswervingly follow the basic

line, principles, and policies which it had formulated. If the CPC had made a mistake, he added, it was that it had not kept to the Four Cardinal Principles consistently enough and had not inculcated them as basic ideas in the people, students, and all officials and Party members; if the CPC's efforts had fallen short in any respect, it was that not enough had been done to implement the policies of reform and opening up. Deng's remarks summarized the experiences and lessons learned over the past decade of reform and opening up, and proposed the right direction for China's reform and development in aftermath of the political upheaval.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee and the Formation of the New Central Collective Leadership

The Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee was held in June 1989. It was decided at the Plenary Session to remove Zhao Ziyang from all his leadership posts in the Party, due to his serious mistakes of supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party at a critical juncture for the fate of the Party and the country. The session made adjustments in the Party's central leadership, and Jiang Zemin was elected general secretary of the Central Committee.

At the Plenary Session, Jiang Zemin said, "The central leadership has made a number of personnel changes, but the line and basic policies which the Party has followed since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee remain unchanged and must continue to be implemented. On this fundamental issue, I wish to make two points perfectly clear: firstly, we will implement them resolutely and unswervingly; and secondly, we will implement them in their entirety."

After the Fourth Plenary Session, Deng repeatedly stated that it was time to establish a new and third generation of leaders. A collective leadership must have a core and efforts should be made to maintain



• Jiang Zemin delivers a speech at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee.

the core, which would be Jiang Zemin. Deng said the crucial thing for China was for the Communist Party to have a good Political Bureau, and particularly a good Political Bureau Standing Committee. He stated that as long as no problems arose in those two bodies, China would be as stable as Mount Tai.

After this, the new leadership group resolutely implemented the Party's basic line in an all-round way. It stepped up efforts to improve and rectify the economy and deepened reform and opening up. At the same time, it worked to strengthen the Party, promoted cultural and ethical advancement, and stressed ideological and political work. As a result, the nationwide political situation was stabilized rapidly, the economic situation improved, and affairs in the ideological field took a

turn for the better.

With the central collective leadership effectively carrying out its work, Deng Xiaoping formally handed his resignation as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in September 1989. In November, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee accepted Deng's resignation, and appointed Jiang Zemin as chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission. The Plenary Session concluded that Deng Xiaoping had proven a broad-minded proletarian revolutionary, who putting first the fundamental interests of the Party and the country and while still in good health, was resigning from his post and fulfilling his wish to leave all leading posts. All participants at the session expressed their high esteem for the example he had set for abolishing the system of life tenure in leading posts.

After the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 13th Central Committee, the leadership was smoothly transferred to a new generation central leading group. This was of great significance for guaranteeing the stability and continuity of the policies of the Party and the lasting security of the country.

Strengthening Party Building and Ideological and Political Work

The Party had withstood the test of political upheaval, but it had also recognized its own problems. Deng Xiaoping warned, "It sobered us up.... It is high time that this Party was rectified; there can be no delay." After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee, the Central Committee concentrated on strengthening the Party.

In August 1989, the Central Committee issued a circular on strengthening the Party. In line with the circular, in the autumn and winter of 1989 and the spring of 1990, Party organizations at all levels investigated all key persons who had participated in the turmoil and

the major events concerned to ensure the Party's purity. After this, the whole Party carried out an education campaign on the standards for qualified Communists and proceeded to re-register Party members. Stricter criteria were enforced for admitting new Party members, while exemplary factory workers and farmers were developed and accepted as Communists.

In an effort to enhance the Party's ideological building, the Central Committee proposed that, to help Party and government officials at county level and above to draw a clear distinction between right and wrong and maintain the correct orientation in a complicated situation, it was necessary to educate them in the basic theories of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, and to make this a regular, systematic practice. In the future, all new leading members were to be trained in Party schools. Other leading members would also, in turn, study for a certain period of time in Party schools.

After reflecting on the political upheaval, the Central Committee emphasized that an important aspect in strengthening the Party was to carry forward the Party's fine traditions, forge close relations between the Party and the people, promote clean and honest government, and to resolutely oppose corruption. In his report to the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee, Jiang Zemin said, "The eyes of the people of all Chinese ethnic groups are focused on us, waiting to see whether or not we can take real actions to punish corruption." In July 1989, the Central Committee and the State Council decided that leaders of the Central Committee and the State Council should tackle seven areas of key concern to the public in their drive to curb corruption and take the lead in upholding honesty, integrity, plain living, and hard work. In March 1990, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee passed the Decision on Strengthening the Party's Connection with the People. The implementation of these measures achieved good results.

To address the issue of Party leadership being weakened, the Central Committee stressed that the leadership of the CPC and the basic socialist political system must be upheld; China's socialist nature and its basic system must not be shaken; and no government body or social and political organization would be allowed to deviate from CPC leadership—these were the fundamental guarantees for social stability and economic development in China. At the same time, the Central Committee further adjusted the relations between the Party, organs of state power, and other social and political organizations. Leading Party members' groups, once abolished, were restored in government bodies as well as economic and cultural organizations. Party organizations were strengthened in enterprises, the countryside, and universities. These measures gave play to the role of primary-level organizations as the Party's political core and principal stronghold.

The Party regarded improving ideological and political work for the public, particularly young students, with high importance. When analyzing the causes of the political disturbances, Deng Xiaoping said that the Party's biggest mistake over the preceding 10 years had been a failure in education, primarily in political and ideological education; and the Party had failed to attach equal importance to material progress and cultural and ideological advancement. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee, a series of measures were taken to overcome the neglect of ideological and political work. From 1990 to 1991, an education campaign was launched among Party members and officials on Marxist Party building theories and the history of the CPC. Meanwhile, a public socialist education initiative was launched. More efforts were made to promote education on modern and contemporary Chinese history and China's national conditions, and to restore and improve ideological education and its methodology.

The Party also strengthened its leadership of the press and public

opinion. In his speech at a seminar on journalism held by the CPC Central Publicity Department in November 1989, Jiang Zemin elaborated on the basic principle of socialist journalism and called on newspapers, radios and televisions to be the voice of the Party, the government, and the people, and to adhere to the Party's principles of journalism and oppose so-called absolute freedom of the press. The meeting introduced the principle of prioritizing positive reporting to ensure that public opinion would always play a proper guiding role.

Strengthening the Party and ideological and political work helped to promote political and social stability, and created important ideological and political conditions for improving the economic environment, ensuring economic order, and deepening reform.

Responding to International Changes

Following the political disturbances of 1989, the US government and Congress, issued statements in which they vilified and attacked the Chinese government, and announced a number of sanctions against China. In July, the Group of Seven and the European Community announced the termination of high-level political contacts with China and the postponement of World Bank loans. Not long after this, dramatic changes swept the international landscape, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and drastic social and political changes in East Europe. The global socialist movement reached a low ebb.

In the face of waves of anti-China sentiment from some Western countries, the US foremost among them, and international rhetoric chanting China's decline, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed the need for China to maintain stability, uphold reform and opening up, and accomplish only one thing—to run its own affairs well. This was the key. Deng warned that Western countries were putting pressure on China with the ultimate aim of making it abandon socialism. China

needed to take a clear-cut stand against this adverse current. "The media worldwide are putting pressure on us; we should take it calmly, and safeguard our reputation for acting independently and on our own initiative, and for refusing to be taken in by fallacies or to tremble in the face of danger. China will surely follow to the end the socialist road it has chosen. No one will be able to overwhelm us."

In September 1989, at a gathering to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Jiang Zemin noted that "any attempt to reject or isolate China would be unwise and impossible, and that no economic sanction could ever waver China's resolution on rejuvenating the Chinese nation and adhering to the socialist road, or shake China's faith in seeking friendly coexistence with people from different countries of the world."

To regain the initiative, the Party and the government set two priorities for diplomacy in the early 1990s. The first was carrying out good-neighborly diplomacy to stabilize and actively promote relations with neighboring countries and strengthening solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries. The second was ending the sanctions imposed by the Western countries, and restoring and stabilizing relations with the developed countries of the West.

Party and state leaders engaged actively in diplomatic activities. In the two years between 1990 and 1992, China restored diplomatic relations with Indonesia, normalized Sino-Vietnamese relations, greatly improved relations with India, and established diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Israel, and the Republic of Korea. China's relations with Russia underwent a smooth transition after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Normal ties were established or developed with countries which emerged from the former Soviet Union, and with eastern European nations. By the end of August 1992, a total of 154 countries had established diplomatic relations with China. China also succeeded

in getting the United Nations to hold the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Far from being isolated by the sanctions of Western countries, China was playing an active role in international affairs.

China fought against the sanctions imposed by the United States and some other Western countries with good reason, from a position of strength, and with restraint. Chinese leaders made an accurate appraisal of the situation and adopted a combination of political, economic, governmental and people-to-people approaches. In 1990, it convinced Japan to become the first country to lift sanctions against it. Some other Western countries and international organizations followed suit. By the end of 1991, China had restored normal relations with the majority of Western countries.

The United States, having led the sanctions against China, gradually realized that isolating China did not really serve its own interests. Between July and December 1989, US President George H. W. Bush sent National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft to China twice in the capacity of special envoy. At the most difficult stage of China-US relations, Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "The United States should take the initiative in putting the past behind us, because only your country can do that." "Don't ever expect China to beg the United States to lift the sanctions. Even if they lasted a hundred years, the Chinese would not do that." In the meantime, China continued to proactively communicate with the US side, having the foresight to keep in mind the overall situation. After the outbreak of the Gulf crises, the United States had to reconsider improving relations with China in order to gain its support on the Gulf issue. In November 1993, at the invitation of his US counterpart Bill Clinton, Chinese President Jiang Zemin attended the first Informal Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit in Seattle. The two presidents held a formal meeting during the summit.

With hard work, China effectively tackled many external challenges following the political disturbances of 1989. The sanctions imposed by the Western countries failed to subdue or isolate China and eventually crumbled. China won a more favorable international environment for its reform, opening up, and modernization, and China's diplomacy developed steadily on all fronts.

The Results of Economic Rectification and Fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan

After the political disturbances, the CPC Central Committee reprioritized the tasks of improving the economic environment and ensuring economic order. In November 1989, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee made the Decision to Further Carry out the Policy of Economic Improvement and Rectification and Deepen Reform. On the basis of curbing inflation and stabilizing the economic situation, the meeting projected that starting in 1989, it would take three years or more to complete the goals of economic improvement and rectification. These efforts would comprise two steps: firstly, adjusting the economic structure while invigorating the market and striving for adequate economic growth; secondly, gradually shifting the focus of economic improvement, rectification and deepening reform to adjusting the industrial structure and improving economic efficiency.

During the period of economic improvement and rectification, governments at all levels paid closer attention to the people's "shopping baskets." Starting in 1988, the country launched a special "shopping basket" project to establish central and local production bases for meat, eggs, dairy, aquatic products, and vegetables. The efforts to improve the economic environment and ensure economic order effectively cooled China's overheating economy. The national economy maintained a reasonable growth rate, and the imbalance between supply and demand

was significantly eased. Inflation, a key public concern, was effectively controlled, disorder in the area of circulation was initially resolved, and the market order was significantly strengthened. In March 1992, the Fifth Session of the Seventh NPC announced that the main tasks of improving the economic environment and ensuring economic order had been basically fulfilled, marking an end to that specific stage of economic development.

In the period of economic improvement and rectification, the majority of targets for national economic and social development set forth in the Seventh Five-Year Plan were met or surpassed by the end of 1990. The strategic objectives for the first step of doubling the 1980 GNP and meeting people's basic needs were basically fulfilled ahead of schedule and China started to march towards a moderately prosperous society.

Reform and opening up continued, bringing major breakthroughs in some sectors.

The establishment of stock exchanges was a landmark move in deepening economic reform. The Shanghai Stock Exchange officially opened in December 1990, becoming the first stock exchange on the Chinese mainland. It was followed by the Shenzhen Stock Exchange, which officially opened in July 1991. These two exchanges facilitated the centralized trading of stocks, gave rise to two national stock markets, and promoted the development of the shareholding system. In October 1990, the Zhengzhou Grain Wholesale Market opened, introducing futures trading to China. The successful launch of the Shanghai and Shenzhen stock exchanges and the introduction of a futures trading system sent a strong signal to the world that China would resolutely push ahead with reform and opening up.

The opening of Shanghai's Pudong was a major move in China's efforts to open wider to the outside world. Pudong, adjacent to Shanghai's

most prosperous Bund, is a triangular area east of the Huangpu River, southwest of the mouth of the Yangtze River, and north of the Chuanyang River. Despite its potential, Pudong remained an underdeveloped area for decades in stark contrast to the thriving Puxi on the west bank of the Huangpu River. In April 1990, the Central Committee and the State Council approved plans to develop and open up Pudong and implemented policies for economic and technological development zones as well as a special economic zone. This major decision was based on the Central Committee's comprehensive assessment of the international and domestic landscapes and its overall considerations for reform and development. It opened a new chapter in deepening reform and opening up. Hundreds of thousands of construction workers arrived in Pudong to build roads, bridges, and factories. An export-oriented, multifunctional, and modernized Pudong New District rose up at the mouth of the Yangtze River to promote Shanghai's rapid development and drive forward reform, opening up, and economic development in the entire Yangtze River basin, and the country as a whole.

With the completion of economic improvement and rectification tasks and the fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, China's cause of reform, opening up and socialist modernization was about to enter a new stage.

10. Deng Xiaoping's Southern Talks

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union and drastic changes in eastern European nations, the practice of socialism around the world was at a low ebb. After the end of the Cold War, the world started to become more multipolar, the process of economic globalization accelerated, and some of China's neighboring countries showed strong development momentum. Yet China faced huge challenges and pressures

in its socialist cause. After economic improvement and rectification, the economy emerged from its downturn, but some deep-rooted problems in economic operations were yet to be thoroughly solved. The serious setbacks to socialism around the world also negatively impacted China. Some people lacked confidence in the future of socialism, while others had doubts about reform and opening up and questioned whether the road China was taking was capitalist or socialist. Whether China could keep to the Party's basic line without wavering and seize the opportunity to accelerate development and carry on with reform, opening up, and modernization became a major question for Chinese Communists to answer.

At a critical juncture in the history of the Party and the country, Deng Xiaoping, then aged 88, visited Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai between January 18 and February 21, 1992. During his tour,



- During a visit to Guangdong, January 23, 1992, Deng Xiaoping states that Guangdong should try to mount several steps and catch up with the Four Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) in twenty years.

Deng delivered a series of important speeches.

Discussing how to promote reform and opening up, Deng pointed out that "Revolution means the emancipation of the productive forces, and so does reform.... We should be bolder than before in conducting reform and opening to the outside world and have the courage to experiment.... Once we are sure that something should be done, we should dare to experiment and break a new path.... The reason some people hesitate to carry out the reform and the open policy, and dare not break new ground is, in essence, that they are afraid it would mean introducing too many elements of capitalism and, indeed, taking a capitalist road. The crux of the matter is whether the road is capitalist or socialist. The chief criterion for making that judgment should be whether it promotes the growth of the productive forces in a socialist society, increases the overall strength of the socialist state and raises living standards." In response to some criticisms and censure of reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping said, "Right tendencies can destroy socialism, but so can 'Left' ones. China should maintain vigilance against the Right but primarily against the 'Left.'" He added that "It will probably take another 30 years for us to develop a more mature and well-defined system in every field. The principles and policies to be applied under each system will also be more firmly established."

With regard to the relationship between planning and the market, Deng noted that "The proportion of planning to market forces is not the essential difference between socialism and capitalism.... Planning and market forces are both means of controlling economic activity." He stated that, "The essence of socialism is the liberation and development of the productive forces, elimination of exploitation and polarization, and the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all.... If we want socialism to achieve superiority over capitalism, we should not hesitate to draw on the achievements of all cultures and to learn from other countries,

including the developed capitalist countries, all advanced methods of operation and techniques of management that reflect the laws governing modern socialized production.”

Seizing the opportunity to accelerate development was one of the key issues that Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed in his talks. He pointed out that “The economies of some of our neighboring countries and regions are growing faster than ours. If our economy stagnates or develops only slowly, the people will make comparisons and ask why.... If we are to seize opportunities to promote China’s all-around development, it is crucial to expand the economy.... Development is the absolute principle.... It is now both possible and necessary for us to bring about, in the prolonged process of modernization, several periods of rapid growth with good economic returns. We must have this ambition.”

Deng believed that the key to solving China’s development problems was to adhere unswervingly to the Party’s basic line. “In upholding the line, principles, and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC, it is essential to adhere to the principle of ‘one central task and two basic points.’ If we did not adhere to socialism, implement the policies of reform and opening to the outside world, develop the economy and raise living standards, we would find ourselves in a blind alley. We should adhere to the basic line for a hundred years, with no vacillations.”

In his talks, Deng also elaborated on other important thoughts of strategic guidance. “Throughout the process of reform and opening, we must adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles.... There are two tasks we have to keep working at: on the one hand, the reform and opening process, and on the other, the crackdown on crime. We must be steadfast with regard to both.... As long as we develop our productive forces, maintain a reasonable economic growth rate, promote reform and opening and, at the same time, crack down on crime, we shall be able to

build a socialist society with advanced ethical standards.... Throughout the process of reform and opening, we must combat corruption. In a sense, whether we can manage our domestic affairs well, whether we can keep to the socialist road and adhere to reform and the open policy, whether we can develop the economy more rapidly and whether we can maintain long-term peace and stability will all be determined by people.... In the final analysis, we must manage Party affairs in such a way as to prevent trouble."

In the face of the hard times confronting socialism worldwide, Deng Xiaoping was confident "that more and more people will come to believe in Marxism, because it is a science.... Don't panic, don't think that Marxism has disappeared, that it's not useful anymore and that it has been defeated. Nothing of the sort! Some countries have suffered major setbacks, and socialism appears to have been weakened. But the people have been tempered by the setbacks and have drawn lessons from them, and that will make socialism develop in a healthier direction." He stressed that "It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system, and it will require persistent struggle by many generations, a dozen or even several dozens. We can never rest on our oars.... We shall push ahead along the road to socialism with Chinese characteristics. The period from now to the middle of the next century will be crucial. We must immerse ourselves in hard work."

"Spring comes with the east wind."¹ The series of new ideas elaborated in Deng Xiaoping's southern talks, like a strong east wind, dispelled the mist that had clouded the people's thinking. They provided profound theoretical answers to many of the important questions which had long perplexed the Chinese people and shackled their thinking, and

¹ "Spring comes with the east wind," taken from a poem by Li He (790–816), a Chinese poet of the mid-Tang dynasty.

constituted another declaration of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts that would push reform, opening up and modernization into a new stage. They played a crucial guiding role in the forthcoming 14th National Party Congress, and had far-reaching significance in China's entire cause of socialist modernization.

The southern talks represented a new high point in the already glorious achievements of Deng Xiaoping. Deng was an outstanding leader held in high esteem by the entire Party, the armed forces, and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. He was a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist, and diplomat; the chief architect of China's socialist reform, opening up and modernization; and the creator of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the principal founder of Deng Xiaoping Theory. Without him, the Chinese people would not have the new life they enjoy today, and the country would not have embraced the present new phase of reform and opening up or the bright future promised by socialist modernization. A great man of his time, Deng Xiaoping made glorious achievements and founded scientific theories that have changed China and influenced the world, and they will continue to do so.

Chapter VIII

The Launch of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics into the 21st Century

The CPC was preparing to hold its 14th National Congress in the latter half of 1992. In the wake of Deng Xiaoping's southern tour, the question of how China's reform and opening up would proceed was receiving much attention both at home and abroad. On June 9, while directing the drafting of the report to the 14th National Congress of the CPC, Jiang Zemin visited the Central Party School where he delivered a speech to a class of provincial and ministerial-level officials entitled "Thoroughly Grasping and Implementing the Guiding Principles of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Important Remarks in Order to Carry out Economic Development, Reform, and Opening Up More Rapidly and Effectively." In reality, this meeting was intended to solicit opinions and seek consensus with regard to the report to the 14th National Congress. In his speech, Jiang Zemin listed a few options for the wording of the goal of economic reform, noting that he was partial to "socialist market economy." After the meeting, Jiang Zemin asked Deng Xiaoping and others what their thoughts were. Deng Xiaoping expressed his approval, and said that this would make a good theme for the congress. Jiang Zemin's speech thus helped make important conceptual and theoretical preparations for the opening of the Party's 14th National Congress.

1. The 14th National Congress of the CPC and the Establishment of the Socialist Market Economy

The 14th National Congress of the CPC

The 14th National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing from October 12 to 18, 1992. Jiang Zemin delivered a report entitled “Accelerating China’s Reform, Opening Up, and Modernization Drive to Achieve Greater Successes in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.”

Three resolutions of far-reaching significance were made at the congress.

First, seizing opportunities, accelerating development, and focusing energy in order to move economic construction forward. At the congress, it was pointed out that whether China could accelerate its economic growth was a major issue not only economically but also politically.



• The 14th National Congress of the CPC.

With the necessary domestic conditions and a favourable international environment, there were challenges ahead but even more opportunities, and thus the time was ripe to accelerate development. China's 1990s economic growth rate was upwardly adjusted, with the annual average target for GNP growth increased from the original 6 percent to between 8-9 percent. Additional objectives were set to lift China's overall economic performance and composite national strength to new heights, surpass the original target of quadrupling the 1980 GNP, and elevate living standards from subsistence levels to the level of moderate prosperity by the end of the 20th century.

Second, defining the establishment of a socialist market economy as the goal of China's economic reform. At the congress, setting the right goal for China's economic reform was identified as a major issue that had an overall bearing on the socialist modernization drive. At the core of this issue was the need to properly understand and balance the relationship between planning and the market. Developments in practice and understanding demanded that the Party clearly define that the goal of China's economic reform was the establishment of a socialist market economy, as this would be conducive to further unleashing and developing productive forces. The socialist market economy that China was seeking to develop was integrated with the basic system of socialism, and aimed to let the market play the fundamental role in resource allocation under the macro regulation of the socialist state, and to make economic activities accord with the law of value and the changing relations between supply and demand.

Third, putting forward the task of equipping the entire Party with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The report to the congress outlined the main content of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in nine areas, namely path of development, stages of development, basic tasks,

impetus for development, external conditions, political guarantees, strategic steps, leading and supporting forces, and national unity. It also pointed out that this theory had, for the first time, offered relatively systematic answers to a series of basic questions on how to build, consolidate, and develop socialism in an economically and culturally backward country like China, thus carrying Marxism forward with new ideas and perspectives.

The congress reviewed and adopted the report and the revised Party Constitution. The revised Party Constitution incorporated the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Party's basic line in the primary stage of socialism; specified that the Party needed to follow its basic line and strengthen self-governance in the process of building itself so as to become a strong core capable of leading the Chinese people as they continued to advance on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics; added content on the importance of discipline, identified Party discipline as the code of conduct that Party organizations at every level and all Party members needed to observe, and required that Party organizations and members strictly observe and maintain Party discipline and consciously submit to the constraints of Party discipline.

The congress elected the 14th Central Committee and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and made the decision to abolish the Central Advisory Commission. Between the 12th and 14th national congresses of the CPC, the Central Advisory Commission had assisted the Central Committee in carrying out a great many fruitful endeavors and made historic accomplishments on behalf of the Party, the country, and the people in a new historical period, thus accomplishing its mission with distinction.

The First Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee elected Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Qiao Shi, Li Ruihuan, Zhu Rongji, Liu Huaqing, and Hu Jintao as members of the Standing Committee of the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee, with Jiang Zemin elected general secretary of the Central Committee. In addition, Jiang Zemin was appointed as chairman of the Central Military Commission of the CPC, and Wei Jianxing was approved as secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Under the impetus of Deng Xiaoping's remarks on his southern tour and the guiding principles of the 14th National Congress, China's reform and opening up took off with fresh momentum. Enthusiasm surged at all levels throughout the nation, and the economy grew rapidly. Around the world, all eyes were fixed on China, and a craze of inbound investment arose once again. Deng Xiaoping's southern tour and the 14th National Congress are thus milestones marking the entry of China's reform, opening up, and socialist modernization into a new stage of development.

The Formulation and Implementation of Programs for Establishing a Socialist Market Economy

Establishing a socialist market economy was a major policy decision made at the 14th National Congress. China's experiences since the launch of reform and opening up had offered ample evidence that the existing economic system could no longer meet the needs for the development of social productive forces, and its problems could not be solved through trivial changes. Therefore, China needed to make fundamental changes to the planned economy, and establish a vibrant and dynamic socialist market economy that allowed the market to play a fundamental role in the allocation of resources.

However, there were differing perspectives on what it meant to put the word "socialist" in front of "market economy." On this, Jiang Zemin made the following clarification: "The word 'socialist' is indispensable, by no means a superfluous embellishment, but rather the key component

that brings the concept to life. The inclusion of this word is an explicit statement of the nature of our market economy." He added, "Here, our creativity and uniqueness are on display." This made it clear that China's socialist market economy had to be integrated with the country's conditions, and could not be a carbon copy of the market economies of Western countries. While sharing the general traits of market economies, the socialist market economy would also possess distinctive Chinese features, and would be tasked with striking an effective balance between exerting the role of the market and strengthening macro regulation.

Integrating the basic system of socialism with market economics to establish a socialist market economy was the result of more than a decade of arduous explorations in reform and opening up, a great innovation and a major development in Marxism brought about by Chinese Communists, and an important breakthrough in the history of the development of socialism, playing an extremely important role in China's reform, opening up, and economic and social development.

In accordance with the decision made at the 14th National Congress, the Party Central Committee and the State Council introduced a raft of corresponding structural reforms and policy adjustments while stepping up efforts to formulate overall plans and ensuring that these plans were implemented through a well-conceived, step-by-step approach.

In November 1993, the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee reviewed and adopted the Decision of the Party Central Committee on Issues Concerning the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economy, providing more concrete details on the objectives and basic principles of economic reform introduced at the 14th National Congress and formulating an overarching plan for establishing a socialist market economy. The basic framework of the plan was as follows: on the basis of maintaining the dominant role of public ownership while allowing other economic forms to develop side by side, steps would be

taken to establish a modern corporate structure, an open and unified nationwide market system, an improved system of macro regulation, a rational income distribution system, and a multi-leveled social security system. China's economic reform thus began advancing as a whole toward the goal of establishing a socialist market economy.

In accordance with the requirements of the Party Central Committee on establishing a socialist market economy, the State Council successively introduced a series of plans to accelerate the pace of structural reforms in areas including public finance, taxation, banking, foreign trade, foreign exchange, planning, investment, pricing, and circulation.

Reform brought about greater supply capacity and material abundance. After 1992, China loosened control on grain prices and sales across the board, and allowed the market to determine the prices of almost all basic necessities. Whereas price reforms had initially encountered setbacks, they now achieved smooth success. In 1993, China abolished grain coupons and announced the end of the state monopoly on the purchase and marketing of grain that had been in force for 40 years, and thus the coupons for grains and edible oils that were once essential in the lives of ordinary people became relics fit for display in museums.

Reform of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) was central to building the socialist market economy, as well as the greatest challenge therein. In this period, reforms began to shift from decentralization of power, interest concessions, and policy adjustments to the transformation of operating mechanisms and institutional innovation. From the end of 1994, the National Economic and Trade Commission and the National Economic Reform Commission worked with relevant departments to select 100 large and medium-sized SOEs to undergo trials for establishing a modern corporate structure. After that, localities across the country picked more than 2,700 SOEs to participate in the trials. Furthermore, the State

Council chose 18 cities to conduct related reform trials on optimizing capital structure, and through the adoption of diverse policies, major breakthroughs were achieved in areas including alleviating enterprise debt burdens, separating them from social service functions, and downsizing their excess personnel.

The reforms and adjustments discussed above sped up the transition from a planned economy to a socialist market economy through concrete steps. The market's fundamental role in the allocation of resources was strengthened significantly, and signs that reform and opening up was making progress across the board and that economic development was roaring forward were apparent nationwide.

2. Stronger Macro Regulation and a Soft Landing for Economic Growth

A Soft Landing for Economic Growth

In the process of rapid economic growth, the fixation of certain localities and departments on speed combined with the gradually declining effectiveness of old mechanisms of macro regulation and the fact that new mechanisms of regulation were not yet well established led to the emergence of some new problems. These included overly aggressive growth of fixed-asset investment, a craze of investment in real estate and development zones, chaos in the financial system, and price increases. Having discovered these budding issues relatively quickly, the central Party leadership reiterated the importance of preventing the economy from overheating in the first half of 1992, and stressed the need to deepen reform with greater intensity and avoid focusing solely on expanding investment, so as to prevent the occurrence of new problems related to redundant projects and overstock of products. In April 1993,

the Party Central Committee held a briefing on the status of the economy in which problems including the disorderly raising of funds and provision of short-term loans, as well as the craze of investment in real estate and development zones were discussed. In June, the Party Central Committee and the State Council released the Opinions on the Current Economic Situation and Strengthening Macro Regulation, making the decision to adopt 16 measures focused primarily on rectifying the financial order. These mainly included strictly controlling the issuance of currency, cracking down on short-term loans that violated regulations, putting a stop to disorderly fund raising, rigorously restricting the overall scale of credit, and stabilizing prices in the foreign exchange market. The State Council then held national conferences on financial work and on fiscal and taxation work to step up the intensity of rectification efforts in these areas.

Apart from the necessary administrative and organizational tools that were utilized, macro regulation on this occasion mainly leaned toward the application of economic and legal tools. It took accelerating the shift from old to new structures as an opportunity for advancement, and made resolving prominent problems in the functioning of the economy a source of momentum for speeding up reform and the establishment of the socialist market economy. Through three years of hard work, macro regulation achieved notable results. Over-heated investment was effectively controlled, the financial order gradually took a positive turn, the total scale of credit was brought under control, and commodity price controls were gradually relaxed and the rate of increase in prices subsided markedly. This program of macro regulation successfully suppressed inflation while at the same time maintaining a relatively rapid rate of economic growth, bringing about a soft landing from economic overheating and inflation to high growth and low inflation and avoiding sharp fluctuations in the economy. It thus laid

the foundations for healthy economic development and for successfully withstanding the impact of the coming Asian financial crisis.

The Completion of the Eighth Five-Year Plan

In the process of strengthening macro regulation and deepening reform, the main targets laid out in the Eighth Five-Year Plan were either met or exceeded, and significant success was achieved in economic and social development. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, the national economy continued to grow rapidly. GNP grew at an average annual rate of 12.3 percent and reached 6.113 trillion yuan in 1995, which meant that the original goal of quadrupling 1980 GNP by the year 2000 had been accomplished five years ahead of schedule. Meanwhile, urban and rural living standards continued to improve, with per capita disposable income of urban residents increasing by an annual average of 7.9 percent and per capita net income of rural residents increasing by an annual average of 4.3 percent. China scored progress in all of its endeavors, and productive forces, composite national strength, and living standards ascended to new levels.

In September 1995, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee adopted the Recommendations of the Party Central Committee for the Formulation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and Long-term Objectives for the Year 2010, making new arrangements for achieving second-step strategic development goals during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. These were as follows: quadrupling per capita GNP in 1980 by the year 2000, assuming that China's population grew by around 300 million within the same timeframe; basically eliminating poverty and bringing living standards up to levels of moderate prosperity; and accelerating the development of a modern corporate structure and establishing the basic framework of a socialist market economy. The recommendations

also set the following main goals to be achieved by 2010: doubling GNP compared to the year 2000, seeing that the people were more well off in their moderately prosperous lives, and forming a relatively refined socialist market economy. The recommendations stressed that the key to achieving these goals lay in bringing about two fundamental shifts of sweeping significance: the first was the shift in economic structure from the traditional planned economy to the socialist market economy, while the second was the shift in economic growth from an extensive model to an intensive model in order to promote sustained, rapid, and healthy development of the national economy and all-round social progress.

Jiang Zemin delivered a speech at the closing of the plenary session, in which he elaborated upon 12 major relationships in the socialist modernization drive. The most important of these was the relationship between reform, development, and stability. He emphasized that reform was the impetus, development was the goal, and stability was the precondition, and that it was important to push forward reform and development amid political and social stability, and to ensure lasting political and social stability while pushing forward reform and development. This was a profound summary of China's historical experience in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

3. The 15th National Congress of the CPC, Confirmation of Deng Xiaoping Theory as the Party's Guiding Ideology, and Deeper Progress in Reform and Opening Up

The 15th National Congress of the CPC

On February 19, 1997, Deng Xiaoping, chief architect of China's reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, passed away. The

whole world watched with anticipation to see whether or not the CPC would continue forward on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics that he had pioneered.

From September 12 to 18, 1997, the 15th National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. Jiang Zemin delivered a report entitled “Hold High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory for an All-Round Advancement of the Cause of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to the 21st Century.”

At the congress, it was pointed out that the issue of the banner to rally around was of crucial importance, as this was a representation of the Party’s direction and image. For the first time, Deng Xiaoping Theory was used as a banner for guiding the continued advancement of the Party. It was stressed that firmly adhering to the line laid out since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee meant holding high the banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory. In a new phase of



• The 15th National Congress of the CPC.

reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, and on a new journey into the new century, it was absolutely imperative to hold high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory and use it to guide all work and endeavors.

At the congress, the Party's basic program for the primary stage of socialism was introduced, and the basic economic, political, and cultural features and requirements of developing socialism with Chinese characteristics were articulated. In addition, new explanations were put forward on major issues including the ownership structure and forms of realizing public ownership in the primary stage of socialism, law-based governance, building a socialist country under the rule of law, and fostering socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. It was noted that preserving the role of public ownership as the mainstay while allowing diverse forms of ownership to develop side by side constituted China's basic economic system for the primary stage of socialism. The public sector included not only the state- and collectively-owned sectors, but also the state- and collectively-owned elements in the sector of mixed ownership. The state-owned sector's role in leading economic development was primarily manifested in the form of its control capabilities. Forms of realizing public ownership could and ought to be diverse. The non-public sector was an important component of China's socialist market economy. Law-based governance was the basic principle through which the Party led the people in managing the country, an objective requirement for developing the socialist market economy, an important symbol of the progress of socialist culture, and a crucial guarantee for long-term stability of the country. Fostering socialist culture with Chinese characteristics meant using Marxism as a guide to develop a socialist culture for the nation that was rational and people-oriented, and that embraced modernization, the world, and the future, with the objective of cultivating a driven, ethical, educated, and

disciplined citizenry. These points made at the congress demonstrated that the Party had again deepened its theoretical knowledge in the process of seeking answers to the questions of what socialism is and how to go about building socialism.

The congress was held when the second-step objectives of China's three-step strategy for economic development were nearing completion. At the congress, further plans were put forward on how to achieve the third-step objectives, and a new three-step development strategy was introduced. The three steps of this new strategy were as follows: within the first decade of the 21st century, doubling GNP from the year 2000, ensuring that people were more well off in their moderately prosperous lives, and forming a relatively mature socialist market economy; then through another decade of hard work, securing a more developed national economy and more refined institutions by the CPC's centenary; and finally, by the PRC's centenary in the middle of the next century, realizing socialist modernization in essence and developing China into a socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, and culturally advanced. At the congress, plans revolving around this strategy were made for China's cross-century development.

At the congress, it was emphasized that comprehensive efforts should be made to strengthen Party building in terms of theory, organization, and conduct according to the overall objectives of the great new project of Party building, and that the Party needed to consistently raise its ability to govern and lead and keep itself from becoming corrupted or degraded. It could thus take on a fresh look and build greater fighting strength to lead the people in accomplishing new historic tasks.

At the congress, the political report and the revised Party Constitution were reviewed and adopted, and the 15th Central Committee and Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were elected. At the First Plenary

Session of the 15th CPC Central Committee, Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Zhu Rongji, Li Ruihuan, Hu Jintao, Wei Jianxing, and Li Lanqing were elected to the Political Bureau Standing Committee, with Jiang Zemin elected general secretary of the Central Committee. Jiang Zemin was appointed as chairman of the Central Military Commission of the CPC, and Wei Jianxing was approved as secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

The Confirmation of Deng Xiaoping Theory as the Party's Guiding Ideology

At the 15th National Congress, Deng Xiaoping Theory was incorporated into the Party Constitution as the Party's guiding ideology along with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This represented a historic decision made by the Party on the basis of practical success over nearly two decades of reform, opening up, and socialist modernization. It demonstrated the entire Party's determination and conviction to comprehensively advance the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics pioneered by Deng Xiaoping, and reflected the wishes and consensus of the people as a whole.

The report to the 15th National Congress stated that Deng Xiaoping Theory was gradually formed and developed amidst China's reform, opening up, and modernization efforts and under a historical context in which peace and development became the theme of the times. It was based upon a review of the victories and setbacks that China had experienced in the pursuit of socialism, as well as historical lessons drawn from other socialist countries about their rise and fall. The theory homed in on the fundamental questions of what socialism is and how to build it, and for the first time offered relatively systematic answers to a series of fundamental questions on building socialism with Chinese characteristics, thus guiding the Party in formulating its basic line for

the primary stage of socialism. Threading together concepts from the domains of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, and covering areas including economics, politics, technology, education, culture, ethnic issues, military affairs, diplomacy, the united front, and Party building, Deng Xiaoping Theory represented a relatively complete scientific system, but also one that needed to be further enriched and developed on all fronts.

Deng Xiaoping Theory opened up new frontiers for Marxism, since, as the Marxism of modern China, it represented a new stage for the development of Marxism in the country. Meanwhile, it was a pioneering development for the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the 15th National Congress, Deng Xiaoping Theory's historical standing and its significance as a guide were profoundly expounded on. It was noted that two historic leaps had occurred in adapting Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese context, which led to two major theoretical breakthroughs. The outcome of the first leap was a body of theories and a summary of lessons that had been proven correct through the practice of China's revolution and development. It was primarily brought about by Mao Zedong, and was named Mao Zedong Thought by the Party. The outcome of the second leap was the theory on building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This was primarily brought about by Deng Xiaoping, and was named Deng Xiaoping Theory by the Party. Both of these theoretical breakthroughs represented the crystallization of the practical experience and collective wisdom of the Party and the people.

The Comprehensive Advancement of Rural Reform and SOE Reorganization and Restructuring

After the 15th National Congress, the Party Central Committee adopted a series of major measures to accelerate reform, while putting

emphasis on two main issues: consolidating the fundamental position of agriculture, and shaking up large and medium-sized SOEs.

On the issue of rural reform and development, Jiang Zemin reiterated and further elaborated upon Deng Xiaoping's thinking on the "two leaps"¹ in the reform and development of agriculture during a tour of Jiangxi Province in March 1995 to inspect rural and agricultural work. He said that while the household contract system should be kept stable and constantly refined for some time, there should simultaneously be a gradual move toward intensive and collective agriculture as a long-term trend in pursuing rural development.

As efforts to establish the socialist market economy accelerated, problems arising from incompatibility between this system and the management system and industrial structure of China's agriculture grew increasingly pronounced. In response, the Party Central Committee promptly introduced the policy of implementing strategic adjustment of the agricultural structure. In October 1998, the Third Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee adopted the Decision of the Party Central Committee on Major Issues Concerning Agriculture and Rural Work, which clearly stated the objective of essentially establishing a rural economic system that was based on household contracting, backed by the commercial agricultural services system, the market system for agricultural products, and the system of government protection and support for agriculture, and suited to the demands of developing the

¹ While speaking with a number of central leaders on March 3, 1990, Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "From a long-term point of view, the reform and development of agriculture in socialist China will proceed in two leaps. The first leap was to abolish the people's communes and institute the responsibility system, the main form of which is the household contract that links remuneration to output. This system marks a great step forward and should remain unchanged for a long time to come. The second leap will be to introduce large-scale operations and to expand the collective economy, so as to facilitate scientific farming and socialized production. This will be another great step forward. Of course, it will be a long process."

socialist market economy by the year 2010. The policy introduced at this plenary session of extending land tenure for an additional 30 years allowed millions upon millions of farmers to work and operate their contracted land with peace of mind, which spurred development of the agricultural sector.

In an effort to ensure basic needs and increase incomes of farmers in impoverished areas, the Party and government launched an array of measures to step up the intensity of poverty alleviation, carrying out large-scale initiatives across the country in an organized and planned manner since the 1980s. The Seven-Year National Action Plan to Lift 80 Million People out of Poverty formulated and implemented in 1994 put forward the goal of ensuring that the basic needs of 80 million rural poor people were met within a roughly seven-year time frame. The central government allocated a total of 112.7 billion yuan in poverty alleviation funds to implement the plan. By the end of the year 2000, the country's rural poor population whose basic needs had not yet been satisfied shrunk to 32.09 million, with the ratio of this group to the rural population falling to around 3.5 percent. Working and living conditions in 592 national-level poor counties across the country improved significantly, and the majority of administrative villages were connected to electricity, road, postal, and telephone networks, which alleviated poverty in these regions.

While progress was being made in rural reform, pilot reforms launched at the end of 1994 to establish a modern corporate structure in SOEs achieved initial success in line with the requirements of clearly defined ownership, explicitly stipulated rights and responsibilities, separation of government and business, and sound management. However, due to their heavy historical obligations and social burdens as well as the added impact of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, SOEs faced unprecedented challenges. Therefore, a new approach was needed

in SOE reform in order for new breakthroughs to be made. The 15th National Congress of the CPC put forward a three-year plan for SOE reform and turnaround that aimed to bring the majority of large and medium-sized SOEs that were running at a loss out of their predicament and to take initial steps toward establishing a modern corporate structure in the majority of the backbone large and medium-sized SOEs through a roughly three-year period of reform, reorganization, restructuring, and management upgrading.

After the 15th National Congress, an SOE reform campaign oriented toward the establishment of a modern corporate structure was fully launched. Following an approach to reform marked by encouraging mergers, standardizing bankruptcy procedures, laying off or reassigning redundant personnel, downsizing to increase efficiency, and implementing reemployment projects, the State Council focused on the textile industry as an opening to set in motion the three-year campaign for SOE turnaround. A whole series of measures were adopted for this purpose, including debt-to-equity swaps, national funds for technological upgrading, listing and monetization of SOEs, and policy-mandated closures and bankruptcies. In 1998, a series of large conglomerates that operated according to the demands of the market were formed, including the China National Petroleum Corporation, the China Petrochemical Corporation, and Shanghai Baosteel Group. This was an important step toward establishing a modern corporate structure. These large SOEs ran according to the demands of the market and were no longer burdened by administrative functions, which made them better able to grow themselves and engage in international competition. Meanwhile, small SOEs leveraged their maneuverability and accelerated the pace of reform through means such as reorganization, partnership building, mergers, leasing, contractual operations, joint-stock partnerships, and company sale. By the end of the year 2000, the objectives of the three-year reform

and turnaround plan for large and medium-sized SOEs were essentially accomplished, with enterprises in which the state held a controlling stake achieving significant growth in profits and a modern corporate structure initially established in the majority of the backbone large and medium-sized SOEs.

In an effort to resolve the problem of workers being laid off in large numbers amid the process of accelerating economic restructuring and deepening SOE reform, the central Party leadership repeatedly stressed that China's SOE workers had been contributing to the country in important ways for decades, and therefore the entire Party and all social sectors needed to step up, working with whole-hearted enthusiasm and a strong sense of responsibility to support laid-off SOE workers and help them with reemployment. In 1996, Shanghai took the lead in establishing reemployment service centers, providing a vigorous push for the undertaking. This public welfare project was expanded nationwide, and served as a bridge between enterprises and the market for resettling laid-off SOE workers. In June 1998, the Party Central Committee and the State Council issued a notice calling for efforts to lay the groundwork for a social security system and employment mechanisms suited to the socialist market economy within a period of about five years. Acting in line with the plans of the central authorities, governments at all levels set up three lines of protection for laid-off SOE workers, namely assistance for basic needs, unemployment insurance, and subsistence allowances for urban residents, and launched reform of the social security system with a focus on old-age insurance and medical insurance for workers. In addition, many localities stepped up vocational training to help workers change their perspectives on their choice of occupation, and actively developed the tertiary sector to expand channels of employment. These measures guaranteed the basic needs of laid-off workers, and mitigated the risks and challenges involved in SOE reform to a significant extent.

The Emergence of Comprehensive Opening Up

Efforts to deepen reform at home and open wider to the outside world were advanced in close concert. Observing the extremely complex international environment of the 1990s, the Party Central Committee became keenly aware that economic globalization was an irreversible trend of development. It thus unswervingly upheld the fundamental state policy of opening up, and made great strides in this regard.

At the 14th National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee, it was proposed that the scope of opening up needed to be expanded in order to create a pattern of complete openness on multiple levels and through multiple channels. It was also proposed that full advantage should be taken of domestic and international markets and resources, and that active efforts be made to advance strategic measures such as winning out on quality and diversifying markets. As certain preferential policies and flexible measures that were originally implemented in special economic zones (SEZs) were gradually extended to other parts of the country, some officials of the SEZs were concerned that these zones were no longer “special,” and unsure about their status and continued development. In 1994, the Party Central Committee made it clear that its commitment to the development of SEZs would not change, that its basic policy toward SEZs would not change, and that the historical standing and role of SEZs in China’s reform, opening up, and modernization would not change, promising that SEZs would see the formation of new strengths and advancement to a higher level.

At the 15th National Congress, it was further stated that opening up was a basic state policy for the long term, and therefore China needed to engage with the world more proactively, build a pattern of opening up across multiple dimensions, levels, and fields, develop an open economy,

and increase its international competitiveness. At the Second Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee in February 1998, the lessons of the Asian financial crisis were thoroughly summarized, and it was stated that China should have both the courage and the competence to participate in international economic and technological cooperation and competition within the framework of economic globalization, and take full advantage of all favorable conditions and opportunities available in order to develop itself, while at the same time soberly recognizing and promptly forestalling all adverse effects and risks therein, in order to steadily advance opening up, pursue interests and avoid risks, and seize the initiative. Later on, the Party Central Committee further pointed out that economic globalization was a double-edged sword, with both upsides and downsides for China's development. In light of this, while practicing opening up with resolute commitment, China also needed to maintain its independence, boost risk awareness, and strengthen preventative measures in order to safeguard its economic security and pursue growth more effectively.

In line with these major decisions and with vigorous support from the Party Central Committee and the State Council, China further opened up cities located along the coast, borders, and the Yangtze River as well as provincial capitals, and set up a number of economic and technological development zones and bonded areas. Meanwhile, the development strategy of making Shanghai Pudong New Area the leader to drive development of the Yangtze River basin was clearly defined, and the goal of turning Shanghai into an international economic, financial, and trade hub by the beginning of the 21st century was established. By 1997, a new pattern of complete openness on multiple levels and through multiple channels that extended from the coast to the banks of the Yangtze River and from the borders into the interior had gradually taken shape.

China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) was

a major and historically significant milestone in the country's reform and opening up drive, as well as an important opportunity for further advancing opening up across multiple dimensions, levels, and fields. In July 1986, the Chinese government requested the restoration of the country's contracting status in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and began negotiations with contracting parties. After the WTO was founded in January 1995, China began back-and-forth bilateral negotiations with each WTO member state, dealing with many ups and downs in the process. Negotiations with the US proved particularly complex and difficult. China went through 15 years of negotiations for its return to the GATT and later for its accession to the WTO, with the Party Central Committee consistently devoting significant effort and attention to this issue. On November 10, 2001, the decision to allow China's accession to the WTO was passed at the organization's Fourth Ministerial Conference held in Doha, Qatar. On December 11, China officially became the WTO's 143rd member. Integration with the global economy was historically inevitable. To grow its economy, China needed to swim in the vast ocean of the global market. Without the courage to face the torrents and embrace the wider world, it would sooner or later be engulfed by the vast ocean and drown. China therefore dove bravely into the global market. Practice had proven that joining the WTO granted China's economy a favorable position for participating in rule setting and competition amidst globalization, which in turn broadened the horizons for opening up, gave the country more room for development, and had a profound impact on pushing forward China's economic reform and modernization drive.

4. The Formulation and Implementation of Cross-Century Development Strategies

The Strategy of Invigorating China through Science and Education

International competition in modern times is, in the final analysis, competition over composite national strength, with competition in science and technology being the key part. As the role of science and technology in promoting China's modernization drive began to attract greater attention, the strategy of invigorating China through science and technology gradually took shape. In 1993, the Law on Scientific and Technological Progress of the People's Republic of China was promulgated. This was the PRC's first law related to science and technology. In May 1995, the Party Central Committee analyzed scientific and technological development trends as well as the domestic and international landscape, and made the decision to accelerate scientific and technological progress and to implement the strategy of invigorating China through science and technology. This strategy called for efforts to comprehensively apply the idea that science and technology constitute a primary productive force, put education first, give science and education priority in economic and social development, enhance the country's scientific and technological strength and its ability to translate such strength into actual productive forces, raise the nation's overall level of scientific, technological, and cultural sophistication, and promote greater reliance on scientific and technological advances and improvements in workforce quality to drive economic development, with the objective of making the country prosperous and strong more quickly. In implementing this strategy, it was essential to continuously enhance the ability to innovate. At a national conference on science and technology on May 26, Jiang Zemin stressed, "Innovation is the soul



• Jiang Zemin speaks at the National Conference on Science and Technology.

of a nation's progress, and an inexhaustible source of momentum for driving a country to flourish." He continued, "A nation without the ability to innovate can hardly join the ranks of the world's advanced nations," and said, "In addition to studying and importing advanced foreign technology, we must constantly work to improve our country's independent R&D capabilities."

After the Party Central Committee's introduction of this strategy and while implementation of the March 1986 High-Tech Program was ongoing, the National Program for Development of Basic Research in Key Areas (namely the March 1997 Program) was launched to augment basic research oriented toward the country's strategic goals. Also, recognizing that informatization was a scientific and technological innovation that would bring profound and revolutionary changes, the Party Central Committee stressed the need to actively integrate industrialization with informatization and drive the former with the latter, in a bid to achieve leapfrog development. During this period, China made

tremendous scientific and technological achievements. The successful launch of China's first unmanned experimental spacecraft—*Shenzhou I* in November 1999 marked a major breakthrough in the country's manned spaceflight technology. In 1999, the Shenwei computer system was built, breaking through the blockade imposed on China by Western countries in terms of high performance computing technology.

In order to encourage scientists and technicians in their pursuits, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission made the decision to commend 23 scientists and technicians who made outstanding contributions to the country's nuclear weapons, intercontinental ballistic missile, and satellite development programs. The Party Central Committee and the State Council also made the decision to establish a State Supreme Science and Technology Award starting from the year 2000, and held a state ceremony to honor outstanding scientific and technological achievements on February 19, 2001. Wu Wenjun, a renowned mathematician, and Yuan Longping, known as the "father of hybrid rice," received the State Supreme Science and Technology Award for the year 2000, garnering nationwide acclaim.

With regard to education, the Party Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the Program for Reforming and Developing Education in China, which clearly stated the need to make education a strategic priority in order to raise the intellectual and moral standards and levels of scientific and cultural sophistication of the entire nation, and emphasized that this was an issue of fundamental importance for modernizing China. In September 1995, the Law on Education of the People's Republic of China officially came into effect, providing legal guarantees for the development of education. In the same year, China officially launched Project 211, an initiative geared toward the 21st century that aimed to develop approximately 100 institutions of

higher learning and a number of key academic disciplines. In 1999, China began to implement Project 985, which focused on developing a number of world-class universities and top-tier academic disciplines. The government made sensible adjustments to the structure and layout of institutions of higher learning, promoted reform of higher education and the combined provision of schooling in various forms, and gradually resolved the long-standing problem of fragmentation and redundancy in the development of higher education, so as to allocate educational resources in a more rational manner. With regard to basic education as well as vocational and technical education, new organizational mechanisms were gradually formed with the government playing the primary role and non-governmental parties involved. The government increased investment in education considerably, thus effectively supporting reform of the educational system and the development of education.

The Sustainable Development Strategy

As China's economy constantly expanded in size through rapid and extensive growth, the issue of sustainable development increasingly drew the attention of the Party Central Committee. After the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, the Party Central Committee and the State Council explicitly stated that a sustainable development strategy would be implemented. In 1994, China released *China's Agenda 21—White Paper on China's Population, Environment, and Development in the 21st Century*, setting forth its overall strategy, measures, and action plan for achieving sustainable development. At both the 15th National Congress of the CPC and the First Session of the Ninth NPC held in March 1998, implementation of the sustainable development strategy was identified as an important task in China's cross-century development. Basic state policies of

family planning and environmental protection were upheld, with a view to correctly balancing economic development with changes in the population, resources, and the environment.

With the Party and the government making active efforts, major progress was made in implementing the sustainable development strategy in a number of important areas. In 1996, the State Council published the Decision on Issues Concerning Environmental Protection, which vigorously promoted efforts to control total emissions of major pollutants, cap the emissions of industrial polluters, and ensure that environmental quality in key cities met functional zone-based standards. In addition, comprehensive initiatives were launched to prevent and control water pollution in the Huai, Hai, and Liao rivers and lakes Tai, Chao, and Dianchi, as well as to prevent and control air pollution in acid rain and sulfur dioxide control regions. After the 15th National Congress, the State Council promulgated the Plan for National Environmental Development and the Nature Reserves Development Plan, introduced a series of regulations such as banning the burning of straw while promoting its usage and prohibiting illegal hunting and trading of wild animals, made comprehensive efforts to control soil erosion, launched projects to protect natural forests, return marginal farmland to forest or grassland, and control the sources of dust storms affecting Beijing and Tianjin, implemented a compensation system for the utilization of resources, and enhanced environmental protection year by year.

In 1978, the Party Central Committee made the strategic decision to plant large-scale shelterbelts in northwest, north, and northeast China, marking the launch of the Three-North Shelterbelt Project. Through unremitting effort, the first stage of this project was completed in 2001, with forest coverage in these regions reaching 10 percent and a “green great wall” initially established to block southward sandstorms. This project was acclaimed as the greatest ecological endeavor in the world,

and witnessed the emergence of a number of role models in anti-desertification, afforestation, and ecological improvement efforts, such as Saihanba Forest Farm and Youyu County.

The Strategy of Large-Scale Development of the Western Region

As a vast country, China's natural environment and developmental conditions vary greatly from region to region, resulting in the long-standing problem of unbalanced and uncoordinated development. Development efforts after the founding of the PRC, and especially after the launch of reform and opening up, provided the western region with fair material and technological foundations. In comparison with the eastern region, however, the western region remained weak in terms of transport and communications infrastructure, and lagged behind economically as well as in the development of culture, education, and public health services.

Gradually narrowing the development gap between regions, bringing about nationwide coordination in economic and social development, and ultimately achieving common prosperity for all was a basic requirement of socialism, as well a major issue with an overall bearing on China's cross-century development. As early as September 1988, Deng Xiaoping introduced the strategic concept of "two big-picture tasks." He pointed out, "The coastal areas should accelerate their opening to the outside world so that this vast area with a population of 200 million can develop first at a relatively rapid pace, after which they can drive the development of the interior. The development of the coastal areas is a big-picture task, and the interior provinces must take this into account. Conversely, once coastal areas have developed to a certain extent, they will be required to provide more vigorous assistance for interior provinces. This is another big-picture task, and when the time comes the coastal areas will have to do their part." During his 1992

southern China tour, he also stressed the need to raise and address this question as a priority by the time China reached a level of moderate prosperity at the end of the 20th century.

In mid-to-late December 1995, during a tour of Shaanxi and Gansu, Jiang Zemin began thinking over the development of the western region. He said that significant effort was needed to pick up the pace of development in the western region through vigorous support from the state and assistance from other regions, especially relatively developed regions. At the time, the most prominent and pressing issue confronting the western region was environmental protection and improvement. In August 1997, Jiang Zemin made comments on the Investigative Report on Controlling Soil Erosion and Developing Eco-Friendly Agriculture in Northern Shaanxi Province, calling for concerted and determined efforts to reforest the region, green the desert wastes, and develop eco-friendly agriculture to restore the northwestern region's beautiful landscape. Subsequently, the State Council adopted a number of measures in the western region to return marginal farmland to forests and grasslands and relocate residents in the interest of development. Backed by nationwide support, the people of the western region worked actively to restructure agricultural production, and launched a broad afforestation campaign to fight desertification.

At the turn of the century, China's composite national strength grew markedly, economic restructuring progressed more quickly, and economic and social development in the eastern region built up definite momentum. This equipped the country with essentially everything it needed to support accelerated development of the western region, and indicated that the time was ripe to do so. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee in September 1999, the decision was made to implement the strategy of large-scale development of the western region, which aimed to help the western region and ethnic minority areas

develop faster by giving them priority in infrastructure development and increasing transfer payments. Further arrangements were made at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee in October 2000, and the strategy was fully launched. Subsequently, the State Council issued the Notice on Policy Measures for Carrying out Large-Scale Development of the Western Region, which clarified that the scope of relevant policies covered 12 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities—Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Tibet, Chongqing, Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Inner Mongolia, and Guangxi. With the approval of the State Council, preferential treatment was provided for Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in Hunan Province, Enshi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in Hubei Province, and Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province according to relevant policies for the western region in the course of practical work. To support large-scale development of the western region, the State Council formulated and introduced policies in the areas of public finance, taxation, banking, foreign investment, foreign trade, attracting talent, science and technology, and education, and increased transfer payments and public investment for the western region. A large number of key projects were launched, including the Qinghai-Tibet Railway and west-to-east natural gas and electricity lines, and the pace of infrastructure development was greatly accelerated, giving a strong boost to economic and social development in the western region.

Implementing the strategy of large-scale development of the western region was a major strategic decision made by the Party Central Committee based on its grasp of the overall situation. This decision was of crucial and far-reaching significance for China's efforts to promote coordinated development of the eastern and western regions with a view to ultimately achieving common prosperity, as well as efforts to safeguard ethnic solidarity, social stability, and national security, and

expand room to maneuver strategically in its development.

The Strategy of “Bringing in” and “Going Global”

After the launch of reform and opening up, China developed itself by actively bringing in foreign funds, advanced technologies, and managerial expertise, scoring great success in this regard. But as China’s economic strength grew and economic globalization accelerated, the country had to seize the opportunity and push its enterprises to “go global” while fully leveraging both domestic and international resources and markets. This was the only way to make up for domestic resource and market deficiencies, and to export China’s technologies, equipment, products, and services. The country would thus be better able to bring in new technologies and develop new industries, and, in turn, could gradually form its own transnational corporations and become a more effective competitor in globalization.

While touring Tangshan, Hebei Province in July 1996, Jiang Zemin said that more intense study was needed on how China’s enterprises could “go global” through a focused and organized approach in order to accomplish the mission of effectively leveraging international markets and foreign resources. In December 1997, while meeting with delegates at a national conference on foreign investment, he further clarified that “bringing in” and “going global” were two closely linked and mutually reinforcing aspects of China’s basic state policy of opening up, and that both were indispensable. He said that this was a key strategy for both opening up and economic development. At the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee in October 2000, the following statement was made: “We need to implement the ‘going global’ strategy, and strive to make new breakthroughs in utilizing domestic and international resources and markets.”

In line with this strategic plan, China’s opening up drive shifted

from focusing on “bringing in” to combining “bringing in” and “going global.” A number of strong and competitive enterprises invested and set up factories in Africa, Central Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and South America, actively participating in international cooperation. Economic cooperation with other countries in various forms grew steadily and continuously. By the end of 2001, China had taken part in 195 overseas resource cooperation projects with a total investment of US\$4.6 billion, set up 6,610 overseas enterprises with Chinese investment of US\$8.4 billion, and invested an average of US\$2.52 million in each overseas project, which was nearly 30 percent more than the previous year. A number of backbone enterprises such as the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and the China Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec Group) played a leading role in implementing the overseas investment strategy, and began taking the shape of transnational corporations.

The strategy of “bringing in” and “going global” spurred the development of China’s open economy, facilitated faster integration of the Chinese economy into economic globalization, and gave China more room for economic development. This was yet another example of foresighted strategic policymaking carried out by the Party Central Committee as Chinese socialism entered a new century.

5. The Development of Political Culture and Advanced Culture and the Achievement of Moderately Prosperous Living Standards Overall

Solid Progress in Developing the Rule of Law and Political Culture

Developing socialist democracy and building a socialist political culture were important objectives of the socialist modernization drive. At the 14th National Congress of the CPC, it was said that political

restructuring should press ahead, and that significant improvements should be made in China's socialist democracy and legal system. At the 15th National Congress of the CPC, law-based governance was elevated to the level of a basic principle for the Party leading the people in governing the country. Furthermore, it was stated that, under the leadership of the CPC and with the people running the country, China should be governed according to the law, develop socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics, and turn itself into a socialist rule of law country.

To meet the requirements for building a socialist market economy, Party committees and governments at all levels carried out radical reforms of the administrative system and Party and government institutions after the 14th National Congress in line with the principles of separating government administration from enterprise management and achieving a more streamlined, uniform, and efficient setup. After the 15th National Congress, efforts to reform the administrative system and transform government functions were further intensified, with reform measures focused on augmenting departments responsible for macroeconomic regulation, adjusting and cutting down on specialized economic departments, and strengthening departments responsible for law enforcement and oversight. Subsequently, a series of measures for deepening administrative reform were adopted with a view to transforming government functions, such as reforming the government review and approval system and standardizing the public bidding system.

After the 14th National Congress, efforts to develop the country's legal system moved into the fast lane. A socialist market economy is also a law-based economy. At the First Session of the Eighth NPC in March 1993, the clause "the State shall practice a socialist market economy" was written into the Constitution. Legislative work on the socialist

market economy then markedly accelerated, and the Company Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the Fifth Session of the Eighth NPC Standing Committee in December. In February 1996, Jiang Zemin delivered a speech at a lecture on the legal system held by the Party Central Committee, in which he changed the previous term "rule by law" to "rule of law," and pointed out that law-based governance represented an important principle guiding the Party and government's administration of state and social affairs. At the 15th National Congress in 1997, the objective of law-based governance was changed from "building a socialist country under a system of laws" to "building a socialist country under the rule of law." Though the two are similar in wording, they differ in substance. While a legal system is only a component and form of the rule of law, the rule of law is a method and principle of state governance. Law-based governance was thus confirmed as a basic principle of the Party for leading the people in governing the country. To implement this basic principle, the NPC and its standing committee made strengthening legislative work and increasing the quality of legislation the top priority, formulating the Legislation Law, revising the Marriage Law and other laws, and promulgating a number of laws for the development of the socialist market economy, such as the Securities Law and the Contract Law. To meet demands imposed by the continuous expansion of opening up, and particularly China's accession to the WTO, timely revisions were made to several laws and regulations related to intellectual property protection, including the Law on Chinese-Foreign Equity Joint Ventures, the Law on Chinese-Foreign Contractual Joint Ventures, and the Law on Foreign-funded Enterprises. At the Second Session of the Ninth NPC in March 1999, the phrase "practice law-based governance and build a socialist state under the rule of law" was written into the Constitution. This was an important accomplishment in the development of socialist democracy, signaling that China's efforts

to build a socialist democracy and legal system had entered a new stage.

After the 15th National Congress, the Party Central Committee took steps to gradually establish the organic unity between the leadership of the CPC, the running of the country by the people, and the rule of law as the basic principle of China's socialist democracy. Under the guidance of this basic principle, the system of people's congresses, the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, and the system of regional ethnic autonomy were further refined, the patriotic united front was strengthened, and self-governance among villagers and urban residents, as well as workers' congresses and other democratic management systems of enterprises and public institutions continued to develop, reflecting the gradual enhancement of primary-level democracy in both urban and rural areas.

Augmenting work related to ethnic and religious affairs was an important part of socialist political development. During a tour of Xinjiang in August and September 1990, Jiang Zemin suggested that all ethnic groups foster the idea that the Han ethnic group and ethnic minority groups were inextricably bound together, as were different minority groups with each other. The Central Conference on Ethnic Work in 1992 called for continued consolidation and development of socialist ethnic relations on the basis of equality, solidarity, mutual assistance, shared development, and common prosperity. At the National United Front Work Conference in 1993, it was put forward that efforts should be made to fully and correctly carry out the Party's religious policy, strengthen administration of religious affairs in accordance with the law, and actively guide religion in becoming more compatible with socialist society. In 1994, the Party Central Committee and the State Council held the Third Tibet Work Forum, formulating a series of policy measures to accelerate the development and safeguard social stability in Tibet. In addition, major decisions were made on providing Tibet with paired

assistance from central government departments and 15 provinces and municipalities, thus creating a new pattern of nationwide assistance to Tibet. Backed by the leadership and concern of the Party Central Committee and the support of the rest of the country, officials and people in Tibet carried forward and promoted the long-standing spirit of Tibet fostered since 1950, and made remarkable achievements in advancing reform, opening up, and modernization in the region. During this period, the Party and the government redoubled resource exploration and infrastructure development efforts in ethnic minority areas, implemented the system of transfer payments from the central government, increased investment in education for ethnic minority groups, launched initiatives to boost development in the border regions and benefit the people living there, and intensified poverty alleviation efforts in ethnic minority areas by arranging paired assistance from coastal provinces and cities. These efforts vigorously promoted social stability and economic and cultural development in ethnic minority areas.

Steady Progress in Raising Cultural-Ethical Standards and Developing Advanced Culture

In the 1990s, upholding the principle of simultaneously promoting material progress and cultural-ethical progress, the Party Central Committee stressed the importance of working to raise cultural-ethical standards. The strength of the whole Party and all of society was mobilized in a continued effort to facilitate socialist cultural-ethical development and vigorously develop Chinese socialist culture, leading to new progress and achievements in this regard.

Beginning in 1991, the Publicity Department of the Central Committee

launched the Five Works Project Award¹ as part of an effort to maintain orientation toward serving the people and socialism, apply the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, promote the themes of the times, and enrich socialist culture. This move was aimed at encouraging writers and artists to engage deeply with real life and the general public and produce outstanding works to satisfy the cultural needs of the people. At the Fourth Session of the Eighth NPC in March 1996, cultural-ethical progress was included in the country's overall plan for national economic and social development, with a view to making material progress and cultural-ethical progress mutually reinforcing and coordinated in their development.

At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee in October 1996, the Resolution of the Party Central Committee on Important Issues Concerning Further Promoting Socialist Cultural-Ethical Progress was enacted, emphasizing the need to equip the people with sound theories, provide them with correct guidance through media, imbue them with a noble spirit, and inspire them with outstanding works of literature and art, thus molding them into driven, ethical, educated, and disciplined socialist citizens. In addition, plans were made for socialist cultural-ethical development under new circumstances. After this plenary session, initiatives to raise cultural-ethical standards among the public, which were mainly comprised of efforts to build of civilized cities, villages, towns, and industries, flourished nationwide. The youth volunteer movement and the Hope Project continued receiving enthusiastic support from all walks of life, thereby carrying forward the Chinese nation's traditional virtue of finding joy in helping others. Initiatives to bring services related to culture, technology, and

¹ "Five Works" refers to excellent works from five categories, including books, theatrical plays, films, TV series, and original and persuasive essays. Songs and radio plays were added to the list in 1995, but the "Five Works" title remained unchanged.

public health to rural areas were thoroughly carried out, especially in old revolutionary base areas, ethnic minority areas, border areas, and impoverished areas. These provided rural residents with cultural entertainment, information and technology to help them grow prosperous, and health knowledge and medical services.

Developing Chinese socialist culture was a new proposition set forth at the 15th National Congress of the CPC. At this congress, it was emphasized that Chinese socialist culture was identical to socialist cultural-ethical progress in its main substance, and that it was an important force for uniting and inspiring Chinese people of all ethnic groups as well as an important indicator of China's composite national strength. After the 15th National Congress, the country promoted cultural development through an emphasis on the production of fine cultural works, vigorously advanced non-profit cultural programs, and strengthened the development of cultural infrastructure and major cultural projects. Outstanding works that reflected the spirit of the times and were rooted in the lives of the people emerged, which increasingly enriched the cultural lives of the people, gradually strengthened the healthy and civilized social atmosphere, and consistently consolidated the position of socialist culture.

Strengthening socialist intellectual and moral development is an essential component and a key link in the development of advanced culture. During this period, the Party Central Committee made strengthening intellectual and moral development a major priority, setting forth the important concept of "the rule of virtue." At a national conference of directors of CPC publicity departments in January 2001, Jiang Zemin made the following clear statement: "In the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and developing a socialist market economy, we need to unrelentingly improve the socialist legal system and implement the rule of law. At the same time, we need to

unremittingly improve socialist moral education and implement the rule of virtue. In terms of the governance of a country, the rule of law and the rule of virtue always complement and further each other. Both are indispensable and neither can be neglected.” In September, the Party Central Committee issued the Program for Improving Civic Morality, which called for close integration between legal development and moral development, and between the rule of law and the rule of virtue in an effort to shape and develop a socialist ethical framework. By advocating the basic virtues of “patriotism, observance of the law, courtesy, honesty, solidarity, kindness, diligence, frugality, pursuit of excellence, and devotion to duty” throughout society, socialist moral development continued to expand in depth and breadth, constantly enhancing the moral character of officials and members of the public.

Completion of the Ninth Five-Year Plan and Achievement of Moderately Prosperous Living Standards Overall

While launching socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st century, the Party united and led the people in deepening reform and opening up and accelerating modernization with unwavering commitment. In the process, they mounted successful responses to all kinds of grave risks and challenges, and made great accomplishments.

In the latter half of 1997, a financial crisis erupted in Southeast Asia, causing a drop in China’s total imports and exports and posing severe difficulties to the country’s economic development. In the face of the financial crisis, the Party Central Committee explicitly put forward the guiding principles of staying confident, maintaining a clear understanding of the situation, taking precautions, responding with calm composure, working diligently, and maximizing gains while minimizing losses. Decisive measures were adopted to boost domestic demand, put a proactive fiscal policy and prudent monetary policy into effect,

increase investment, and boost infrastructure development. Subsistence allowances for low- and middle-income groups were increased to improve public wellbeing. Measures were also taken to raise export tax rebate rates and crack down on smuggling, in an all-out effort to increase exports and drive economic growth through a multidimensional approach. These countermeasures took effect quickly. China's economy continued to grow after 1997, and exports began to rebound markedly in the latter half of 1999. In this critical situation where many countries experienced economic recession and sharp currency devaluation, China honored its commitment to not devaluing the RMB, and served as a crucial cornerstone in overcoming the Asian financial crisis, thus putting its image as a responsible major country on full display and making contributions to mitigating this financial crisis that shook the world.

In the summer of 1998, China was hit with devastating floods of a type rarely seen in history. The Yangtze, Nenjiang, and Songhua rivers experienced the worst flooding in recorded history, and the Xi River in the Pearl River basin and the Min River in Fujian also flooded, altogether affecting 230 million people. At this time of crisis, the Party Central Committee was highly concerned about the safety and immediate interests of people living in these regions, acting decisively and making painstaking plans. Party and state leaders personally went to the front lines of the flooding, more than 300,000 members of the PLA and the armed police force participated in relief efforts, turning their devotion into an unbreakable levee. People living in affected regions made sacrifices for the greater good, while people across the country vigorously supported soldiers and civilians on the front lines, achieving a complete victory in the battle against the floods. In this battle, the Party and the people fostered a great spirit of finding strength in unity, facing difficulty undaunted, working with tenacity and perseverance, and having the courage to prevail.

Over the course of reform and opening up, China saw erroneous tendencies and unhealthy phenomena spring up from time to time under the influence of subversive activities carried out by hostile forces abroad. In April 1999, responding to incidents in which a small number of people used Falungong to poison people's minds and disrupt social stability, the Party Central Committee led the people in a major political struggle to resolutely combat the Falungong cult. The organization was swiftly outlawed, all sectors of society were mobilized to expose its evil and deluded teachings, and people who had been swept up in it through coercion and deception were rehabilitated. These efforts safeguarded social and political stability.

Major victories achieved in the response to Asian financial crisis and a number of major struggles fully demonstrated the Party Central Committee's ability to command the overall situation, meet challenges, and withstand risks, and illustrated the strengths of China's socialist system. The Party and the Chinese people were thus imbued with greater confidence for the road ahead.

While dealing with various difficulties, risks, and challenges, China secured new accomplishments in its reform, opening up, and modernization drive. By the year 2000, the main goals of the Ninth Five-Year Plan were either fulfilled or exceeded. China's GDP reached 9.9776 trillion yuan with an average annual growth of 8.6 percent; the task of quadrupling China's 1980 per capita GNP was fulfilled three years ahead of schedule in 1997; and China became a global frontrunner in terms of output of major industrial and agricultural products, while commodity shortages were largely resolved. The income of urban and rural residents increased significantly, and their quality of life improved markedly. As all-round progress was made in various undertakings, China's composite national strength further increased. In this period, the Yangtze River was successfully dammed as part of the world-famous Three Gorges Project;

major progress was made in building a second railway for west-to-east coal transportation, a ten-million-ton steel mill, and other cross-century super projects; and the west-to-east natural gas pipeline construction project and the expansion project for the Xining-Golmud section of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway were launched.

By the year 2000, China had successfully realized the transition from a planned economy to a socialist market economy. The basic framework for its socialist market economy was put in place, and the institutional environment for economic and social development underwent major changes.

Successful completion of the Ninth Five-Year Plan signaled that China had accomplished the strategic objectives of the second step of the socialist modernization drive, and that living standards had reached the level of moderate prosperity overall. Good foundations were thus laid down for embarking toward the strategic objectives of the third step. This represented a great achievement secured through China's reform, opening up, and modernization drive, as well as a new milestone in the history of the Chinese nation's development.

In October 2000, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee adopted Recommendations of the Party Central Committee for Formulating the 10th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, drawing up a new blueprint for China's economic and social development.

6. Actively Advancing Military Transformation with Chinese Characteristics

As a new round of military transformation gathered momentum around the world in the 1990s, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission defined the overall requirements for



- Jiang Zemin reviews PLA troops at the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC on October 1, 1999.

military development in the new period as “building politically and militarily competent armed forces with fine conduct, strict discipline, and strong logistical support,” put focus on ensuring the armed forces could fight to win while never degrading in character, and introduced a series of strategic plans and arrangements on military development and military preparedness, in an effort to push forward military transformation with Chinese characteristics.

The outbreak of the Gulf War in early 1991 presented the world with a completely new picture of warfare, and showed that high-tech military equipment had become a major determinant of success on the battlefield. In terms of military technology and combat style, this also represented a turning point from mechanized warfare to information warfare, triggering a wave of military transformation around the world. The Central Military Commission paid close attention to this shift. Jiang Zemin attended three seminars on the Gulf War, noting the

importance of clearly assessing changes on the international landscape, carrying out studies on how to fight future wars, putting greater effort into the development of defense-related science and technology, and producing weapons that could function like the proverbial “silver bullet.” At an enlarged meeting in January 1993, the Central Military Commission formulated the military strategy of active defense for the new period, made major changes on the level of strategic guidance, and clearly defined the goals and tasks for the entire military in preparing for military struggle under new circumstances, with the focus on winning localized wars fought using modern technology, particularly cutting-edge technology. This infused the principle of active defense with new meaning. The Outline for Military Development during the Ninth Five-year Plan Period was adopted at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission in December 1995. The outline introduced the strategy of strengthening the armed forces through science and technology as well as the strategic concept of two fundamental shifts, namely shifting the focus of military preparedness from handling localized wars fought under general conditions to winning localized wars fought under technological conditions, especially high-tech conditions, and shifting the focus of military development from quantity and scale to quality and effectiveness, and from being manpower intensive to technology intensive. At an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission in December 2000, it was further proposed that the tasks of mechanization and informatization be pursued simultaneously and that leapfrog progress be pursued in military development.

From the latter half of 1992 to the end of 1994, initial steps were taken to adjust the military structure and reduce the armed forces in an effort to advance military transformation according to a Chinese approach of having fewer but better troops. At the 15th National Congress of the CPC in September 1997, it was announced that on the basis of the one-million-

troop cut conducted in the 1980s, China would reduce the armed forces by an additional 500,000 over the following three years. Through these efforts, the PLA took a step in the direction of joint warfare combining smaller, lighter, and more versatile forces. To meet the demands of military transformation, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission also implemented major adjustments and reforms of the logistical support system, the military academy system, and the military service system for active duty soldiers and noncommissioned officers in particular.

After the mid-1990s, the state increased investment in national defense and military development as rapid economic development continued. Earnestly implementing the principle of strengthening the armed forces through technological and qualitative improvements, all branches of the PLA stepped up the development of weapons and equipment and national defense-related science and technology. Through these efforts, world-class advancements were made in the fields of aerospace engineering, naval architecture, weaponry, military electronics, and engineering physics, major progress was made in microelectronics, information technology, sensor technology, and communications technology, and breakthroughs were made in the R&D of cutting-edge weapons, such as submarine-launched ballistic missiles and mobile strategic missile launchers. This laid down new and important technological foundations for modernization of the military's weaponry.

The PLA upheld the fundamental principle and system of absolute CPC leadership over the armed forces with steadfast commitment, and made ideological and political integrity a priority among all improvement efforts. During this period, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission revised, formulated, and implemented the Regulations on Political Work of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Decision on Issues Concerning the Improvement of Ideological

and Political Integrity of the PLA under the Context of Reform and Opening up and Development of the Socialist Market Economy so as to boost the military ethos among officers and soldiers and ensure that the people's army maintained firm revolutionary will and zealous fighting spirit. This provided the armed forces with firm support for completing relevant tasks, the foremost of which was ensuring combat readiness.

7. The Return of Hong Kong and Macao and the Expansion of Cross-Strait Exchanges

The Triumphant Return of Hong Kong and Macao

After Hong Kong entered the period of transition for its return to the motherland, cooperation between the Chinese and British governments on the issue of Hong Kong went smoothly at first. However, after 1989, and particularly in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and upheaval in Eastern Europe, the British government miscalculated the situation, violating relevant provisions of the Sino-British Joint Declaration and putting up obstacles to a smooth transition in an attempt to impede and antagonize the Chinese government's resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong. The CPC and the Chinese government responded to this behavior with reasoned, forceful, and restrained opposition.

At the end of 1992, in an effort to ensure a smooth transition and long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong, the Party Central Committee put forward the principle of "acting in our own interests and preparing for any eventuality." Subsequently, the Chinese government stepped up preparations for the resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong and the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) on the basis of the Basic Law of the HKSAR. On

December 11, 1996, the Selection Committee for the first government of the HKSAR elected Tung Chee-hwa as the first chief executive of the HKSAR by secret ballot. On December 16, the central government appointed Tung to the position. All preparations for Hong Kong's return were thus essentially complete.

At midnight on June 30, 1997, the handover ceremony of Hong Kong was held at the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center, attracting worldwide attention. At 11:59 PM on June 30, the flags of the United Kingdom and Hong Kong were lowered slowly, marking the end of a century and a half of British rule. At the stroke of midnight on July 1, the band struck up the national anthem of the PRC while the flags of the PRC and the HKSAR were slowly raised. President Jiang Zemin solemnly declared the resumption of Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong.

The return of Hong Kong to China after a century of vicissitudes gave the Chinese nation a clean slate after a hundred years of humiliation, and

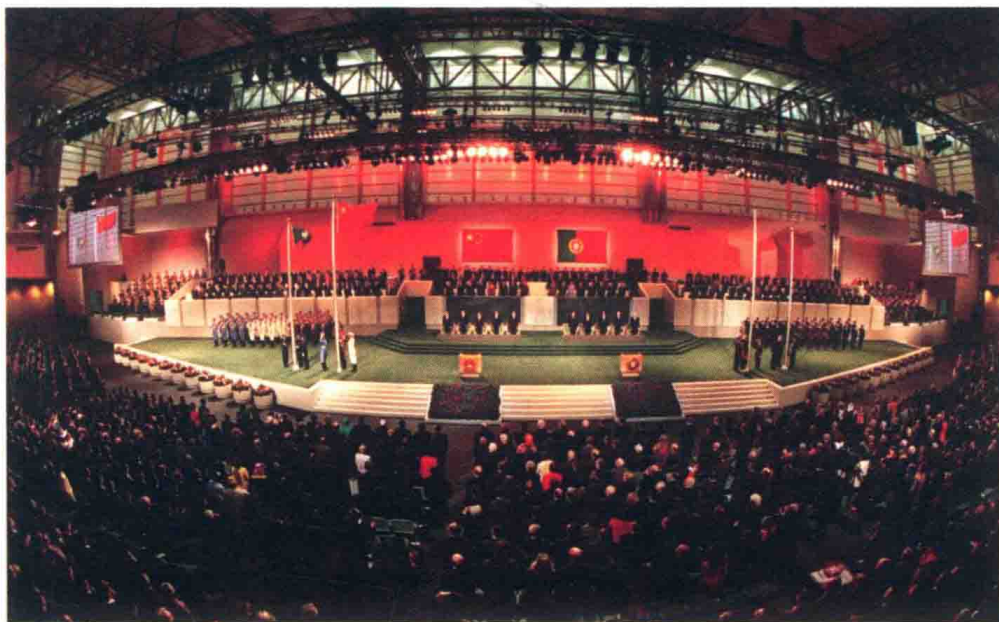


• The Hong Kong handover ceremony at the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Center on July 1, 1997.

marked a major step toward the complete reunification of China. This was a monumental achievement in the history of the Chinese nation. From this point on, the Hong Kong compatriots became the true masters of this Chinese land, and Hong Kong itself embarked on the path of shared development and everlasting unity with the motherland.

While preparations for the return of Hong Kong proceeded on a tense schedule, efforts for the return of Macao were also accelerated. On May 15, 1999, the Selection Committee for the first government of the Macao Special Administration Region (MSAR) elected Ho Hau Wah as the first chief executive of the MSAR by secret ballot. On May 20, the central government appointed Ho Hau Wah to the position.

The handover ceremony of Macao was held by the Chinese and Portuguese governments from midnight on December 19 to the early hours of December 20, 1999. President Jiang Zemin solemnly declared the Chinese government's resumption of sovereignty over Macao.



• The Macao handover ceremony at the Macao Cultural Center on December 20, 1999.

In the “Song of the Seven Children,” a group of seven patriotic poems written in 1925, renowned poet Wen Yiduo gave voice to the ardent wish of compatriots in Macao to return to the motherland, a wish that finally came true at this moment. The triumphant return of Macao represented yet another monumental achievement brought about by the Chinese people on the road to national reunification.

After their return to China, Hong Kong and Macao were re-integrated into China’s national governance system as special administrative regions (SARs) directly under the central government. The central government exercised jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao in accordance with China’s Constitution and the SAR basic laws, and corresponding systems and institutions were set up for the SARs. Meanwhile, Hong Kong and Macao’s ties with the mainland grew closer. In the face of negative impacts brought about by the Asian financial crisis and the changing international economic environment, the SAR governments responded with calm composure under the vigorous support of the central government. Mobilizing the combined strength of all sectors, they dealt with a series of economic and social problems in an appropriate manner, thus maintaining stability and prosperity within their respective jurisdictions. The facts showed that the policy of One Country, Two Systems provided the best solution to the historical questions of Hong Kong and Macao, and the best institutional arrangement for ensuring long-term prosperity and stability in both regions following their return.

The Expansion of Cross-Strait Exchanges

With China’s mainland developing, the KMT authorities in Taiwan opened up limited family visits to the mainland in October 1987 after years of effort by Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The first group of Taiwan compatriots arrived on the mainland in November

by way of Hong Kong. From then on, the barriers of separation that had existed between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait for 38 years were broken down, allowing cross-Strait visits and economic and cultural exchange to gradually expand.

On this basis, the CPC Central Committee steadily advanced the development of relations across the Taiwan Strait. From March 1992, the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) and the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) began negotiations on specific issues. In November, the two sides reached a consensus regarding the formulation of the one-China principle, agreeing upon the following: "Both sides of the Taiwan Strait belong to one China and will work together toward national reunification." This was later called the "1992 Consensus." In April 1993, ARATS President Wang Daohan and SEF Chairman Koo Chen-fu held a productive meeting in Singapore, signing four documents including the Common Understanding of the Wang-Koo Talks, and establishing institutionalized mechanisms for contact and consultation between the two sides. This marked a major step forward for cross-Strait relations. In March 1994, the Sixth Session of the Eighth NPC Standing Committee adopted the Law of the People's Republic of China on Protecting the Investments of Taiwan Compatriots, which brought such investment under legal safeguards and further promoted the development of economic relations and exchanges in other fields between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

After Lee Teng-hui came to power in Taiwan, however, he gradually abandoned the one-China principle with the support and assent of the US and other foreign forces hostile to China, and thus activities seeking "Taiwan independence" grew increasingly rampant. On the basis of a rational analysis of the Taiwan situation, the CPC Central Committee determined that while suppressing separatist forces and striking at their arrogance and bluster, it should also conduct thorough

study on the application and development of the policies of peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems under new circumstances. On January 30, 1995, with the Chinese traditional Spring Festival approaching, Jiang Zemin delivered a speech entitled "Continuing to Strive toward the Reunification of China," in which he put forward an eight-point proposal for developing cross-Strait relations and promoting peaceful reunification. He also emphasized that upholding the one-China principle was the essential precondition for achieving peaceful reunification, and that the refusal to rule out the use of force was not targeted at Taiwan compatriots, but rather at foreign forces conspiring to interfere in China's reunification and secessionists seeking "Taiwan independence." This speech demonstrated the Chinese government's determination to achieve national reunification, while at the same time showing ample consideration for the wishes of compatriots in Taiwan and the actual situation there. It thus received much attention and garnered a positive response both at home and abroad.

Nevertheless, Lee Teng-hui went farther and farther down the separatist path of "Taiwan independence." In June 1995, Lee visited the US on what was ostensibly a personal trip, fragrantly drumming up the idea of "two Chinas" among the international community. He then trotted out the so-called "two states" theory in July 1999. When Chen Shui-bian took office in March 2000, he rejected the one-China principle and repudiating the 1992 Consensus.

In response to increasingly rampant separatist activities seeking "Taiwan independence" within the island and among foreign hostile forces, the CPC Central Committee launched resolute countermeasures in the political, military, and diplomatic domains and in the realm of public discourse. In the second half of 1995 and first half of 1996, the Chinese PLA conducted a series of large-scale drills in the Taiwan Strait and the sea area in the vicinity of Taiwan. These drills reverberated around the

world, demonstrating the determination of the Chinese government and Chinese people to safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity, which in turn dealt a blow to the arrogance and bluster of separatist forces seeking “Taiwan independence” and foreign hostile forces.

8. Creating a New Pattern of Comprehensive and Multilayered Foreign Relations

In the early 1990s, the international landscape became more complex than ever due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the upheaval in Eastern Europe. Remaining focused on national sovereignty and security as the top priority, the CPC Central Committee actively responded to new changes in international relations as well as the effects and challenges of rapid technological development. Taking an unequivocal stand against hegemonism and power politics, China endeavored to safeguard the interests of developing countries, united all forces possible to promote world peace and development, and worked for a new international political and economic order that was fair and equitable.

In this period, China put forward the proposal of building a new model of major country relations featuring non-alignment, non-confrontation, and not targeting any third party. On the basis of this principle, China set up basic frameworks for bilateral relations with Russia, the US, France, the UK, Japan, and the EU oriented toward the 21st century. China championed this model of major country relations with the aim of breaking the monopoly of Western countries led by the US over international affairs, demonstrating its sincerity, vision, and strength in pushing for the democratization of international relations and a more multipolar world.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, China reestablished diplomatic relations with Russia. The two countries settled most of

their historical border issues rather effectively through negotiations. In April 1996, China and Russia announced that they would establish a partnership of strategic coordination based on equality and trust that was oriented toward the 21st century.

In the 1990s, relations between China and the US were complex, with progress upset by setbacks. In the policy of engagement with containment that the US consistently maintained toward China, containment took precedence. As a result, relations between the two countries went through several major setbacks. On May 8, 1999, US-led NATO bombed the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia, and on April 1, 2001, an American surveillance plane engaged in provocative action over the South China Sea that resulted in a midair collision with a Chinese fighter. In the face of the US's outrageous violations of its sovereignty and instigation of incidents affecting the bilateral relationship, China responded head-on to defend its sovereignty and dignity.

Promoting shared development by fostering friendly relations with neighboring countries and regions and safeguarding peace and stability on its periphery is one of China's major diplomatic goals. In this period, China scored important progress in growing friendship and cooperation with its neighbors. Between 1997 and 2002, the Joint Statement of the Meeting of Heads of State/Government of the Member States of Southeast Asian Nations Association of (ASEAN) and the President of the People's Republic of China was issued, China advocated and promoted the establishment of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, and the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and China was signed. In April 1996, the leaders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan held a meeting in Shanghai that marked the official establishment of the "Shanghai Five" mechanism. Building upon this foundation, these five nations plus Uzbekistan signed the Declaration of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in June, 2001.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was the first organization for regional cooperation established with China's participation and named after a Chinese city. The Shanghai Spirit of pursuing shared development on the basis of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, and respect for cultural diversity produced a major impact on contemporary international relations. After the SCO was established, member states boosted cooperation and exchange in the security, economic, and cultural domains, exerting an important role in opposing hegemonism and power politics and forestalling the "color revolution," and cracking down on terrorism, ethnic separatism, and religious extremism. This helped safeguard overall regional stability, and spurred economic and social development among member states.

While pursuing the strategy of stabilizing its periphery, China also strengthened friendly and cooperative relations with developing countries in other regions. In October 2000, a Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was held in Beijing, at which the FOCAC Beijing Declaration and the Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development were adopted. China also rapidly developed deeper ties with countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and established diplomatic relations with all South American states other than Paraguay.

China actively participated in numerous multilateral diplomatic activities through a more open posture. At China's suggestion, leaders of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, the US, Russia, the UK, and France, met together for the first time in UN history during the Millennium Summit on September 7, 2000. In February 2001, the Boao Forum for Asia (BFA) was founded at Boao, Hainan Province. This was the first non-governmental international conference organization with a fixed address in China. With equality, mutual benefit, and cooperation as its themes, the BFA worked as a bridge for



- A group photo at the Ninth APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Shanghai on October 21, 2001.

people from all sectors in Asia or that have an interest in Asia to enhance mutual understanding, increase friendship, and expand cooperation. In October, China held the Ninth APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Shanghai, which had a positive influence on promoting economic recovery and development in the Asia Pacific region.

At the turn of the century, China created a new pattern of comprehensive and multilayered foreign relations. It increasingly took the initiative amid intense international competition and confrontations, capturing greater room to maneuver in the global arena and building much stronger international influence.

9. Advancing the Great New Project of Party Building

Defining the General Objectives for Party Building, and Identifying Two Major Historic Challenges Therein

In the 1990s, the Party Central Committee meticulously analyzed new circumstances facing the Party's development, made active inquiries into what the objectives, tasks, and methods should be for Party building

while developing the socialist market economy, and adopted a series of major measures to strengthen and improve Party building.

In September 1994, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee adopted the Decision of the Party Central Committee on Several Important Issues Concerning Strengthening Party Building, elevating Party building in the new period to the level of a “great new project,” and clearly defining the general objectives for this effort. At the 15th National Congress of the CPC, the objectives were modified to “building the Party into a Marxist political party that is equipped with Deng Xiaoping Theory, serves the people wholeheartedly, is completely solid in ideological, political, and organizational terms, can withstand all manner of risks, always stands at the forefront of the times, and leads the people of China in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.”

In view of profound changes that were taking place within the Party, across the country, and around the world at the turn of the century, Jiang Zemin said at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 15th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI) in January 2000 that for the country to be governed well, the Party had to be governed well, which meant exercising strict intraparty discipline. As long as governance over the Party remained rigorous, national governance would naturally be proper and effective. He also set forth in full the two historic challenges of raising the Party’s leadership and governance capacity and bolstering its ability to resist corruption and withstand risk, and called on all Party members to earnestly study and address these two challenges with a view to making the Party stronger and more vibrant so that it could lead Chinese people of all ethnic groups toward continued victories.

Defining the general objectives for Party building and identifying the two major historic challenges therein enhanced the Party’s understanding of the laws governing its self-improvement efforts, enriched Marxist theory on party building, adapted to new demands on Party building

posed by the development of the socialist market economy, and charted the course for strengthening and improving Party building in a new historical context.

Comprehensively Strengthening Party Building and the Launch of the “Three Emphases” Education Campaign

In the process of cross-century development, following the general objectives of Party building and focusing on the two major historic challenges, the Party Central Committee made solid strides in all aspects of Party building in close concert with efforts to advance reform and opening up and develop the socialist market economy, resulting in important new progress.

During this period, the Party Central Committee made the following Party building efforts. First, it continued to equip the entire Party with Deng Xiaoping Theory, and educate officials and members of the public on this theory. Second, it defined ideological and political work as the lifeline of economic initiatives and all other work, and continuously made innovations and improvements in terms of its content, forms, methods, means, and mechanisms while at the same time carrying forward the Party’s fine traditions. Third, in line with the principle of providing overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all involved, it further strengthened and improved the Party’s leadership, ensuring that Party committees acted as the leadership core while people’s congresses, governments, CPPCC committees, and people’s organizations each played their respective roles. Fourth, according to the principle of practicing collective leadership and democratic centralism with issues considered on an individual basis before decisions were made at meetings, it improved Party committees’ internal mechanisms for deliberation and decision-making, and developed sound mechanisms for making decisions by combining the perspectives of leadership,

experts, and the public, so as to gradually refine systems for scientific and democratic decision-making. Fifth, it placed significant emphasis on training and selecting outstanding young officials, as well as expediting the passing of the torch between the older and younger generations of officials in leadership at different levels. Sixth, it formulated and put into effect regulations and guidelines on the work of primary-level Party organizations in Party and government departments, universities, SOEs, rural areas, social organizations, and non-public institutions in order to guide and promote the development of these organizations in all sectors. These measures significantly strengthened the Party's self-improvement efforts, and ensured that undertakings in reform and economic development made sound progress.

As the socialist market economy developed, China saw the emergence of new social strata, economic organizations, and social organizations. To adapt to these new circumstances, the Party Central Committee promptly set forth the requirements to strengthen the Party's class foundation and expand its public base, and stepped up efforts to set up Party organizations in new economic and social organizations, thus extending the coverage of Party work. Beginning in August 2001, the Party launched trials to grow Party membership among new social strata.

Improving leading bodies and raising the caliber of leading officials were crucial to advancing the great new project of Party building. Jiang Zemin said during an inspection tour of Beijing in November 1995 that the education of officials, particularly leading officials, must be regarded as a priority task essential to Party building. He also requested that leading officials at all levels lay emphasis on study, political integrity, and rectitude. These three emphases were closely linked and integrated with each other, but political integrity took up the core position as it was necessarily cultivated through study and manifested through rectitude. Between November of 1998 and the end of 2000, an

education campaign on the Party spirit and conduct was carried out on a group-by-group basis among the Party's leading bodies and officials, emphasizing study, political integrity, and rectitude.

This education campaign represented a creative and pioneering effort under new historical conditions to strengthen Party building, especially with regard to the development of leading bodies and the improvement of ideological and political integrity among leading officials. It enriched and developed the spirit of the Yan'an Rectification Movement and the Party's three main work styles (linking theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the people, and engaging in criticism and self-criticism) in a new historical period. During this process, officials earnestly exercised criticism and self-criticism, widely solicited the opinions of the people, looked for inadequacies in both their work and themselves, and engaged in an active and healthy process of ideological enhancement. They generally received a thorough education on Marxism, and tempered themselves through intraparty political activities.

Through the active efforts of Party organizations at all levels, in a new stage of reform and opening up, Party members and officials made conscious efforts to strengthen Party spirit, strived to enhance their caliber, and remained at the forefront of the times. As a result, a great many outstanding Party members such as Kong Fansen emerged. Kong spent a decade working in Tibet in two stints. Working his heart out with selfless devotion, he made remarkable achievements, but sadly died in the line of duty in 1994. For his service, he was honored as the "model official." These outstanding Party members amply demonstrated the fine conduct of contemporary Chinese Communists, and became the vanguard of reform, opening up, and modernization.

Deepening Efforts to Improve Party Conduct, Uphold Clean Governance, and Combat Corruption

Confronted with new circumstances brought through reform and opening up and the development of the socialist market economy, the Party Central Committee persisted in focusing on improving Party conduct, upholding clean governance, and combating corruption as major issues with a bearing upon the very survival of the Party and the country. At the Second Plenary Session of the 14th CCPI in August 1993, Jiang Zemin said that there were three important tasks in the fight against corruption: first, leading Party and government officials at all levels had to set an example in demonstrating integrity and self-discipline; second, the Party had to focus its efforts on investigating and handling certain major cases; third, officials had to pay close attention to prominent problems within their own localities, departments, and organizations and check unhealthy tendencies that aroused significant public dissatisfaction. Subsequently, the Party Central Committee and the State Council focused their energy on enforcing oversight on the performance of leading Party and government officials at all levels in maintaining integrity and self-discipline, on investigating and handling major cases, and on putting a stop to unhealthy tendencies that aroused strong public dissatisfaction. Through these efforts, a three-front framework for anti-corruption work gradually took shape.

In order to intensify efforts to fight corruption and uphold integrity, the Party Central Committee and the State Council made further improvements to relevant institutions. In January 1993, the CCPI and the Ministry of Supervision started to work together as one office while maintaining separate identities. In November 1995, the Supreme People's Procuratorate set up the General Administration against Corruption and Bribery. During this period, the Party Central

Committee formulated a series of intraparty regulations including the Provisional Regulations of the CPC on Disciplinary Action, the Rules on Implementing the Responsibility System for Improving Party Conduct and Upholding Political Integrity, and the Provisional Code of Conduct for Leading Party Officials on Upholding Political Integrity. Meanwhile, it was also stipulated that leading Party and government officials at and above the county and section chief level had to report their income, that gifts received by employees of Party and state organs in the course of official domestic duties had to be registered, and that the hospitality spending of SOEs had to be reported to workers congresses. With the initial establishment of a code of conduct for leading officials to engage in clean governance, mechanisms for guiding anti-corruption work were gradually formed under which Party committees exercised unified leadership, Party and government bodies worked hand in hand, discipline inspection commissions organized and coordinated initiatives, different departments assumed their respective responsibilities, and the public participated and provided support. In an effort to further improve Party conduct and uphold clean governance, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee passed the Decision of the Party Central Committee on Strengthening and Improving Party Conduct in September 2001, which set out an overall plan for improving Party conduct.

The Party Central Committee also made resolute decisions on prohibiting the military, the armed police force, judicial and procuratorial bodies, and public security organs from engaging in commercial activities, decoupling Party and government organs from associated commercial enterprises, separating control of revenue and expenditure, requiring bids for projects, and setting up a government procurement system, in an effort to prevent and contain corruption at the source. Party committees, governments, and discipline inspection and supervision

agencies at all levels continued to step up the intensity of the fight against corruption, and rigorously investigated and handled violations of discipline and the law, with the prosecution of a number of major cases in particular functioning as an effective deterrent. These efforts upheld the sanctity of Party discipline and state law. As a result, gradual success was achieved in improving Party conduct, upholding clean governance, and combating corruption. However, certain negative and corrupt tendencies remained within the Party despite repeated efforts to put a stop to them, and some problems were even becoming more serious. One important reason for this was that certain Party organizations were soft and lax on self-governance to varying degrees, neglecting the education, management, and oversight of Party members, officials, and especially leading officials, and taking an overly lenient and soft approach to the implementation of discipline and institutional practices. The facts showed that the effort to improve Party conduct, uphold clean governance, and combat corruption was not only a tough battle, but also one that would have to be fought over the long term. Combating corruption and promoting integrity demanded unremitting effort, and resisting corruption and degradation required constant vigilance.

The Establishment of the Theory of Three Represents

In the course of advancing the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the great new project of Party building, Chinese Communists, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as their chief representative, carried out a rational analysis of the domestic and international situations as well as the historic bearing and mission of the Party, and thoroughly evaluated the new scenarios and challenges they would face. On this basis, they deepened their understanding of what socialism is and how to build it, and what kind of Party to build and how to build it, which gradually gave rise to the Theory of Three Represents.

Jiang Zemin introduced the Three Represents during an inspection tour of Guangdong Province from February 21 to 25, 2000. He said, "Our Party earned the people's support during the historical periods of revolution, construction, and reform because it always represented the requirements for developing China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. The Party also earned popular support because it fought tirelessly to realize the fundamental interests of the country and the people by formulating a correct line, principles, and policies." On May 14 in Shanghai, he hosted a joint conference on the Party building initiatives of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai, at which he elaborated that the consistent practice of the Three Represents represented the foundation of the Party's own development, the cornerstone of governance by the Party, and the source of the Party's strength.

On July 1, 2001, while speaking at a ceremony for the 80th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, Jiang Zemin systematically expounded upon the Theory of Three Represents. He said, "Our Party must always represent the requirements for developing China's advanced productive forces. This means the Party's theory, line, program, principles, policies, and all its work must conform with the law governing the development of the productive forces, reflect the requirement to constantly promote the release and development of productive forces, particularly that to promote the development of advanced productive forces, and steadily raise people's living standards through the development of productive forces. Our Party must always represent the orientation of China's advanced culture. This means the Party's theory, line, program, principles, policies, and all its work must strive to reflect the requirements for developing national, scientific, and popular socialist culture that is geared to the needs of modernization, the world, and the

future, constantly raise the ideological and moral standards and the scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation, and provide moral and intellectual support for the country's economic development and social progress. Our Party must always represent the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. This means the Party's theory, line, program, principles, policies, and all its work must take the fundamental interests of the people as their starting and end point, unleash the people's enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, and enable them to constantly obtain tangible economic, political, and cultural benefits on the basis of continuous social development and progress."

The Theory of Three Represents was the basic distillation of the Party's historical experience in maintaining its advanced nature. It not only upheld the basic tenets of Marxism, but also reflected new demands placed upon the Party and the government in their work by current developments and changes in China and the world. It carried Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory forward with new ideas, perspectives, and conclusions, and was a powerful theoretical tool for strengthening and improving Party building and refining and developing socialism in China. The establishment of this theory helped make important ideological and theoretical preparations for the upcoming 16th National Congress of the CPC, and for the whole Party to accomplish the sacred and historic mission that it shouldered in a new century full of both hope and challenges.

Chapter IX

Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics under New Circumstances

From December 5 to 6, 2002, following the 16th Party Congress, newly-elected General Secretary of the Central Committee Hu Jintao led the committee's Secretariat on an inspection tour of Xibaipo, Pingshan County, Hebei Province to demonstrate Mao Zedong's important statement on remaining modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness in work while preserving plain living and perseverance. Hu called on Party members and leading officials particularly, to vigorously carry forward the spirit of plain living and hard work, to bear the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly firmly in mind, exercise power for the people, and to show concern for them while working in their interests. Party members would continue to rise to new challenges and succeed in their leadership of the people to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects and continue to bring about a new stage in socialism with Chinese characteristics. The tour symbolized the sentiments and aspirations of Chinese Communists at a new stage in the new century.

1. The 16th National Congress of the CPC, the Establishment of the Theory of Three Represents as a Guiding Ideology of the Party and the Introduction of a Program of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

The 16th National Congress of the CPC

From November 8 to 14, 2002, the 16th National Congress of the CPC was held in Beijing. Jiang Zemin delivered a report entitled Build a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Initiate a New Phase in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.

The Congress systematically summarized the Party's endeavor and the essential experience which had been gained over the 13 years since the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee. The report noted that its experience together with the historical experience gained by the Party since its founding demonstrated that the Party must always represent the development trends of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. The Congress then set forth the requirements for the full implementation of the Theory of Three Represents.

The Congress put forth the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. It held that it was thanks to the joint efforts of the whole Party and people of all ethnic groups that China had been able to achieve the first two of the three strategic goals toward socialist modernization in China, and furthermore, that by and large, the people were enjoying moderate prosperity. The Congress also noted that everyone had to be aware of the fact that China remained in the primary stage of socialism and would remain so for the foreseeable future.



- The 16th National Congress of the CPC.

However, our current moderate prosperity was still a low level of prosperity. It was not all-inclusive and is spreading unevenly. The principal challenge for China's society remained finding a way to meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people in spite of the realities of backward social production. China needed to work hard over a long period of time to consolidate and develop the moderate prosperity which had already been achieved. The Congress noted that the first two decades of the 21st century would be an important period of strategic opportunities during which much could be accomplished. Within those decades, the nation would have to concentrate on building a moderately prosperous society in all respects for the benefit of well over one billion people. China would have to further develop the economy, expand democracy, advance science and education, enrich its cultural environment, foster social harmony, and raise people's living

standards. Development in the first two decades of the 21st century was seen as the natural prerequisite to attaining the third strategic goal for China's modernization drive, as well as a key stage for improving the socialist market economy and opening China wider to the outside world. Building on previous achievements and with a spirit of unremitting endeavor over the following decades, China would essentially accomplish its modernization program to become a strong, prosperous, democratic, and culturally advanced socialist country by the middle of the 21st century. The Congress proposed focus points in the initiative for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, such as the economy, the political system, culture, society, and the environment, stressing that by means of an optimized economic structure and stronger economic returns China would strive to quadruple 2000's GDP by 2020.

The Congress deliberated and adopted the report delivered by Jiang Zemin as well as the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The revised Constitution held that the Party would act as the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the Chinese people, and the Chinese nation. The document also affirmed the Party's role as the leadership core for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and its representation of the demands for the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation for China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the Chinese people. This definition of the Party's nature helped to stimulate the initiative and creativity of Party members to the greatest possible extent so that they could unite and lead the people to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Revisions to the Constitution stipulated that the Party shall play its role as the core leadership in exercising overall leadership and coordinate at all levels with the leading Party members' group playing the role of the leadership core. The revisions also underlined that the diversity of applications for Party membership

would be opened to invite progressives from across all social strata, while mandating that that primary Party organizations would be formed in communities, mass organizations, and intermediaries. A chapter on the Party emblem and flag was added to the Party Constitution. The chapter was important because of its explanation of the appeal of the Party emblem and flag and the ways in which they help the Party to unite the people and exert a greater level of influence.

This Congress elected the 16th CPC Central Committee and the Central Committee for Discipline Inspection. The First Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee saw Hu Jintao, Wu Bangguo, Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Zeng Qinghong, Huang Ju, Wu Guanzheng, Li Changchun, and Luo Gan elected members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, and named Hu Jintao as general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Jiang Zemin was appointed as chairman of the Central Military Commission and Wu Guanzheng became secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. In September 2004, the 4th Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee appointed Hu Jintao as chairman of the Central Military Commission.

The Party's 16th National Congress was the first to be held by the CPC since the turn of the new century. The Congress provided answers about which banner to hold, what kind of path to take, and what development goals to achieve at the new stage into the new century. The Congress made it clear to the world that moving into new stage in the new century, the CPC would champion Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and also the Theory of Three Represents. The CPC would pursue socialism with Chinese characteristics, and lead the people to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realize modernization within the first half of the new century. The Chinese people had thus embarked on a new

journey to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

Establishing the Theory of Three Represents as a Guiding Ideology of the Party

One of the 16th National Congress' historic contributions was that the Party incorporated the Theory of Three Represents into its Constitution as part of its guiding ideology that the Party must follow for a long time to come alongside Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory.

The 16th National Congress expounded on the essential logic and fundamental requirements of the Theory of Three Represents. The Congress stressed that the Theory was born of a sound assessment of the Party's place in history. As a continuation and development of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory reflected new expectations for the work of the Party and state arising from changes in China and other parts of the world today. As the crystallization of the Party's collective wisdom, the theory would prove to a powerful theoretical tool for strengthening and improving Party building, for promoting self-improvement and self-development of socialism in China. The Congress noted that the key to implementing the Theory of Three Represents was to keep abreast of the times, maintain the Party's advanced nature, and exercise power in the interests of the people.

Always implementing the Theory of Three Represents was the foundation for building our Party, the cornerstone for its governance, and the source of its strength. To this end, the whole Party would have to maintain the tradition of staying lockstep with the times and blazing new trails for the development of Marxist theory. The Party would have to prioritize development of its governance and the rejuvenation of the country to open up new prospects for China's modernization. The

Theory would remain essential impetus for bringing positive factors into play and giving new momentum into the great cause of national rejuvenation. It would be necessary to push forward Party building in the spirit of reform while injecting new vitality into the Party.

Following the Party's 16th National Congress, the CPC Central Committee carried out a series initiatives to promote the study and implementation of the Theory of Three Represents. All regions and departments endeavored to meet the expectations of the CPC Central Committee and ensure that the initiatives to study and implement the Theory of Three Represents would reach a new high that would effectively push forward the development of the Party and the nation.

2. Promoting Sustainable Economic and Social Development

Introducing the Scientific Outlook on Development

Just as all regions and departments were making a major push in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization in line with the 16th National Congress's goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China was struck by the sudden outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS).

In mid-to-late February 2003, SARS was beginning to spread throughout parts of Guangdong. By early March, it had spread to northern China. By mid-to-late April, the virus was circulating in 26 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under central government administration. The epidemic posed a serious threat to people's health and safety and struck a heavy blow to economic and social development. Putting the health and safety of the people before all else, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council promptly



- Hu Jintao meets medical workers at Fushun County People's Hospital, Zigong, during a visit to Sichuan to inspect SARS prevention and control work, May 12, 2003.

took the major decision to prioritize the treatment and prevention of SARS while continuing to see economic development as a central task, pooling the will and energy of the people to beat the virus and promote development. Under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the Chinese people united as one to squarely face up the challenge. Mobilizing rapidly across the nation, the Chinese people succeeded in overcoming the threat and effectively brought the epidemic under control. A relatively fast pace of economic growth was also maintained. In June, the World Health Organization (WHO) lifted its travel advisory notice concerning Beijing. China had eventually achieved a major victory in the fight against SARS.

China's victory in the fight against SARS demonstrated the great strengths of socialism. The outbreak and spread of the epidemic laid bare some of the fresh challenges to face after a period of high-speed development. Up to that point, development had been unbalanced,

public healthcare services showed room for improvement, and the emergency response mechanism still had some way to go. Such issues compelled the CPC Central Committee to make root and branch changes to plans for China's development in the face of new challenges. Chinese communists would have to draw a new roadmap for the direction and means of development.

While visiting Jiangxi Province in late August and early September 2003, Hu Jintao introduced the concept of Scientific Outlook on Development. He asserted that a scientific outlook on development should be established which would emphasize balance, comprehensiveness, and sustainability. In October, at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee, the Scientific Outlook on Development was comprehensively introduced in the Party's official document for the first time. The Outlook put people first and called for comprehensive, balanced, and sustainable development, for the promotion of economic and social progress, and all-round personal development for the people.

On March 10, 2004 at the central forum on population, resources, and environmental work, Hu Jintao gave a thorough account of the core content and fundamental objectives of the Scientific Outlook on Development and elucidated its guiding importance. Hu explained that to put people first was to see the all-round development of the people as the end goal. It also meant planning and promoting development in a way which would safeguard people's fundamental interests, meet their ever-growing material and cultural needs, protect their economic, political, and cultural rights, and ensure that development would benefit all. Comprehensive development referred to keeping economic development as our central task while promoting all aspects of economic, political, and cultural development in order to achieve both economic growth and all-round social progress. Balanced development meant striking a balance between urban and rural development, development

among regions, economic and social development, people and nature, and domestic development and opening up to the outside world. It meant promoting a balance between the productive forces and the relations of production, between the economic base and the superstructure, and between all links and aspects of economic, political, and cultural development. Sustainable development would ensure harmony between people and nature and a balance between economic development and changes in population, resources, and the environment. It would ensure that China should adhere to a path of civilized development that would lead to increased production, better lives for the people, and healthy ecosystems, while ensuring continued development for generations to come.

The Scientific Outlook on Development was introduced by the Party Central Committee on the basis of its review of practical experience gained throughout over 20 years of reform and opening up. The Outlook constituted an important lesson that had been drawn from the nation's victory over SARS and served as the prime necessity for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. After its introduction, the Outlook was further enriched and improved as more experience was gained, thereby providing significant guidance to the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Improving the Socialist Market Economy and Promoting Sound and Rapid Economic Development

Thanks to the achievements made and the bold measures taken throughout reform and opening up, and in the period following the Party's 14th National Congress in particular, China's socialist market economy was beginning to take shape, and the productive forces developed at a tremendous rate. In spite of such progress, deficiencies in the socialist market economy signaled a need for further reforms.

In October 2003, the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Several Issues Concerning the Improvement of the Socialist Market Economy was approved at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee. The Decision introduced a series of major policies and measures. Among them was the plan to vigorously develop a mixed ownership economy in which state-owned, collective, and non-public capital hold shares of one another, and a plan to relax restrictions on market access and allow non-public capital to invest in the industries and sectors for which entry is not explicitly prohibited by laws or regulations such as infrastructure and public utilities. The document called for the establishment of a modern system of property rights that would ensure clear ownership, well-defined rights and obligations, strict protections, and smooth transactions alongside the implementation of a system for gradually addressing China's dualistic urban-rural structure. The Decision demonstrated how the CPC had gained a deeper understanding of the ways to develop the market economy under socialism and become more capable of utilizing the laws of a market economy. In accordance with the plans laid out at the Session, reforms to the national economic structure advanced steadily in major areas and key sectors.

Consolidating and developing the public sector and ensuring that the state sector would play a guiding role were essential to improving the basic economic system. The state-owned assets supervision and administration commissions were established at the central and the provincial and municipal levels. This measure marked a shift away from previous direct government involvement in the management of SOEs and ensured that the responsibility for managing state assets and increasing their value would be carried out in full. To meet the Decision's requirement for stock ownership to become the main form of public ownership, a variety of means were adopted to promote the introduction of shareholding systems in SOEs such as standardized listing, Chinese-

foreign joint ventures, mutual stakes, and mergers and acquisitions. After such restructuring, a raft of new SOE types emerged that had the capacity to seize market opportunities and confront international market challenges, so that they developed into a pillar of the national economy and the state-owned sector became more able to steer the economy with greater dynamism and influence.

While remaining unwaveringly committed to the consolidation and development of the public economy, China has encouraged, supported, and guided the development of the non-public sector with the same resolve. In February 2005, the State Council promulgated the guidelines on encouraging and guiding self-employed, private businesses, and other elements of the non-public sector. The guidelines called for greater market access to be granted to the non-public sector, allowing non-public capital to invest in monopoly industries, public utilities, social programs, and financial services and to participate in the reorganization of SOEs. With the policy environment improved, non-public enterprises experienced rapid growth, generated more than half of the country's GDP during that period, and made a greater contribution to the country's tax revenue. The private sector would come to play an increasingly important role in driving economic growth, creating jobs, and invigorating the market.

As reform continued and intensified and the pace of industrialization and urbanization accelerated, a number of problems became clear. One such complication was involved excessively fast growth in total fixed-asset investment, excess credit supply, and a large foreign trade surplus. The Party and government moved promptly to strengthen macro regulation. After 2003, the Central Committee called for strict regulation over the supply of land and credit, and mandated for the use of policies relating to land and other resources to exercise macro-economic control. It was thanks to such timely measures that China's economy began

to gradually cool off from the second quarter of 2004. The breakneck growth of investment in some industries had been curbed.

In addition to tightening macro regulation, the CPC Central Committee introduced new development policies better suited the new economic and social landscape. In October 2006, new targets for promoting sound and rapid economic development were set forth at the 6th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee. The policies emphasized both the need to sustain steady and fast economic growth while preventing drastic fluctuations and the need to pursue a sound development while ensuring rapid growth, with a view to improving the structure of the economy and boosting the quality and efficiency of development. The guidelines for economic development were adjusted from the long-employed promoting “rapid and sound” development to promoting “sound and rapid” development. This subtle change in syntax embodied the essential need to pursue a course of pragmatic development.

Through reforms in major areas and key links, effective macro regulation, and timely adjustments to guiding principles, the CPC Central Committee was able to resolve some of the prominent problems in the economy. As a result, the national economy maintained a good momentum of rapid growth, better structure, and improved performance without drastic fluctuations. By 2007, China’s economy had rose to the fourth place in the world and its total import and export volume had became the world’s third largest.

Introducing the Strategic Objective of Building a Harmonious Socialist Society

The Party has always striven to achieve social harmony and a better society. On entering the new century, in the face of intense economic reforms, profound changes in social structure and people’s thinking,

and the configuration of interests, the CPC Central Committee acted in line with the overall plan for developing socialism with Chinese characteristics and building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. On the basis of a correct understanding of the characteristics of China's development stage and a thorough analysis of the acute problems affecting the building of social harmony, the Central Committee set forth a major strategic objective toward building a harmonious socialist society.

At the Party's 16th National Congress in November 2002, the requirement of making society more harmonious was put forward among the objectives of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. In September 2004, the 4th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee defined the building of a harmonious socialist society as a strategic objective and included improving the Party's capabilities in building a harmonious socialist society into its efforts to strengthen the Party's governance capacity.

In October 2006, the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on a Number of Major Issues Concerning the Building of a Harmonious Socialist Society was approved at the 6th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee. The Decision set forth the goal of building a harmonious socialist society in accordance with the general requirements for democracy, the rule of law, equity and justice, honesty and fraternity, vigor and vitality, stability and order, and harmony between man and nature. The document stressed the need to put people first and make safeguarding the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority the starting point and ultimate goal of the Party and government's work. The Decision pointed out that development was for the people, that it was reliant on the people, and that the fruits of development would be shared among them so as to promote people's well-rounded development. The Decision also set forth the policy measures for building a harmonious

socialist society.

With the addition of the strategic goal of building a harmonious socialist society, the three-sphere integrated plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics—covering economic, political, and cultural development—was adjusted to a four-sphere plan that incorporated social development.

Coordinating Development between Regions and between Urban and Rural Areas

Unbalanced interregional and urban-rural development had become a serious problem that was constraining China's economic and social development. The Party Central Committee therefore made a series of decisions and plans to address the problem under the guidance of the Scientific Outlook on Development.

The strategy of large-scale development of the western region was initiated at the turn of the century in accordance with the Central



- The public turns out on the opening day of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway to greet the Q1 train coming from Golmud at the Tuotuo River Bridge, Qinghai.

Committee's principle of strengthening critical infrastructure first and getting a head start on the construction of signature projects. Such projects included the transmission of natural gas and electricity from western to eastern regions and the construction of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway, which was known as the railway closest to the heaven. All those involved in the railway project managed to solve the global problems such as plateau permafrost, severe coldness and oxygen deficiency, and adverse natural conditions. They finally built the highest and longest plateau railway in the world and achieved a miracle in the history of railway construction. The 1,956 kilometer-long Qinghai-Tibet Railway was opened to traffic on July 1, 2006. The railway put an end to a trackless period of Tibet's history, slingshot development in the snow-capped plateau, and helped to improve the living standards of the people of all ethnic groups along the line. The train had become a driver for economic and social development in Tibet. The strategy of large-scale development of the western region ushered in a new phase in the economic and social development of this region.

When promoting the large-scale development of the western region, with a view to achieving coordinated regional development, the Central Committee decided to revitalize the old industrial bases in northeast China and energize the central region to enrich the overall regional development strategy. Thanks to the implementation of major projects to restructure industry in northeast China, notable technological progress was made in independent innovation and advanced manufacturing capabilities of key enterprises such as Daqing Oilfield and China FAW Group Corporation. Promising results were achieved in trials for the economic transformation of resource-dependent cities such as Fuxin in Liaoning Province. Central region developed and rose up magnificently with the support from the Party Central Committee. The region became home to an endless stream of competitive industries and products and

fast emerging city clusters and city belts, so that its role as a link between the eastern and western regions became even more crucial. The state approved the establishment of the Shanghai Pudong New Area and the Tianjin Binhai New Area as national experimental zones for integrated, complete reform, and further developed and opened the Yangtze Delta and the west shore of the Taiwan Strait and other key areas. The eastern region made use of its geographic and first-mover advantages to spearhead development. The three major city clusters—the Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta, and Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, had always been engines of China's economic growth.

Balancing urban and rural development was another important element of promoting sustainable development and social harmony. Following a careful analysis of the journey of industrialization abroad, the “two trends” proposition was expounded at the 4th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee of the CPC. The proposition held that it was a common trend to support and accumulate capital for industry through agriculture at the early stages of industrialization. But when industrialization reached a relatively high level, it was also a common trend for industry to support agriculture and cities to support rural areas, so as to balance development between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas. The Central Committee believed that through decades of development, China had entered the stage in which industry could support agricultural development and cities could support rural development. China would have to balance economic and social development between urban and rural areas, attach the highest importance to addressing problems relating to agriculture, rural areas, and rural residents. The nation would need to follow a principle of giving more to farmers and taking less, of relaxing controls over their work, while striving to increase their incomes. Since 2004, the Central Committee had issued Document No.1 to address problems relating to

agriculture, rural areas and rural residents every year. In October 2005, the 5th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee identified the development of a new socialist countryside as a major strategic task and made relevant arrangements.

The Party and government took a series of major steps to effectively reduce farmers' burdens. On December 29, 2005, the 19th Session of China's 10th NPC Standing Committee decided to nullify the Regulations on Agricultural Tax from January 1, 2006. Henceforth, China would no longer levy agricultural tax. This historic decision marked the end of agricultural taxation, which had existed in China for 2,600 years. In addition, local governments also cut a raft of surcharges added to agricultural tax. Such measures fundamentally relieved the heavy burden on rural residents and brought material benefits to hundreds of millions of them. Wang Sanni, a farmer in Qinglian Village, Lingshou County, Hebei Province cast a ritual tripod vessel (Ding) at his own expense, to express his joy at the abolition of agricultural tax and memorialize the historic initiative for posterity.

The country also carried out a comprehensive program of rural reforms which focused on town and township administration, rural compulsory education, and fiscal management systems at county and township level, as well as reforms in tenure of collective forests. A fresh chapter had been opened in rural reform and development in advancing the great cause of developing a new socialist countryside.

Completing the 10th Five-Year Plan and Formulating the 11th Five-Year Plan

At the turn of the century, there were voices in Western countries that proclaimed that China's economy would collapse. However, facts proved that China did not collapse, but actually became an important force supporting world economic development.

During the period of the 10th Five-Year Plan, China successfully weathered the Asian financial crisis, prevailed over the SARS outbreak, and overcame some major natural disasters. China also effectively adapted to new changes after its accession to the World Trade Organization, while losing no opportunities to further reform and opening up, improve macro regulation, and maintain fast yet steady economic development, with its production capacity and overall national strength reaching unprecedented level. Between 2001 and 2005, China's GDP grew by 57.3 percent, increasing at an average annual rate of 9.5 percent. People's living standards improved markedly. Better housing conditions, swiftly rising automobile consumption at ordinary households, and greatly increasing tourist spending were telling indicators. China benefited from strong tourist revenues at home during week-long holidays and more and more outbound travel involved with each corner of the world.

During the period of the 10th Five-Year Plan period, China's economic and social development entered a crucial period when its per capita GDP passed the important benchmark of US\$1,000. With the fulfillment of the 10th Five-Year Plan and after a thorough analysis and understanding of the characteristics of China's development, the Central Committee began formulating the 11th Five-Year Plan to cope with the possible challenges and risks.

The Proposal of the CPC Central Committee for Formulating the 11th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development was adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee in October 2005. The Proposal adopted the Scientific Outlook on Development to guide China's overall economic and social development, ensuring the Outlook would run through the entire course of reform, opening up, and modernization drive. The Proposal set two objectives. The first was that by 2010, China's per capita GDP would be doubled that of the year 2000, which would be achieved by improving the economic

structure, productivity, and energy efficiency. The goal of doubling the per capita GDP was much higher than that of doubling GDP alone. The second objective was that China's energy consumption per unit of GDP would drop by about 20 percent in relation to the later period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. It was the first time that energy consumption was incorporated into the national target system. In March 2006, the Outline of the 11th Five-Year Development Plan of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development was approved at the 4th Session of the 10th National People's Congress.

The 11th Five-Year Plan set goals, tasks, policies, and measures that were in conformity with the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and were able to adapt to the demands with and conditions of that stage of economic and social development. The formulation of the Plan was first example of detailed, micro plan with growth targets, the wording of which had been used for over 50 years from being transformed into a macro program for national economic and social development. The change exemplified the medium and long-term plans for development within the socialist market economy, and demonstrated a major transformation of China's development, economic system, and government functions.

3. The Party's 17th National Congress and a New Blueprint for Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

The 17th National Congress of the CPC

The Party's 17th National Congress was held in Beijing from October 15 to 21, 2007. During the Congress, Hu Jintao delivered a report entitled Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics



- The 17th National Congress of the CPC.

and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects.

The Congress reviewed valuable experience gained over the course of reform and opening up in the form of ten principles and expounded the basic meaning of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics was delineated and summarized for the first time. The Congress stressed that the fundamental reason behind all China's achievements and progress since the initiation of reform and opening up was the fact that a path of socialism with Chinese characteristics had been blazed and a system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics had been established. In the final analysis, to hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics was to keep to this path and uphold this system.

The Congress comprehensively expounded the background, the core content, the essence, and the fundamental objectives of the Scientific

Outlook on Development.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of international and domestic developments and of characteristic trends of China's socialist development in this new stage of the new century, the Congress formulated an overall plan for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and set new targets for economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological advancement. These objectives were linked with targets set at the 16th National Congress leading up to the year 2020 so as to ensure continuity. New factors were added to conform to the new situation. New objectives for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects were therefore more comprehensive, richer in scope, and more concrete. In view of the sustained and rapid development of the Chinese economy, the 17th National Congress adjusted the original goal to quadruple 2000's GDP by the year 2020 which had been set at the 16th National Congress. The new more ambitious target was to quadruple 2000's per capita GDP by the year 2020. The new objectives reflected the Party's new needs for governing the country, and conformed to the essence and fundamental principles of the Scientific Outlook on Development.

The Congress deliberated and adopted the report and the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China. The revisions to the constitution included the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the initiative to comprehensively promote economic, political, cultural, and social progress. Such revisions demonstrated that the Party had developed a deeper understanding of the laws related to Communist Party governance and the development of socialism and human society. In addition, the following provisions were wrote into the CPC Constitution: the Central Committee of the Party or the Party committee of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government shall introduce the system of inspection tours, in order to strengthen oversight in the Party and combat

corruption and uphold political integrity. Party officials shall adhere to a correct view of our achievements and keep scoring achievements that can stand the test of practice and time to the satisfaction of the people. The Party shall open up Party affairs, develop intraparty democracy, and improve management of Party members among the floating population.

The Congress elected the 17th CPC Central Committee and Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. The 1st Plenary Session of the 17th Central Committee elected Hu Jintao, Wu Bangguo, Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Li Changchun, Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, He Guoqiang, and Zhou Yongkang¹ members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau with Hu Jintao as the general secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee. He Guoqiang was approved as the secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Summation of the System of Theories of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

The system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics—the second achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, which was put forward and expounded at the 17th National Congress, was a major contribution to Party theory.

This system was gradually developed in the course of the Party's leadership over reform, opening up and socialist modernization. The system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics was introduced at the Party's 17th National Congress for the first time. These theories of

¹ In December 2014, Zhou Yongkang was put under judicial investigation and expelled from the Party for a serious discipline violation by the Central Committee. In June 2015, Zhou was sentenced to life imprisonment and deprived of political rights for life for bribery, abuse of power, and disclosing national secrets by the First Intermediate People's Court of Tianjin.

socialism with Chinese characteristics included Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and other major strategic concepts. The system represented the Party's adherence to and development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and embodied the wisdom and hard work of several generations of Chinese Communists leading the people in tireless exploration and endeavor. It was the latest achievement in adapting Marxism to the conditions in China. It was the Party's invaluable political and intellectual asset, and the common ideological foundation for a concerted endeavor on the part of people of all ethnic groups. The Congress stressed that the theories constituted an open system that continued to evolve, and that was why they must be cherished, upheld, and constantly enriched.

The Congress pointed out that it was in the context of the essential reality that China was in the primary stage of socialism that the Scientific Outlook on Development had been formulated to meet new requirements of development by analyzing China's own experience and by drawing on the experience of other countries throughout their development. The Scientific Outlook on Development took development as its essence, putting people first as its core, comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development as its basic requirement, and overall consideration as its fundamental approach. To continue to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics at a new stage of development, China must follow the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Theory of Three Represents and thoroughly apply the Scientific Outlook on Development.

The Congress held that as the Scientific Outlook on Development was a major innovative breakthrough in the system of the theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, it should be incorporated into the Party Constitution. The Party Constitution would later state that

“The Scientific Outlook on Development is a scientific theory that is of the same caliber as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Theory of Three Represents and is able to keep up with the times. It is an important guiding principle for China’s economic and social development and a major strategic thought that we must uphold and apply when developing socialism with Chinese characteristics.”

4. Responding to Major Challenges and Deepening Reform and Opening up

Responding to an International Financial Crisis and Other Challenges

The 2007 US subprime mortgage crisis triggered an international financial crisis in 2008. The crisis quickly spread from the financial sector to the real economy and from the US to other major world economies. Its intensity, speed, and impact had not been seen since the times of the Great Depression in the late 1920s and early 1930s. After the outbreak of the US subprime mortgage crisis, the Party Central Committee kept a close eye on the developing fallout, and the risks and impact it might bring to China’s economy in particular. The Committee stressed the need to prepare for the worst and to formulate contingency plans.

In September 2008, the impact from the international financial crisis became increasingly severe. The growth rate of China’s economy in the fourth quarter dropped drastically. Foreign trade, especially exports, ran into difficulties as employment pressure was mounted. After a comprehensive analysis and with good judgment, the Party Central Committee and the State Council responded by adapting macro regulation to prevent economic growth from slowing down too quickly. In addition to this measure, proactive fiscal policy and moderately

relaxed monetary policy were adopted in concert with a drive to bolster domestic and particularly consumer demand. A tranche of measures were implemented which included a marked increase in government investment, structural tax reductions, and a program for restructuring and reinvigorating key industries on a large scale.

Thanks to these efforts, China was one of the first nations to achieve an overall economic turnaround amid the crisis. From the second quarter of 2009, the Chinese economy began to pick up and 9.2 percent growth was recorded that year. This showed that overall, the principles, policies, and measures implemented by China to address the international financial crisis were effective. However, it would take some time for some of the stimulus policies to produce an effect. There were still many prominent challenges facing China's economic development. To fundamentally resolve the issues which were hindering steady and healthy economic development, it was imperative to firmly advance and deepen reform.

On May 12, 2008, a magnitude 8.0 earthquake hit Wenchuan, Sichuan Province, causing 87,000 deaths, affecting the lives of more than 46.25 million people, and causing direct economic losses of more than 845.1 billion yuan. Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the country moved quickly to launch an earthquake rescue and relief operation, the likes of which had not been seen before in the history of the PRC. The operation was characterized by the most rapid response, widespread participation, and considerable resource commitments. Always putting people first, the Party Central Committee responded with composure and took swift action. The Chinese people stood united and fought together, with the people's armed forces fearlessly charging to the frontlines. The operation demonstrated the strength of China's socialism in which everyone responded to the call of those in need while the country concentrated resources on major tasks. In the course of great

earthquake rescue and relief, countless lives were saved. Parents and teachers shielded children from falling debris with their own bodies. In the course of the rescue and recovery effort, Party members and officials braved danger and disaster to move the world with their heroic deeds. People came together to form a united force to brave difficulties and dangers and overcome all obstacles, demonstrating a great spirit of earthquake relief, in which people were put first and the laws of science were respected.

Following the success of the relief operation, the Party and government moved quickly to formulate a post-disaster recovery and reconstruction plan and aimed to complete the task within three years. Resources across the country were brought together to provide coordinated aid to earthquake-hit areas. Using various means, Chinese people of all ethnic groups, including those in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and overseas Chinese nationals, all supported the earthquake relief and post-disaster reconstruction effort. By the end of September 2010, task of reconstruction had been largely completed, a year ahead of schedule. Infrastructure and people's working and living conditions in the disaster-hit areas were even better than their pre-disaster standards. As such, the effort was a miracle of post-disaster reconstruction.

Between 2008 and 2010, the Party and the government led the Chinese people in successfully responding to other severe natural disasters and in carrying out post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. Such efforts included the responses to devastating snow and ice storms in the south of China, a strong earthquake in Yushu, Qinghai Province, and a massive mudslide in Zhugqu, Gansu Province. Destructive, disruptive, violence, and criminal acts such as those which took place in Lhasa and other areas on March 14, 2008 and in Urumqi on July 5, 2009 were resolutely prevented and properly dealt with in accordance with the law. Sabotage activities perpetrated by terrorists, ethnic separatists,

and religious extremists were firmly stamped out to guarantee national unity and social stability.

The successful response to threats and challenges fully demonstrated the CPC's ability to control risks and deal with complicated situations. The triumphs demonstrated the strength of the CPC's firm leadership, the political strength of Chinese socialism in its ability to coordinate resources to accomplish major tasks and the enduring bravery of heroic Chinese people in the face of hardship.

Accelerating the Transformation of the Economic Development Model and Deepening Reform in Key Areas

The effort to accelerate the transformation of China's economic development model represented profound changes in China's economy. To better address the longstanding structural problems and the extensive economic growth, the 17th National Congress set forth the strategic task of accelerating the transformation of the model of economic development. In the report, what had previously been put as the need to "transform the model of economic growth" was revised as the need to "transform the model of economic development." This small change was actually highly significant. A transformation of the model of economic development would not only involve transforming the model of economic growth, but would also set new, higher standards for concepts, goals, strategies, and methods of economic development. This change reflected the Party's more refined understanding of the laws governing economic development.

With the outbreak of the international financial crisis, China's imbalance between domestic and foreign demand, investment and consumption, alongside the nation's unbalanced industrial structure, and unsustainable development pattern became even more prominent.

At the 5th Plenary Session of the 17th Central Committee in October

2010, it was declared that accelerating the transformation of the model of economic development would be the central task of China's economic and social development endeavors for the 12th Five-Year Plan period. The Party Central Committee also gave a new summary of basic objectives which were key to accelerating the transformation of the model of economic development. The formulation of these objectives made it clear that a strategic adjustment of the economic structure was a main priority, that scientific and technological progress and innovation would play a major supporting role, and that guaranteeing improvements people's wellbeing was the starting point and ultimate goal of the whole plan. Building a resource-conserving and environmentally friendly society was another key task with reform and opening up providing a powerful driving force. Following this blueprint, the Party and the country introduced a series of measures to implement the strategy of expanding domestic demand, to ensure China to follow the new path of industrialization with Chinese characteristics, and to push forward with energy conservation, emissions reduction, and environmental improvement. The measures provided a framework for implementing the overall strategy of regional development and for actively and prudently advancing urbanization. As a result, new strides were taken in the acceleration of the transformation of the model of economic development.

There were many factors which hampered progress in the acceleration of the transformation of the model of economic development. The most significant among them was weaknesses within institutions. To rectify weaker areas, the Party Central Committee stressed the need to give better play to the fundamental role of the market in allocating resources in terms of institutions and establish a macro control system conducive to sound development by continuing to deepen the reform, so as to provide a great momentum and institutional support for economic and social

development.

In the area of ownership reform, strategic adjustments to the public sector and reforms to large SOEs saw rapid progress. From 2006, central government enterprises intensified efforts to merge and reorganize, and by 2011 the number of such enterprises under the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission had dropped from the 2007 figure of 159 to 117. More than 80 percent of their assets were in key sectors such as petroleum and petrochemicals, electricity, national defense, and communications, as well as key industries such as transportation, minerals, and metallurgy. Such reorganizations greatly improved the overall quality and competitiveness of China's SOEs. Through the course of strengthening and expanding SOEs, the Party and the government upheld the "two no irresolutions" principle that there will be no irresolution about consolidating and developing the public sector and no irresolution about encouraging, supporting, and guiding non-public sector development. In May 2010, the State Council issued the Guidelines on Encouraging and Guiding the Sound Development of Non-governmental Investment. The institutional environment for the development of the private sector saw yet further improvement.

As for rural reform and development, on the 30th anniversary of China's reform and opening up in 2008, the Central Committee pronounced that existing land contract relationships would remain unchanged for the foreseeable future. In October 2008, the Decision on Major Issues Concerning Rural Reform and Development was adopted at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee. It stressed that agriculture was a strategic sector vital for ensuring China's stability and maintaining public confidence. It was imperative to make sure that China's total area of arable land remained at or above the red line of 120 million hectares, and that integrated urban-rural economic and social development was promoted. After this, the Central Committee continued

to increase fiscal spending on agriculture and drafted a series of policies to strengthen agriculture, benefit farmers, and raise rural living standards. In addition to direct subsidies for grain growers, subsidies for purchasing superior crop varieties and agricultural machinery and supplies were also provided. These moves brought the enthusiasm of grain farmers into full play. From 2004, China's grain output increased for eight consecutive years, reaching 570 million metric tons in 2011. Farmers' per capita net income also increased consistently.

In its efforts toward achieving greater degree of openness to the outside world, China comprehensively improved the quality of its open economy. To honor all commitments it had made on entering the WTO, China slashed its tariffs and by 2010 the overall tariff level had been reduced to 9.8 percent, which was much lower than the average level of other developing countries. At the same time, China began to conduct extensive reviews of related laws and regulations. Beginning from 2001 and over the following 10 years, the central government reviewed more than 2,300 laws, regulations, and department rules, while local governments reviewed more than 190,000 local policies and regulations. With the outbreak of the international financial crisis and the drastic change it inflicted on the nation's external environment, China promptly responded by introducing policies and measures to keep foreign demand stable and implemented a strategy of diversifying markets. These measures would see significant positive development in foreign trade, foreign investment utilization, and outward investment. From 2002 to 2011, following its accession to the WTO, China jumped from sixth place to become the world's second largest goods trader by volume. China's opening up policy of equality, mutual benefit, and win-win cooperation provided a powerful boost to the world economy, thus not only bring benefits to 1.3 billion Chinese people but also to the rest of the world.

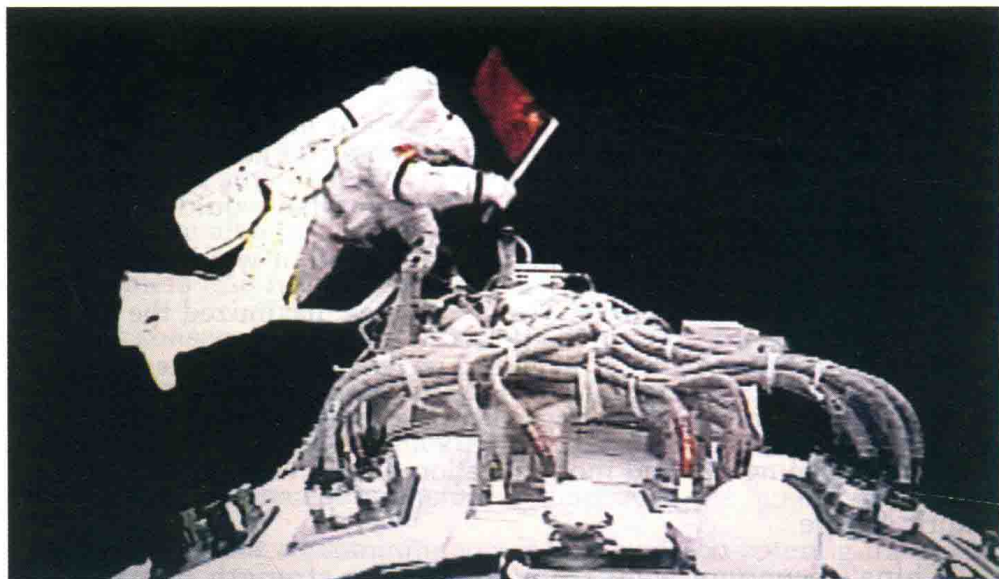
Completing the 11th Five-Year Plan and Formulating the 12th Five-Year Plan

Confronted with complex changes at home and abroad, along with major risks and challenges, the Central Committee would ensure that during the 11th Five-Year Plan period development would remain the Party's top governance priority. The Committee maximized the political advantages of the socialist system and gave full play to the market in its fundamental role of allocating resources so as to accelerate the pace of reform, opening up, and modernization. China was undergoing new historic change.

China's economy went from strength to strength thanks to its steady development. During the 11th Five-Year Plan period, GDP grew by an annual average of 11.3 percent to exceed 40 trillion yuan in 2010. Overtaking Germany and Japan, China's economy became the second-largest in the world after the United States. The urban per capita disposable income rose by an annual average of 9.7 percent and the rural per capita net income increased by 8.9 percent, bringing profound improvement to people's lives.

Just as scientific and technological innovation was needed to power rapid economic growth, this growth, in turn, created the conditions for advances in science and technology. Following the initiative to build China into a country of innovators introduced in 2005, an innovation-driven development strategy was unveiled in 2012.

In line with that strategy, the country ramped up investment in science and technology. A total of 16 major science and technology programs, technological innovation projects, and plans for revitalizing 10 major industries and developing strategic emerging industries were launched. China enjoyed a wave of major innovative achievements in important disciplines and strategic areas, with major breakthroughs in



- Zhai Zhigang waves the national flag after exiting the *Shenzhou VII* spacecraft on September 27, 2008.

manned spaceflight, lunar exploration, and supercomputer technology. Chinese astronauts made their first spacewalk outside the *Shenzhou VII* spacecraft just five years after the *Shenzhou V* spacecraft completed China's first manned spaceflight in 2003, which symbolized a milestone breakthrough in space technology. In 2007, the *Chang'e-1* craft completed its first orbit around the moon. The Chinese people had finally turned their millennia-old dream of travelling to outer space into reality.

In August 2008, the Beijing-Tianjin intercity high-speed railroad went into operation, ushering the era of high-speed rail in China. In addition, the accomplishment of major projects such as the Three Gorges Project, the Qinghai-Tibet Railway, the South-North Water Diversion Project, the West-East Electricity Transportation Project, and the West-East Natural Gas Transportation Project showcased the brilliant success of China's reform, opening up, and modernization.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan period, China also organized many major events. The Games of the XXIX Olympiad were hosted in Beijing



- The opening ceremony of the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in Beijing.

from August 8 to 24, 2008, followed by the 13th Paralympic Games. The Chinese team topped the gold medal list at the Olympic Games and won the most gold medals and medals overall at the Paralympic Games, giving a splendid sports performance and demonstrating cultural and ethical progress. The success of China's hosting of the Olympic Games fulfilled the Chinese nation's century-old wish and its promise to the international community. The games increased the understanding and friendship between the Chinese people and people from all corners of the world.

From May 1 to October 31, 2010, the World Expo themed "Better City, Better Life" was held in Shanghai. The event was the first registered World Expo held in a developing country. Over 184 days, 246 countries and international organizations took part, and 73.08 million visits were made to the Expo. The Expo marked a new chapter in exchange and interaction between the people of China and the rest of the world.

On entering the second decade of the 21st century, the Central Committee conducted a comprehensive analysis of developments at home and abroad and concluded that within the 12th Five-Year

Plan period, China would remain in an important period of strategic opportunities during which much can be accomplished. The CPC Central Committee Recommendations for the Formulation of the 12th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development adopted at its 5th Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee in October 2010. The Recommendations were a comprehensive plan for continuing the advance toward a moderately prosperous society in all respects from a new historical starting point. The Recommendations proposed that China would take developing in an appropriate way as the underlying guideline and accelerate the change of the growth model as the major task. At its 4th Session in March 2011, the 11th NPC approved the 12th Five-Year Plan of the People's Republic of China for Economic and Social Development.

Advancing Democracy and the Rule of Law with Active and Prudent Efforts

Responding to the call of the times and the expectations of the people, as the world crossed into a new century, the Central Committee held fast to its commitment to achieving unity between the leadership of the CPC, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance, and to following the path of socialist political advancement with Chinese characteristics.

The system of people's congresses was strengthened. In May 2005, the Central Committee circulated the Guidelines of the Leading Party Members' Group of the NPC Standing Committee on Ensuring Deputies to the NPC Play a Better Role and Strengthening the System of the NPC Standing Committee. In March 2010, at its Third Session, the 11th NPC adopted the newly revised Electoral Law for the National People's Congress and Local People's Congresses. The law stipulated that urban and rural areas should elect deputies to people's congresses based on

the same ratio, given China's rapid economic and social development, ongoing urbanization, and vast changes in population distribution in urban and rural areas.

From the first half of 2011 to the end of 2012, China held the first elections for people's congresses at the county and township levels following the revision of the Electoral Law. The elections realized equal representation for urban and rural areas for the first time in the history of the People's Republic, and therefore better reflected the principle of equality among the people, regions, and ethnic groups.

The pace of lawmaking was accelerated in a well-conceived and democratic way. By the end of 2010, a socialist system of laws with Chinese characteristics had been created, consisting of state laws, administrative regulations, and local statutes, with the Constitution playing the supreme role. Laws related to the Constitution, civil laws, commercial laws, and many other laws served as core legislation. The new legal system represented an important milestone in the history of China's socialist democracy and law. It was also an important symbol of the maturing of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics.

China's basic political systems were improved and developed. At the 17th CPC National Congress, the system of primary level self-governance was included in the fundamental model of socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics for the first time, and it was stressed that the promotion of this system was essential for the development of socialist democracy in China. At the community level in both urban and rural areas, democratic elections, democratic decision-making, democratic management, and democratic oversight procedures were gradually broadened and made more substantive. Hundreds of millions of people were taking charge of their own affairs in accordance with the law and enjoying more practical democratic rights. Fresh vitality had been injected into democracy at the community level.

By the end of 2012, more than eight rounds of villagers' committee elections had been held in rural areas, and more than 98 percent of villagers' committees nationwide were selected through direct election, with an average voter turnout of 95 percent. In cities, more than six rounds of residents' committee elections had been held.

A Renaissance of Socialist Culture

On the threshold of the new century, the Party's decision to build a strong socialist culture was a major strategic step.

The 17th National Party Congress emphasized that it was necessary to promote a great cultural flourishing with more conscious and proactive efforts and to strengthen the country's cultural soft power. At its Sixth Plenary Session in October 2011, the 17th Central Committee adopted the Decision on Certain Major Issues Concerning Deepening Cultural Reform and Promoting the Vigorous Development and Flourishing of Socialist Culture. The document set the strategy of keeping to the road of socialist cultural development with Chinese characteristics and striving to build a strong socialist culture. A new phase of cultural development in China had begun.

The development of core socialist values represented a major theoretical and cultural innovation. In March 2006, while attending a joint group discussion at the Fourth Session of the 10th CPPCC National Committee with members from the China Democratic League and the China Association for Promoting Democracy in attendance, Hu Jintao proposed to establish the socialist concept of honor and disgrace. Later in October, at its Sixth Plenary Session, the 17th Central Committee defined the task of developing core socialist values. After the Session, the definition would be incorporated into the full process of national education and of promoting cultural-ethical progress. An education campaign covering ideals and beliefs, patriotism, China's national

conditions, current affairs, and state policies was undertaken nationwide. People gained a stronger faith and confidence in CPC leadership, the socialist system, reform and opening up, and in the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

To ensure cultural development and prosperity, it became clear that there was an urgent need to establish a cultural system that was compatible with the socialist market economy. In December 2005, the Central Committee and the State Council issued guidelines on deepening cultural reform. The guidelines clarified that cultural reform would focus on encouraging the development of market participants, refining the market system, improving macro management, and achieving transformations in the functions of government and other key areas. By 2012, state-owned for-profit cultural institutions across fields such as publishing and distribution, film and television production, and broadcasting and transmission had been transformed into companies, and the reform of state-owned theater troupes had been generally completed.

Through cultural reforms, the state increased investment, remodeled institutions, and put the system of public cultural services on a development fast track. With the implementation of a host of cultural projects to benefit the people, including those for sharing cultural information resources, extending radio and television coverage to all villages, and building multipurpose cultural centers in towns and townships, the goal of ensuring that every county enjoyed library services and cultural centers, and that every township had multipurpose cultural centers was achieved generally. Progress was made with initiatives to open public museums, memorials, public libraries, art galleries, and cultural centers to the public free of charge. The benefits of public culture-related facilities became more obvious with each day.

Cultural innovation and creativity was galvanized by cultural

reform, and the rise and development of cultural industries came to be the distinctive product of cultural reform and development in the new century. Reform saw many cultural institutions which had previously been funded by the state become market entities operating and developing independently. The entities were responsible for their own profits and losses, and exercised self-regulation. It was for this reason that China's capacity for supplying culture-related products was significantly enhanced. In 2012, the total output of China's cultural industry exceeded 4 trillion yuan. The variety and volume of publications ranked the first in the world. For several consecutive years, the number of films produced annually exceeded 500, making China the third largest film producer in the world. The number of television serial episodes produced exceeded 10,000—representing the largest global output. Cultural and creative industries, digital publishing, mobile multimedia, animation and games, and other emerging cultural industries experienced rapid growth.

Accelerating Social Development with a Focus on Improvements in People's Lives

People contribute to reform and therefore should also share in its fruits. Efforts to resolve problems relating to people's wellbeing bear on social harmony and stability. Such efforts are important for popular support and they are the very foundation of the Party's governance. During this period, building on China's economic development, the Central Committee focused on the most pressing issues of the greatest concern to the people. In line with its commitment to the principle that development should be for the people, depend on the people, and that its fruits should be shared by the people, the Committee worked to address the lopsidedness that existed between economic and social development. It accelerated social development and emphasized making improvements

in people's lives, while working to guarantee access to education, medical services, elderly care, and housing, and raise employment.

Equal access to education is an important basis of social equality. After the 16th CPC National Congress, the state significantly increased funding for education, introducing a new funding mechanism for compulsory education in rural areas, and waiving tuition and miscellaneous fees related to compulsory education there. A policy initiated in the western rural areas exempted students who were receiving compulsory education from tuition and miscellaneous fees. The policy also provided funds for textbooks and a subsidy covering living expenses for students from families who were experiencing financial hardship. Improvements were made to the state scholarship and grant system. All these steps ensured that educational resources were weighted toward rural areas, remote areas, areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, and poor areas so that everyone had access to better education.

In 2008, tuition and miscellaneous fees were abolished in compulsory education in urban and rural areas to the benefit of 160 million students. The financial burdens of hundreds of millions of families were alleviated, as all children of compulsory education age were guaranteed a place in school at no cost. The enrolment rate for children of school age reached 99.5 percent in 2008. Access to higher education also improved. In 2012, the gross enrollment rate for higher education passed 30 percent, providing more opportunities for students to enter universities and colleges.

The Party and the government adhered to the principle that employment was the foundation of people's wellbeing and made every effort to raise employment levels. The Law on Promoting Employment and the Labor Contract Law were promulgated to provide legal guarantees for employment equality. When the international financial crisis broke in 2008, China's job market was faced with new pressure. Keeping employment

stable became the top priority for central and local governments at all levels. Local governments implemented a more proactive employment policy, assisting college graduates in securing employment, creating job opportunities for farmers, assisting urban families in difficulty with finding jobs, and offering incentives to business startups that created employment. By the end of 2011, the job market was stable overall with 760 million employed across urban and rural China.

Healthcare was a paramount factor in guaranteeing people's wellbeing. In 2003, a new rural cooperative medical system was first introduced in China's western region. The system's nationwide rollout began in 2006 and national coverage was achieved by the end of 2008, with 814 million rural residents benefiting from the scheme. Based on voluntary participation, the scheme mainly covered major diseases. It was greatly subsidized by central and local governments with a small portion of premiums coming from personal contributions. The scheme was warmly welcomed by rural residents.

Establishing a sound social security system was an important goal for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. After the 16th CPC National Congress, the Central Committee worked to institute a complete, multi-tiered, and sustainable system for basic social security. The social security system, which conformed to China's economic development levels and covered urban and rural residents' basic elderly care, basic medical care, and subsistence allowances, was delivered at pace.

In rural areas, a suite of major social security packages, including a new rural cooperative medical system, a rural subsistence allowance and a rural old-age insurance scheme, were introduced. In urban areas, social security coverage continued to expand from urban workers to non-working residents, and notably to private sector employees, the flexibly employed, and migrant workers. By 2012, old-age insurance

coverage had reached 790 million people across China, and a basic old-age insurance system that covered both urban and rural populations had been successfully established. With medical insurance covering more than 1.3 billion people, universal medical insurance had become a reality for China. The subsistence allowance system had attained full coverage, and the urban and rural social assistance system was in place. The largest social security network covering the largest population in the world was up and running.

As China entered a critical period in its reform and development, the nation found itself confronted with growing social problems. In response to the terrain it was facing and unprecedented challenges, the Party and all levels of government actively explored new methods and initiatives to improve social management and services under new circumstances. China built the beginnings of a social management framework in which Party committees exercised leadership, governments assumed responsibility, non-governmental actors provided assistance, and the general public gave their support. Efforts were made to catch problems at the community level as they were emerging. China also worked energetically to establish a robust emergency management system and refined its response capabilities for public emergencies.

Amid profound economic and social change and the breakneck pace of transformation, efforts to strengthen social management and social services allowed China to always maintain social and political stability.

Enhancing Environmental Protection

In the 21st century, the resource and environmental constraints on China's development became more pronounced. The people's calls for a healthy environment became louder and louder. In 2002, the 16th CPC National Congress stressed that the whole of society would have to pursue a model of sustainable development characterized by increased

production, higher living standards, and a healthy ecosystem. The central and local authorities took measures to accelerate the building of a resource-saving, environmentally friendly society and geared up China's environmental protection efforts for a new phase.

The nation's environmental protection drive was bolstered by newly enacted or revised legislation, which included the Law on Promoting Clean Production, the Law on Promoting the Circular Economy, and the Law on the Prevention and Control of Water Pollution. China became the first developing country to develop and implement a national program to address climate change. The 11th Five-Year Plan stipulated the obligatory targets of reducing energy consumption per unit of GDP by about 20 percent, cutting total emissions of major pollutants by 10 percent, and increasing forest coverage by 20 percent, as compared with levels recorded at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan period. For the central and local authorities, the pursuit of green development began to replace what had been a single-minded push for GDP growth.

The Party and the government prioritized energy conservation and emissions reduction, while focusing on improvements in the steel, nonferrous, chemical, and building materials industries. A large quantity of outmoded production capacity in small thermal power plants and small coal mines was cut back in accordance with the law. At the same time, the Huai River and the Tai Lake were defined as key river basins for water pollution control. Major projects were carried out to allow both heavily polluted bodies of water to cleanse. In 2011, of the 189,000 kilometers of China's rivers evaluated nationwide, 64.2 percent of river sections had a water quality rating of between Grades I–III. Sewage treatment in urban areas reached 83.6 percent.

A sustained campaign to return marginal farmland to forests was a critical measure taken by the Party Central Committee and the State Council to address the problems of serious soil erosion and the frequent

occurrence of floods. By 2008, the total area of marginal farmland returned to forests nationwide exceeded 26.67 million hectares—an area which was almost equivalent to key state forestry regions in the northeast China and Inner Mongolia. Furthermore, a host of major projects for ecological conservation and environmental protection such as the environmental conservation at the sources of the Yangtze, Yellow, and Lancang rivers, the control of the sources of dust storms affecting Beijing and Tianjin, and the comprehensive efforts against rocky desertification continued to move forward. By 2013, national forest coverage reached 21.63 percent, while desertification was stopped and even reversed in some regions.

Thanks to such unremitting conservation and protection efforts, the rate of environmental pollution and ecological damage in China was successfully slowed and environmental protection efforts became more concrete.

5. Historical Missions of the Armed Forces at the New Stage in the New Century

In December 2004, Hu Jintao set new requirements for the historical missions of the armed forces at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission (CMC). He pointed out that the armed forces should commit themselves to consolidating the governing position of the Party, and provide a firm security guarantee for safeguarding the important period of strategic opportunity for China's development. They should also give strong strategic support to safeguard national interests and play an important role in protecting world peace and promoting common development. In April 2005, Hu Jintao proposed to apply the Scientific Outlook on Development to strengthen national defense and the armed forces to promote their comprehensive, balanced, and

sustainable development, and thereby make the country prosperous and the military strong. In December of the same year, Hu offered a systematic explanation of how the Scientific Outlook on Development should be applied to strengthen national defense and the armed forces.

Strengthening political integrity in the armed forces was to remain a top priority. In October 2006, Hu Jintao called for the development of a military force which would obey the Party's command, serve the people, and show heroic spirit and skill in battle. At an enlarged meeting of the CMC in December 2008, Hu defined the core values of contemporary revolutionary military personnel as "loyalty to the Party, love for the people, service to the motherland, devotion to the mission, and a high regard for honor." The military put a major focus on instilling these values in officers and soldiers of all ranks. Initiatives were launched to



- Hu Jintao reviews PLA troops during the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the PRC on October 1, 2009.

educate servicemen about historical missions of the army, its ideals, convictions, and fighting spirit as well as the socialist concept of honor and disgrace. All these efforts helped to consistently enhance the creativity, unity, and competence of Party organizations at every level. During this time, China's armed forces produced many exemplary groups and individuals, including the heroic team who took part in China's manned space program.

The armed forces placed military preparedness at the center of their modernization drive. Responding to the growing role of information technology in modern warfare, in 2004, the CMC enriched and improved its military strategy for the new period. Winning of local wars under informatized conditions was identified as the key to military preparedness. To meet the requirements for a military transformation with Chinese characteristics, the Central Committee reformed military organization and staffing structures. Between 2003 and 2005, PLA troop numbers were reduced by 200,000 in a move to streamline the PLA. The strategic management responsibilities of the General Staff Headquarters, the General Political Department, the General Logistics Department and the General Armaments Department of the CMC were increased, novel combat capabilities were developed, and combat forces were streamlined and joined-up to become more multi-functional and efficient. Logistics modernization was also accelerated. Systems, methods, means, and management practices that were tailored to the requirements of informatization-based local wars were gradually instituted to establish an integrated logistics support system for the three service branches. The military also accelerated the implementation of a strategic project for personnel training, through which it continued to improve the IT competence of officers and soldiers and optimize troop structures.

In the drive to develop an informatized military force that would be capable of winning wars in the information age, the PLA accelerated

the transformation of its approach to enhancing combat effectiveness. It worked to shift military training away from an approach based on mechanized conditions onto a trajectory for the information age, and successfully staged a series of joint campaigns, tactical training operations, and exercises. China focused on improving its ability to develop new defense-related technologies and weaponry, and pushed to develop modern weaponry supported by military information systems. The nation built a weaponry and equipment system mainly composed of second-generation weaponry and equipment but with a third-generation underpinning, thus laying a firm material foundation for the transformation of its combat capabilities. In September 2012, China's first aircraft carrier *Liaoning* was transferred to the PLA Navy.

The military and the armed police force carried out a series of operations that were urgent, difficult, and dangerous. They actively participated in the tasks of responding to SARS in 2003, freezing rain and heavy snow during extreme winter weather in the south in 2008, the earthquake in Wenchuan, Sichuan Province in 2008, and the earthquake in Yushu, Qinghai Province in 2010. They also responded to severe mudslides in Zhugqu, Gansu Province in 2010. The PLA's role in the evacuation of Chinese nationals from Libya was a concrete demonstration of its reputation as "an army of the people." China's armed forces actively participated in joint exercises with foreign counterparts, in UN peacekeeping missions, and in escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and the Somali Sea. They fully demonstrated a strong military competence and maintained the character of a powerful, well-disciplined force for peace.

6. Moving forward with One Country, Two Systems and the Cause of China's Peaceful Reunification

The Practice of One Country, Two Systems

In the new century, the central government continued to firmly implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, with both enjoying a high degree of autonomy. When handling Hong Kong and Macao affairs, the central government strictly adhered to the Constitution and the basic laws for the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and made an all-out effort to promote the economic and social development of the two regions.

After its return, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region promoted democracy in accordance with the law. The NPC Standing Committee exercised the powers conferred to it by China's Constitution and the Basic Law of Hong Kong SAR to produce interpretations of the provisions of Hong Kong's Basic Law and its annexes in 1999, 2004, 2005, and 2011, respectively. In accordance with the Basic Law and the relevant interpretations of the NPC Standing Committee, a decision was issued during 31st Meeting of the 10th NPC Standing Committee in December 2007. The decision allowed for appropriate adjustments to the methods for selecting the fourth chief executive and forming the fifth Legislative Assembly of the Hong Kong SAR, and provisions for election by universal suffrage of the fifth chief executive in 2017. Following the election of the chief executive by universal suffrage, the Hong Kong SAR Legislative Council would see all its members elected by universal suffrage.

Democracy in the Macao SAR was developed in line with the region's Basic Law. In December 2011, the 11th NPC Standing Committee

produced an interpretation for Article Seven of Annex One and Article Three of Annex Two of the Macao SAR Basic Law to clarify the procedures for revising the methods for selecting the chief executive and the Legislative Assembly.

In the 2000s, the central government adopted a series of policy measures for tourist travel from the mainland to Hong Kong and Macao, for the expansion of RMB business in Hong Kong, and to encourage mainland businesses to go public in Hong Kong. Such moves helped to spur Hong Kong's economic recovery in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis and the SARS epidemic. Beginning in 2003, the mainland signed Closer Economic Partnership Arrangements (CEPA) with Hong Kong and Macao, alongside other supplementary agreements. The CEPA abolished institutional barriers to trade and investment between the mainland, Hong Kong and Macao, and opened the door to freer trade in goods and services and toward simpler investment procedures between three regions. This was beneficial to all involved. After the outbreak of the international financial crisis in 2008, the central government introduced a series of policy measures to support Hong Kong during the crisis. The central government also provided stronger support to Macao to help it develop and appropriately diversify its economy. It supported Macao's efforts to develop as a world center of tourism and leisure, approved the building of a University of Macao campus on Hengqin Island in Zhuhai, Guangdong Province, and supported Macao SAR in developing trade relations with lusophone nations.

With the solid backing of the central government, cooperation between the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao went from strength to strength. Mechanisms were established to facilitate cooperation between Guangdong and Hong Kong, Guangdong and Macao, Beijing and Hong Kong, Shanghai and Hong Kong, and throughout the Pan-Pearl

River Delta region covering nine provinces and two special administrative regions. It was in such a way that the space afforded for development in Hong Kong and Macao continued to expand. The central government actively advanced the development of Qianhai in Shenzhen, Hengqin in Zhuhai, and Nansha in Guangzhou as key nodes for cooperation between Guangdong, Hong Kong, and Macao. The economies of Hong Kong and Macao posted rapid growth. By 2011, Hong Kong's GDP had grown by 54 percent since 1996, just prior to its return. Macao's GDP had more than doubled since 2000, with average annual growth of 12.5 percent. The social stability and economic prosperity of Hong Kong and Macao in the period after their return demonstrated the great vitality of the One Country, Two Systems policy.

At a meeting to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the return of Hong Kong in July 2012, Hu Jintao declared that One Country, Two Systems was the best institutional arrangement for maintaining longstanding stability and economic prosperity in Hong Kong since its return to the motherland. Hu underlined the need to ensure full understanding and implementation of the policy of One Country, Two Systems. He also called for a proper balance to be struck between adherence to the One Country principle and a respect for the differences of the Two Systems, between the need to safeguard the central government's authority and the need to guarantee a high degree of autonomy in the SAR, between the imperative of safeguarding the overall interests of the nation and the need to guarantee the different interests of people across all sectors of Hong Kong society, and between support for Hong Kong's proactive engagement in foreign exchanges and opposition to foreign interference in the region's affairs. To emphasize one of these elements at the expense of the other would always be unacceptable.

The Peaceful Development of Cross-Strait Relations

While staunchly protecting stability and prosperity in Hong Kong and Macao, the Party Central Committee also remained resolute in the cause of China's reunification in line with the policies of peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems.

The beginning of the new century saw a continuous escalation of separatist activities aimed at "Taiwan independence." The Taiwan authorities led by Chen Shui-bian plotted to split Taiwan from China through "legal" and "constitutional" means by drawing up a "new Taiwan Constitution." The plot severely undermined the peaceful and stable development of cross-Strait relations. The central Party leadership placed the tasks of opposing and deterring "Taiwan independence" at the top of its agenda on work related to Taiwan. On March 4, 2005, Hu Jintao expressed four guidelines for developing cross-Strait relations. The guidelines were that the mainland must never waver in its commitment to the one-China principle, never abandon its efforts to achieve peaceful reunification, never alter its position of placing its hope in the people of Taiwan, and never compromise in its opposition to separatist activities aimed at "Taiwan independence." The guidelines, which became known as the "four nevers," received a strong response on both sides of the Strait and within the international community.

On March 14, the Third Session of the 10th NPC unanimously approved the Anti-Secession Law. The Law prescribed that in the event that "Taiwan independence" secessionist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause Taiwan's secession from China, or if major incidents entailing Taiwan's secession from China should occur, and in the case that possibilities for peaceful reunification would be completely excluded, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The

legislation clearly expressed the common will and determination of the Chinese people to oppose “Taiwan Independence” and protect China’s national unity and territorial integrity. It marked the start of a new period in Taiwan policy in which deterring “Taiwan independence” and promoting reunification by legal means were imperative.

Around this time, the CPC Central Committee took steps to promote interactions between political parties on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. On April 29, 2005, CPC General Secretary Hu Jintao met with KMT Chairman Lien Chan in Beijing. This meeting saw the first handshake between the leaders of the two parties in 60 years. After the meeting, the document *Common Aspirations for Cross-Strait Relations* was published, and the two parties reached agreements on a series of issues. In April 2006, the CPC and KMT jointly hosted the inaugural Cross-Strait Economic and Trade Forum, and then the Cross-Strait Agricultural Cooperation Forum in October. Through such platforms, the authorities on China’s mainland introduced numerous measures to promote exchanges and cooperation across the Taiwan Strait to bring benefits to the people of Taiwan, further promoting cross-Strait relations.

In March 2008, the Democratic Progressive Party, which had stubbornly persisted with its stance on “Taiwan Independence,” fell out of power to be replaced by the KMT, bringing about positive changes in cross-Strait relations. On December 31, 2008, at the meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of the publication of the *Message to Compatriots in Taiwan*, Hu Jintao provided a systematic explanation of the concept of peaceful development for cross-Strait relations, putting forward six propositions for their advancement, and pointing out that peaceful development was the natural path to the country’s peaceful reunification. Hu’s speech was an important guideline for the development of cross-Strait relations.

Based on the principles of “building mutual trust, setting aside

disputes, shelving differences to pursue common ground, and jointly creating shared benefits,” the mainland and Taiwan worked together to improve and develop their relations. In June 2008, the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait and the Straits Exchange Foundation restarted institutional negotiations between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait in the spirit of the 1992 Consensus. In December, direct sea and air transportation links as well as postal services were established across the Strait. This marked a historic step forward for full and direct two-way links for trade, mail, and air and shipping services between the two sides. In June 2010, the signing of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) across the Taiwan Strait provided an institutional basis the promotion of economic cooperation.

Along with the normalization of economic and trade relations across the Strait, academic, cultural, educational, news media, sports, and religious contacts and exchanges were also developed. The first annual Straits Forum was held in 2000. From June 2011, individual tourists from the mainland were allowed to travel to Taiwan. China’s government also made appropriate arrangements for diplomatic issues relating to Taiwan such as its participation in the World Health Assembly and the APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting. By assisting people from Taiwan with the handling of foreign disputes, China protected the legitimate rights and interests of the people of Taiwan and ensured their wellbeing. These measures not only won support and praise from the public in Taiwan but also helped to consolidate international commitment to the one-China principle and generated a positive momentum for the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations.

7. Standing by Peaceful Development and Cooperation

Entering the new century, the Party Central Committee worked in line with the trends of the times of peace, development, and cooperation, remaining true to the path of peaceful development. At the Asian African Summit on April 4, 2005, Hu Jintao raised the proposal to build a “Harmonious World.” The diplomatic goal of building a harmonious world was confirmed for the first time in a CPC National



- Hu Jintao delivers a speech entitled “Join Hands and Strive to Build a Harmonious World of Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity” at the World Summit to mark the 60th anniversary of the United Nations on September 15, 2005.

Congress document in the form of the Party's October 2007 report to the Seventeenth National Congress, which stated that "the people of all countries should join hands and strive to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity." To this end, China proposed that the overall direction for diplomatic work should revolve around the idea that "big powers are central, neighboring countries have high priority, developing countries constitute the base, and multilateralism is essential," and thereby launched highly effective diplomatic campaigns.

Relations between major countries remained generally stable and witnessed progress. In January 2011, Hu Jintao made a state visit to the United States at the invitation of his US counterpart. The heads of state of the two nations issued the Sino-US Joint Statement, and an important consensus on building cooperative partnership based on mutual respect and mutually beneficial cooperation was reached. In 2008, China and Russia resolved an historical dispute relating to the eastern section of their borders, and their strategic collaborative partnership was further consolidated.

In 2003, China and the European Union established a comprehensive strategic partnership. Subsequently, economic and trade cooperation between the two sides increased rapidly and for eight consecutive years, the European Union remained China's biggest trading partner.

In spite of some setbacks, progress was made in China-Japan relations. In May, 2008, Hu Jintao visited Japan. The leaders of the two nations jointly issued the Joint Statement on Comprehensive Promotion of a "Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests." In September 2012, in response to Japan's so called "nationalization" of the Diaoyu Island, the Chinese government issued the Statement of the People's Republic of China on the Baselines of the Territorial Waters of the Diaoyu Island and Its Affiliated Islets and a white paper *Diaoyu Island, an Inherent Territory of China*. Routine law enforcement patrols

and other measures were carried out to ensure China's governance over the Diaoyu Island and its surrounding waters and safeguard China's sovereignty.

China engaged in high-level visits and exchanges with its surrounding nations, and promoted regional cooperation. Thanks to China's initiative, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's member states concluded a treaty on long-term good neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation. In November 2002, China and ASEAN signed the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, which paved a political foundation for the relevant nations to carry out practical cooperation and joint development in the South China Sea. In January 2010, the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area came into effect, which provided benefits for nearly a third of the world's population.

China's solidarity and cooperation with developing nations also took an important step forward. One after another, a series of policy documents were issued relating to Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In November 2006, the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation was held. The summit formally heralded a new strategic partnership between China and Africa. China continued to do everything in its power to provide aid to other developing countries, while not ceasing to strengthen its solidarity and cooperation with them.

Through multilateral platforms, China promoted the resolution of international and regional sensitive issues. After the outbreak of the international financial crisis, by attending the G20 Summit and the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting and by hosting the Boao Forum for Asia annual conference, China promoted the reform of the international economic governance system. In a bid to establish regular summit meetings between BRICS nations, starting in 2009, BRICS leaders held regular summit meetings which enhanced the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing nations in the global governance.

China also took an active role in international cooperation in the handling of security, counter-terrorism and other global issues, thoroughly demonstrating what it means to be a major responsible country.

During this period, China acted on the principle of practicing diplomacy for the people, properly handling the evacuation of Chinese nationals, hostage rescue, as well as labor disputes and other major emergencies. A case in point was the period during January and February 2011 when the situation in Libya became tense, the Chinese government organized the largest oversea evacuation since the founding of the PRC in 1949, evacuating 35,860 Chinese citizens (including people from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan) safely away from Libya, effectively protecting the safety and legitimate rights of overseas Chinese nationals.

8. Making Party Building More Effective and Establishing the Scientific Outlook on Development as a Guiding Ideology of the Party

Strengthening the Party's Governance Capacity and Its Advanced Nature

The bid to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects at the new stage in the new century placed new and higher demands on the Party's governance. The CPC Central Committee continually sought to strengthen the Party's governance capacity and its advanced nature as the main tasks while, on the basis of its experience in national governance, thoroughly pressing ahead with the great new project of Party building.

The Party's 16th National Congress introduced the thesis of strengthening the Party's governance capacity. At its Fourth Plenary Session held in September 2004, the 16th Party Central Committee passed a Decision on Strengthening the Party's Governance Capacity

which elaborated on the objectives and means of practicing effective, democratic, and law-based governance. It clearly set forth that the Party must constantly improve its ability to steer the market economy, develop socialist democracy and an advanced socialist culture, build a harmonious socialist society, take care of issues at home, and handle international affairs.

At the Session, Hu Jintao stressed that “we must carry out comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth studies on who the Party governs for, who it depends on and how it should govern to see that the principles and system of its governance are further improved, that the way it governs is more effective, and that the foundations for its governance are fortified.”

In line with the guiding principles of Party’s 16th National Congress and the Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee, and under the Party’s leadership, national legislatures revised the Constitution, the Electoral Law for the National People’s Congress and the Organic Law of the NPC, and promulgated the Law on Oversight by the Standing Committees of People’s Congresses. As a result, China’s fundamental political system and the system of Party’s governance were further improved to provide a standard legal framework for strengthening the Party’s governance capacity. The Party Central Committee also set out plans for deepening reform in government administration and institutions, and for strengthening the work of the CPPCC, the people’s courts, and people’s procuratorates. All these efforts ensured a synergy of Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance, as well as the expansion of the people’s democracy, and improvements to the efficacy of the Party’s governance in a scientific, democratic, and law-based manner.

In November 2004, the CPC Central Committee issued a plan for an educational campaign which emphasized the application of the Theory

of Three Represents to maintain the advanced nature of Party members. In January 2005, Hu Jintao proposed the key issue of strengthening the Party's advanced nature at a symposium on maintaining Party members' advanced nature in the new period. He stressed that this issue was fundamental to a Marxist party's ability to remain competent. Beginning in January 2005, the campaign was carried out in three stages and concluded in June 2006. This campaign addressed prominent problems relating to the thinking, organization, work style, and actual work of Party members and organizations, and it was highly successful.

Following the Party's 16th National Congress, focused on the main task of strengthening the Party's governance capacity and its advanced nature, the Central Committee introduced and implemented a series of major moves to strengthen Party building. The most significant among them were: to respond to the call for high-ranking officials to lead the way in studying, to institute a system for study sessions in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; to establish a system in which standing committees report their work to the plenary sessions of their respective Party committees and accept their oversight, a delegate proposal system, and a mechanism to handle and respond to delegate proposals; to reform the management system for officials and personnel and initiate open selection and competition for positions; and to strengthen Party organizations in new economic entities and social organizations and expand the reach of primary-level Party organizations. The Central Committee decided to establish the Pudong, Jinggangshan and Yan'an branches of the China Executive Leadership Academy, to provide large-scale training at various levels and enhance Party members and officials' competence.

Making Party Building More Effective

Apart from the decision to include the Scientific Outlook on

Development in the Party Constitution, the Party's 17th National Congress also set out a plan for carrying out Party-wide activities to thoroughly study and apply the Scientific Outlook on Development. From September 2008 to the end of February 2010, a campaign to thoroughly study and apply this theory was underway throughout the Party. In accordance with the overall demands to raise the awareness among Party members and officials, promote sound development, and bring benefit to the people, the campaign generally achieved its aims of raising the understanding, solving outstanding problems, making institutional innovations, promoting sound development, and strengthening primary-level organizations.

As the campaign went on, in response to the changes in the global landscape, within China, and inside the Party, the Party Central Committee implemented new decisions and plans which were aimed to strengthen and improve Party building under new circumstances. In September 2009, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee adopted the Decision on Major Issues concerning Strengthening and Improving Party Building under the New Circumstances, which put forward the major proposition and task of making Party building more effective. Afterwards, it repeatedly emphasized that it was essential to arm the whole Party with the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, strengthening Party building with effective theoretical guidance; to establish a sound institutional framework based on Party Constitution and centered on democratic centralism, securing Party building with sound systems; and to study and overcome in creative ways new challenges facing Party building amid the changing times and social transformations, promoting Party building with effective methods.

In a bid to make Party building more effective, the Central Committee strove to develop intraparty systems, and revised the regulations on primary-level Party organizations in offices of the Party and the state and

the provisional regulations on accountability for Party and government officials. These efforts successfully solved the new problems which were facing Party building. In May 2012, the Central Committee issued Regulations on Formulating Internal Party Rules as a way to promote strict, effective, democratic, and law-based governance by standardizing the formulation, examination, filing, and review of internal Party rules and regulations.

In order to consolidate and expand the achievements of the Party-wide campaign to thoroughly study and apply the Scientific Outlook on Development, the Central Committee began an initiative to develop advanced Party organizations and encourage Party members to strive for excellence among primary-level Party organizations and their fellow members in April 2010. This became an institutionalized method of Party building. All regions, departments, and organizations made great contributions to promoting sound development and social harmony, serving the people, and strengthening primary-level Party organizations. All involved gave full play to the key role of primary-level Party organizations and the exemplary role of Party members themselves.

Yang Shanzhou, former secretary of Baoshan Prefecture CPC Committee, Yunnan Province, devoted all to his commitment “serve the people till last breath.” After retirement from a prefecture Party secretary, Yang moved into the Daliang Mountain and began to plant trees at his own expense. After 22 years of hard work with local people, Yang blanketed 3,733 hectares of barren hills with forests. Guo Mingyi, a worker with Anshan Steel Group, had followed the example of model soldier Lei Feng to do good deeds day after day for decades, and has been called a “living Lei Feng.” All these exemplary deeds greatly inspired Party members and officials as well as the general public and aroused peoples’ enthusiasm for learning from Yang Shanzhou and Guo Mingyi all over the country during the Party’s initiative to develop

advanced primary-level organizations and encourage their members to strive for excellence.

Building an Effective System for Preventing and Punishing Corruption

How a governing party should to improve its ability to fight corruption, prevent moral decline, and guard against risks is an age old question. Well aware that cultivating good Party conduct, promoting integrity, and combating corruption would be a long-term, complex, and formidable task, the Party Central Committee placed emphasis on the continuation of the advanced and pure nature of the Party and placed the task on the top of its agenda. At its Third Plenary Session in October 2003, the 16th Party Central Committee set a goal to establish a sound system for preventing and punishing corruption, which placed equal stress on education, institution, and supervision and was compatible with the socialist market economy.

The fight against corruption was proceeding mainly on three fronts: Officials championed integrity and self-discipline, violations of the law and discipline were investigated and addressed, and misconduct in all sectors was corrected. In terms of leadership and working mechanisms, the system for fighting corruption saw that Party committees exercised unified leadership, Party and government organs exerted concerted efforts, discipline inspection commissions organized and coordinated all the work, departments assumed their respective responsibilities, and the general public supported and participated in. A sound structure of power alongside its operation mechanism in which decision-making, enforcement, and oversight powers checked and balanced each other was set up to combat corruption.

With a view to improving the institutions for punishing corruption and upholding integrity, a number of regulations were formulated,

including the Guidelines of the CPC for Leading Officials to Ensure Clean Governance, the Communist Party of China Regulations on Disciplinary Action, the Regulation on the Reporting of Personal Information by Officials, and the Interim Provisions on Strengthening Supervision over Government Employees Whose Spouses and Children All Live Overseas. In February 2006, China became a signatory of the United Nations Convention against Corruption and strengthened international cooperation in combating corruption.

When tackling major and serious cases in accordance with the law, the Party Central Committee focused on incidences of collusion between officials and business people, trading power for money, soliciting or accepting bribes, and offering protection for gang activities, as well as cases which greatly harmed people's interests and corruption causing public disturbances and serious dereliction of duty. From November 2007 to June 2012, discipline inspection commissions and supervisory departments nationwide registered over 643,700 cases with over 639,000 of which eventually reaching settlement and 668,000 people being punished in accordance with Party and government disciplinary regulations. In addition to this, over 24,000 people were transferred to judicial bodies as criminal suspects. After the 16th National Congress, a number of major law and discipline violations such as those involving Chen Liangyu were addressed, demonstrating the Party's resolve to combat corruption.

In order to correct misconduct which harmed people's interests, the Central Committee launched special campaigns to put a stop to recreational traveling to a foreign country or a region outside China's mainland at public expense, to deal with violations of the use of official vehicles, and to resolve outstanding problems in the construction industry, with a large number of law and discipline violations being investigated and handled. In addition to these efforts, the Central

Committee worked harder to address actions which harmed people's interests in such fields as education, health care, land expropriation and demolition, management of land and mineral resources, food and drug safety, environmental protection, workplace safety, construction and management of government-subsidized housing, law enforcement, and judicial activities. All of this work safeguarded the legitimate rights and interests of the people and produced positive social results.

Following determined trailing and hard work, Party building became more effective, and this made an important contribution to the continuation of the advanced and pure nature of the Party and also provided powerful guarantees for the Party's leadership over the reform and opening up and the socialist modernization drive. However, given the fact that the breeding ground for corruption would still be there, the fight against corruption remained challenging and complex. In some localities and departments, corruption became increasingly rampant, with various forms of corruption emerging, such as regional corruption, institutional corruption, family corruption, and landslide-style corruption involving almost the entire local bureaucracy. All of this greatly damaged the health of the Party. The entire Party from top to bottom therefore had to continue to work hard and commit itself to strengthening Party leadership and Party building and take determined measures to put a stop to the spread of corruption.

Establishing the Scientific Outlook on Development as a Guiding Ideology of the Party

After its introduction, and after having passed through a process of practical application, understanding, and further application and understanding, the Scientific Outlook on Development became progressively richer in terms of its theoretical content and effective in practice. This theory provided fresh answers to the major questions about

what kind of development China should achieve in the changing times and by which means it should do so. It represented a new development in the Party's understanding of the laws of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In 2012, the Party's 18th National Congress formally identified the Scientific Outlook on Development as a guiding principle of its. The Congress pointed out that "The most important achievement in our endeavors in the past ten years is that we have formed the Scientific Outlook on Development and put it into practice by following the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Theory of Three Represents and by making courageous theoretical innovations on the basis of practices and developing closely interconnected new ideas and viewpoints on upholding and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Scientific Outlook on Development was created by integrating Marxism with the reality of contemporary China and with the underlying features of our times, and it fully embodies the Marxist worldview on and methodology for development. This theory provides new scientific answers to the major questions of what kind of development China should achieve in a new environment and how the country should achieve it. It represents a new level of our understanding of the laws of socialism with Chinese characteristics and reaches a new realm in the development of Marxism in contemporary China. The Scientific Outlook on Development is the latest achievement in developing the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and it is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China and a powerful theoretical weapon for guiding all the work of the Party and country. Together with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Theory of Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development is the theoretical guidance the Party must adhere to for a long time."

The establishment of the Scientific Outlook on Development as a

guiding ideology of the Party at its 18th National Congress was both an important decision and an historic step. The Congress pointed out that "As we advance toward the future, thoroughly applying the Scientific Outlook on Development is of major immediate significance and far-reaching historical significance for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must apply it throughout the course of modernization and to every aspect of Party building."

Chapter X

Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era

In November 2012, new officials succeeded those leaving their posts within the central collective leadership of the Party at its 18th National Congress. At the First Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee the newly elected general secretary of the Central Committee, Xi Jinping, stated that, "The baton of history has been passed to us. We must not fail in our duty. We must remain loyal to the Party, to the country, and to the people, and draw on all of our wisdom, strength, thoughts and energy to deliver results which are worthy of history and the times, and true to the expectations of the people." With that, to accomplish the general tasks of achieving socialist modernization and national rejuvenation, a campaign of theoretical and practical innovation was launched to progressively lift the curtain on a new era for socialism with Chinese characteristics.

1. The 18th National Party Congress and the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation

The 18th National Party Congress

The 18th National Party Congress was held in Beijing from November 8 to 14, 2012. On behalf of the 17th Central Committee, Hu Jintao presented a report titled "Firmly March on the Path of

Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects.”

The 18th National Party Congress was of critical importance and held at a time when China was entering a decisive stage of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The key focus points of the Congress were:

- upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics;
- following the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development;
- emancipating the mind;
- implementing the policy of reform and opening up;
- pooling strength;
- overcoming all difficulties;
- firmly marching on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics;
- striving to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

Upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics remained the central topic throughout the Congress. At the Congress, it was stressed that, “the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the socialist system with Chinese characteristics are the fundamental accomplishments which have been made by the Party and people in over more than 90 years of arduous struggle. We must cherish these accomplishments, and always uphold them and enrich them.... Our work to build socialism with Chinese characteristics remains true to the reality that China is in the primary stage of socialism. Our overall approach is to promote economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress, and our general task is to achieve socialist modernization and national rejuvenation.” At the Congress one of the targets set was to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the time

of the CPC's centenary, and another was to build China into a modern socialist country which is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the time the People's Republic celebrates its centenary.

In consideration of China's actual economic and social development, the goal of finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects was set to ensure that:

- the economy maintained sustained and sound development;
- people's democracy was expanded;
- the country's cultural soft power was improved significantly;
- living standards were comprehensively raised;
- major progress was made in building a resource-conserving and environmentally friendly society.

It was emphasized at the Congress that in order to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China would have to muster greater political courage and vision, lose no time in deepening reform in key sectors and resolutely discard all notions and systems that hindered efforts to pursue development in a scientific way. China would have to set up a well-developed, scientific, procedure-based and effective framework of systems and ensure that institutions in all sectors were fully functioning.

In accordance with the five-sphere integrated plan¹ and the goal of completing the project to building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a comprehensive plan was made at the Congress to promote the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, with the focus on the following areas:

- accelerating the improvement of the socialist market economy and the transformation of the growth model;

¹ The five-sphere integrated plan is to promote coordinated economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological advancement.



• November 15, 2012, President Hu Jintao with Xi Jinping, newly elected General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Chairman of the Central Military Commission.

- keeping to the socialist path of making political advancements with Chinese characteristics and promoting the reform of the political structure;
- developing a strong socialist culture in China;
- strengthening social development by improving people's wellbeing and making innovations in management;
- making great efforts to promote ecological advancement;
- accelerating the modernization of national defense and the armed forces;
- enriching the practice of One Country, Two Systems and advancing China's reunification;
- continuing to promote the noble cause of peace and development

of humankind.

The following policy directions were also stressed at the Congress:

- comprehensively carrying out the great new undertaking of strengthening the Party in an innovative, reform-driven manner, while also making efforts to strengthen the Party so that it is scientific in all respects;
- focusing on strengthening the Party's governance capacity, advanced nature, and integrity;
- continuing to emancipate the mind and carry out reform and innovation;
- upholding the principle that the Party should supervise its own conduct and run itself with strict discipline;
- making an all-around effort to strengthen the Party theoretically and organizationally, and to improve conduct;
- become more capable of fighting corruption, upholding Party integrity and improving Party rules and regulations;
- enhancing the Party's capacity to purify, improve, and reform itself, and building the Party into an innovative, service-oriented and learning Marxist governing party; and
- ensuring that the Party will always act as solid leadership core, which is able to guide the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The 18th Central Committee and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were elected at the Congress. At the First Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, Zhang Dejiang, Yu Zhengsheng, Liu Yunshan, Wang Qishan, and Zhang Gaoli were elected as members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee Political Bureau, and Xi Jinping was chosen to become general secretary of the Central Committee; Xi Jinping was appointed chairman of the Central Military Commission; and Wang Qishan was approved as



- Xi Jinping is elected General Secretary of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

On November 15, 2012, while receiving Chinese and foreign journalists on behalf of the new central collective leadership, Xi Jinping solemnly stated, “Realizing the people’s desire for a happy life is our mission.... We must always be of one heart and mind with the people, share weal and woe with them, make a concerted and solid effort, attend to our duties day and night with diligence and strive to deliver a satisfactory performance in the eyes of history and the people.... To succeed we must be well prepared. Our responsibility is to work with all other Party members to uphold the principle that the Party should supervise its own conduct and run itself with strict discipline, effectively solve major internal issues, improve conduct, and maintain close ties

with the people. By doing so, we will ensure that our Party remains at the core of leadership in advancing the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.”

Revisions to the Constitution of the Communist Party of China

At the 18th National Party Congress, the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China proposed by the 17th Central Committee was deliberated and unanimously adopted.

The main revisions to the Party Constitution were as follows:

- The Scientific Outlook on Development was elaborated and established to be the Party’s guide to action along with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Theory of Three Represents;
- The main achievements of socialism with Chinese characteristics were expanded;
- The establishment of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, the blazing of the socialist path with Chinese characteristics, and the formation of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics were identified as the fundamental reasons for all of the achievements and progress which the Party had made since the introduction of the reform and opening up policy;
- The content on adherence to reform and opening up was enriched, emphasizing that only reform and opening up could develop China, socialism, and Marxism;
- The fundamentals of the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics were improved by incorporating ecological advancement;
- Content on advancing economic, political, cultural, and social progress was expanded.

- A paragraph on ecological advancement was added;
- Content on the overall requirements for strengthening the Party was enriched by putting forward new requirements for Party members, primary-level Party organizations, and Party officials.

These revisions to the Party Constitution, made at the 18th National Party Congress, ensured that its content was more appropriate and complete. They ensured that the Constitution could play a fundamental role in governing and guiding efforts to advance the Party's cause and improvement.

Proposing the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation

In order to continue to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics under new circumstances, it was necessary to rally strength, support the people spiritually, and guide them toward their goal.

It was on November 29, 2012, when visiting the exhibition "The Road of Rejuvenation," that Xi Jinping first proposed and elaborated the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation. He affirmed that "Achieving the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people since modern times. This dream embodies a long-cherished hope of several generations of Chinese people, reflects the overall interests of the Chinese nation, and is the shared aspiration of all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation."

The Chinese Dream, which is the story of the past, present, and future of the Chinese nation, conveys the determination and confidence of the new central collective leadership to undertake the mission of national rejuvenation.



- Members of the Standing Committee of the 18th CPC Central Committee Political Bureau visit the “The Road of Rejuvenation” exhibition at the National Museum of China on November 29, 2012.

At the First Session of the 12th NPC and on other important occasions Xi Jinping elaborated on what the Chinese Dream was about, how it should be achieved, and whose help the Party would need to realize it. He stated that:

- The central meaning of the Chinese Dream is the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and its key objectives are to make the country prosperous and strong, to rejuvenate the nation, and to bring happiness to the people;
- To realize the Chinese Dream, China must take its own path, which is the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics; China must foster the national spirit with patriotism at its core and the zeitgeist of reform and innovation; and China must gather its strength, which is the unified strength of all the Chinese people;
- The Chinese Dream is the dream of the country, of the nation, and

of every Chinese person;

- The Chinese Dream is the people's dream, so China needs its people to make it a reality, and must ensure they reap the benefits of it; and
- The Chinese Dream is a dream of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit which pursues the wellbeing of both the Chinese people and the people of all other countries.

Integrating the pursuits of the country, the aspirations of the nation, and the expectations of the people, the Chinese Dream embodies the overall interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, and expresses the shared vision of the sons and daughters of China. This dream is an anthem resounding in the hearts of all Chinese people, the greatest common ground, the widest possible inclusive circle for the concerted struggle of the Chinese nation, and the stirring spirit that inspires the sons and daughters of China to work together for the nation's future.

The Strategy of Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Socialism with Chinese characteristics has been central to all of the Party's theories and practices since the implementation of the reform and opening up policy. After the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee, with General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core united the whole Party and the Chinese people in an effort to continue to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics with great political courage and an unrelenting spirit of progress.

On January 5, 2013, at a seminar for new and alternate members of the Central Committee on understanding and implementing the guiding principles of the 18th National Party Congress, Xi Jinping firmly stated the need to unswervingly uphold and develop socialism with Chinese

characteristics. He affirmed that "Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the dialectical synergy of the theoretical logic of scientific socialism and the historical logic of China's social development. It is scientific socialism rooted in China's soil, reflecting the wishes of the Chinese people and well adapted to the development and progress of China and the times. It is the road we must follow to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, to accelerate socialist modernization and achieve national rejuvenation." Xi asserted that "Socialism with Chinese characteristics is indeed socialism and should not be confused with any other doctrine.... The basic principles of scientific socialism cannot be discarded; once discarded it would cease to be socialism." He argued that the two historical periods before and after the implementation of the reform and opening up policy were two interrelated yet significantly different periods. In any case, they both reflected practical explorations of socialist development by the Party as it led the people, and they were in no way separate from each other, let alone fundamentally opposed. Xi also pointed out that upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics was a considerable undertaking, and that the task of his generation of Communists was to take up the mantle in completing this herculean task.

These statements offered a clear explanation of the fundamental theoretical and practical issues of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and greatly enhanced the common understanding of the entire Party and the whole nation about the need to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics.

To uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics from a new starting point, the Party would have to prepare to carry out a great struggle against a backdrop of historical developments. To effectively lead this great struggle, the Party would have to strengthen itself.

On December 4, 2012, Xi Jinping presided over a meeting of the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee where the decision to further strengthen the Party, from the starting point of conduct, was discussed and adopted. The decision consisted of eight points which advised how to improve the Party and its conduct, and how to stay closer to the people. The new central collective leadership endeavored to implement the guiding principles of this document and set a good example in improving Party conduct, which greatly enhanced the image and standing of the Party in the eyes of the people.

After the 18th National Party Congress, reform and opening up reached a new historical juncture, a critical stage, and uncharted waters. The continued success of reform and opening up would depend on the Party's ability to usher in a new phase of governance and socialism with Chinese characteristics.

On December 7–11, 2012, in his first research tour outside Beijing since he was elected general secretary, Xi Jinping visited Guangdong—a pioneering province in China's reform and opening up program. In the face of challenges and deep-seated contradictions in development, he pointed out that as China's reform had now entered a critical stage and uncharted territory, the Party could not afford to lose any time in mustering the political courage and vision needed to deepen reform in key sectors. He stated that "We need to stick to the correct orientation of reform and opening up, grapple with the toughest problems, and brave the most treacherous waters. We must summon the courage to break through dogma, smash the barriers of entrenched interests, and never pause or falter in pressing ahead with reform and opening up."

The alleviation of poverty was a crucial prerequisite for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and so it constituted the first task on the agenda for the new central collective leadership. On the December 29 and 30, 2012, shortly after the closing of the 18th National Party Congress, Xi went to Fuping County, Hebei Province. While there,

he visited people in poverty, investigated the work of development-based poverty alleviation, listened to local work reports through the night, and lent a caring ear to local officials and the people. After learning more about the local situation, Xi concluded that “In finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, the biggest challenges present themselves in rural areas, and especially poverty-stricken areas. If moderate prosperity is not achieved in rural areas, and especially in poverty-stricken areas, it cannot be said that we have achieved moderate prosperity in all respects.” And so it was that Xi made a strategic plan for a war on poverty and issued a mobilization order to the whole Party and nation to fight poverty.

Shouldering its responsibility to the nation, to the people and to the



- Xi Jinping greets the residents of Yongmaoyu Village, Shiye Town, Dantu District, Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province on December 13, 2014.

Party, just one month after the 18th National Party Congress, the new central collective leadership led the nation on a journey into the new era with the overall goal of realizing the Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation. The leadership promoted the new project of strengthening the Party by improving conduct. They also promoted the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics with the fundamental motive of comprehensively deepening reform and opening up. This quickly ushered in a new phase for the cause of the Party and nation.

With the continuous deepening of reform and the development of various programs, reform and improvement efforts in various fields became increasingly comprehensive, systematic, and interrelated. It soon became clear to the Party leadership that isolated, piecemeal adjustments, and fragmented repair efforts were not the best means for achieving substantial results. Xi therefore pointed out the need to carefully consider how to best achieve top-level design and overall planning to comprehensively deepen structural reform; to better examine how different reforms are connected; how to integrate economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological structural reforms; and how to foster close links between theoretical, institutional, scientific, technological, and cultural innovation.

In the five years after the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee held seven plenary sessions at which decisions and plans were made on major issues such as reforms to government institutions and the transformation of their functions. The sessions also considered the comprehensive deepening of reform, the promotion of law-based governance in all respects, the ways to achieve moderately prosperous society in all respects, as well as comprehensive and strict Party self-governance. All aspects of the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-

pronged comprehensive strategy¹ were integrated and linked in mutual synergy. Theoretical and practical innovation enjoyed strong support.

Establishing General Secretary Xi Jinping as the Core of the Party

After the 18th National Party Congress, Xi Jinping led the new central collective leadership in carrying out the following steps with great political courage and a strong sense of responsibility:

- putting forward new ideas, new thinking, and new strategies;
- introducing major policies;
- launching major initiatives;
- promoting major tasks;
- solving various longstanding problems;
- accomplishing major programs;
- promoting historic achievements and changes in the Party and country; and
- advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics into a new era.

In such a new paradigm of governance, Xi, as the supreme leader of the Party, the state, and the military demonstrated firm faith and belief, a clear determination to stand on the side of the people, extraordinary political wisdom, a tenacious will, a strong sense of historical responsibility, and superb political leadership. He won the heartfelt support of the entire Party, the whole military, and the Chinese people, while receiving high praise from the international community.

Xi grasped the trend of the times and dealt with new issues pragmatically. He worked to meet the new expectations of the people. He also put forward a series of major ideas and views, which further enriched and developed the Party's scientific theory, while providing

¹ The four-pronged comprehensive strategy aims to make comprehensive moves to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, deepen reform, advance law-based governance, and strengthen Party self-governance.

the basic guidelines for achieving new goals at a new historical starting point. In the newest chapter of the Party's struggle, Xi had become the core of the Central Committee and the whole Party.

Before the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, a strong chorus of voices could be heard inside and outside the Party which called for the authority and centralized leadership of the Central Committee to be maintained, and underlined the consensus that it was imperative to establish and safeguard the position of Xi at the core of the Central Committee and the entire Party. To do so was the common desire of the whole Party and the Chinese people. It was a move which was essential to promote comprehensive and strict Party self-governance and improve the Party's creativity, cohesiveness, and competence. It was also the fundamental guarantee for the Party and country to maintain the correct direction for development.

After comprehensive deliberation at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee in October 2016, General Secretary Xi Jinping's position at the core of the Central Committee and the whole Party was established, and the concept of "the CPC Central Committee with General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core" was formally adopted. At the 19th National Party Congress in October 2017, the establishment of Xi as the core of the Central Committee and of the entire Party was written into the Party Constitution. The decision was a pragmatic response to actual conditions and answered the call of history, the whole party, and the people. It was exactly what the people expected and Xi was the man for the job.

Resolutely safeguarding the core role of General Secretary Xi and the authority and centralized leadership of the Central Committee was a major political achievement and an invaluable step after the 18th National Party Congress. The policy represented the common will of the entire Party, which had crystalized during its revolutionary training and

was of great and far-reaching significance for the Party and the people to concentrate their collective strength on advancing the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and national rejuvenation.

2. Promoting the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan

Entering the new era, the Central Committee, with General Secretary Xi at the core exercised overall leadership and took the right decisions. The Committee promoted coordinated economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress under socialism with Chinese characteristics, and pursued overall development and progress for socialism with Chinese characteristics. Over the five years following the 18th National Party Congress, China's reform, opening up and socialist modernization saw historic achievements and change.

Major Achievements in Economic Development

After the 18th National Party Congress, the economic situation at home and abroad was very complicated, and many novel situations arose that had not been encountered throughout the whole course of the implementation of the reform and opening up policy. In the face of such developments and challenges, the Central Committee assessed the situation and gained a full understanding of China's economic development trends. The Committee made a series of major decisions which resulted in the successful management of overall economic development in China, resulting in significant achievements in economic development.

China's ability to maintain sustainable and healthy economic and social development fundamentally depends on the ability of the Party's core leadership to fulfill its role in economic and social development. In November 2012, Xi pointed out that China should adhere to the

general work principle of making progress while maintaining stability to promote the sustainable and healthy development of China's economy. In December, it was categorically stated at the Central Economic Work Conference that the Party's leadership of economic work would have to be effectively strengthened.

After the conference, the Central Committee continued to improve the institutions and mechanisms to facilitate the Party's leadership over economic work, and so it was that a system for regular analysis and study of the economic situation and major economic issues took shape. The Committee strengthened the analysis and the general understanding of overall development. Major principles and strategies were swiftly formulated. Major decisions and plans for important work were taken. All of these measures ensured that the Party's leadership was followed with regard to economic work. The measures also provided an important guarantee for the promotion of overall economic work.

In August 2013, the State Council officially approved the establishment of the China (Shanghai) Pilot Free Trade Zone, which was soon gradually expanded. This resulted in a number of practices that could be replicated and applied in other areas. The free trade zone initiative expanded the space for reform and opening up, and increased the openness of the economy.

At its Third Plenary Session in November 2013, the 18th Central Committee made a comprehensive plan for deepening reform in all areas. The Committee emphasized that the core issue of economic reform lay in defining the relationship between the government and the market in such a way that the market could play a decisive role in the allocation of resources and the government's role would be more effective. This was a major theoretical breakthrough and innovation which pointed out the direction for deepening economic reform. Economic reform advanced on all fronts with breakthroughs in fundamental areas. The reforms

further improved the market mechanism, eliminated monopolies, brought the role of the price mechanism in to play, and revitalized business. The reforms gave the government a greater role in economic regulation, market supervision, social management, public services, and environmental protection. The state-owned sector was revitalized and its capacity to exercise control and influence and to mitigate risk was strengthened. The creativity of the private sector, too, was revitalized. The reforms had injected a strong dynamism into economic development.

In December 2013, the Central Urbanization Work Conference was held. The conference defined the guiding thought, main objectives, basic principles and key tasks for future urbanization. In March 2014, the Central Committee and the State Council issued and implemented the National New Urbanization Plan (2014–2020). At the end of 2014, the Central Committee adopted the Guidelines on the Pilot Reforms Relating to Rural Land Requisition, the Marketization of Rural Collective Land Designated for Business-Related Construction, and the System of Land Used for Rural Housing. In December 2015, the Central Urban Work Conference was held, in which the general principles and key tasks of urban work were identified. In October 2016, the General Office of the Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council issued the Guidelines on Improving Measures for Separating Land Ownership Rights, Contract Rights, and Management Rights. The separation of these rights was another major institutional breakthrough in rural reform following the introduction of the household contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output.

With economic growth slowing and the economic structure undergoing difficult structural adjustments as it assimilated previous stimulus packages, in 2013 President Xi asserted that China had entered a new normal of economic development. Under the new normal, the economy was shifting from a high to a medium-high rate of growth,

from a growth model which emphasized scale and rate to one that emphasized quality and efficiency, and from an economic structure in which economic growth was mainly fueled by increased industrial capacity to one in which existing capacity would be adjusted and new capacity would be added more efficiently. China's development was shifting from a model driven mainly by resources and a low-cost labor force to one driven by innovation.

The reforms were essential if China's economy was to benefit from a more optimal division of labor and a more rational structure. Achieving such extensive and profound changes was a new huge challenge. Gaining a better understanding of the new normal, ensuring that China was ready for it, and guiding that new normal were major tasks for China's economic development.

To adapt to, better understand, and successfully steer the new normal in economic development, it was necessary to further clarify the main direction of work. At its Fifth Plenary Session in October 2015, the 18th Central Committee considered and adopted the Recommendations for China's 13th Five-Year Plan, which clearly defined the people-centered development philosophy and vision for innovative, coordinated, green, open, and shared development. The new development philosophy reflected China's approach, direction, and focus for development in the new era. The new concept was of comprehensive, decisive, and far-reaching significance, and demonstrated a deepening of the Party's understanding of the laws governing economic and social development.

In November 2015, Xi put forward plans for supply-side structural reform at the 11th meeting of the Central Leading Group for Financial and Economic Affairs. The drive to ensure that supply-side structural reform could adapt to and lead the new economic normal was one of the Central Committee's major strategies. In December, in his speech at the Central Economic Work Conference, Xi elaborated on the theory and

implementation of supply-side structural reform. He emphasized the five major tasks of cutting overcapacity, reducing excess inventory, deleveraging, lowering costs, and strengthening areas of weakness. He made clear that macro-level policy should be consistent, industrial policy should be targeted, micro-level policy should inject dynamism into the market, reform policy should deliver outcomes, and social policy should ensure that basic living needs could be met.

With a focus on cutting overcapacity, reducing excess inventory, deleveraging, lowering costs, and strengthening areas of weakness, the Central Committee promoted supply-side structural reform. To redouble efforts to cut overcapacity in major areas such as the steel and coal industries, the central government made a 100-billion-yuan fund available to compensate and subsidize the resettlement of displaced workers.

The Central Committee followed the principle that housing ought to be for living in rather than a tool for speculation. Thanks to city-specific policies and category-specific guidance, clear progress was made in reducing commercial residential housing inventory in third and fourth-tier cities, and house price inflation in the most popular cities was brought under control. Active and prudent steps were taken to deleverage, to control the scale of debts, and to expand equity



• An outmoded blast furnace is dismantled at an iron foundry belonging to Baogang Steel Group in August 2016.

finance. The debt-to-asset ratio of industrial enterprises consistently declined. The macro leverage ratio increased by much smaller margins and remained generally stable. Trials were rolled out across every sector to replace business taxes with value-added tax (VAT).

A combination of measures was used to bring down costs. About 30 percent of government-managed funds and fees were cut; over 60 percent of the fees and charges levied on businesses by the central government were abolished; the ratio of enterprise contributions to pensions, medical insurance, unemployment insurance, and maternity insurance, workers' compensation, and housing provident fund schemes were temporarily reduced; and efforts were made to lower energy, logistics, and telecommunications costs. With a focus on key issues, efforts were stepped up to strengthen areas of weakness. These measures resulted in significant progress in supply-side structural reform.

After the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee adopted and implemented key strategies toward China's future development. The main strategies were:

- coordinated development for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region with a view to relieving Beijing of functions not essential to its role as the capital of China;
- the development strategy for the Yangtze River Economic Belt to strengthen environmental protection and avoid rapid growth at the cost of the environment;
- the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) for promoting win-win cooperation;
- the development strategy for the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area;
- the new urbanization strategy with a focus on quality urban development and well-rounded development for the people;
- the innovation-driven development strategy;
- the new national food security strategy highlighting basic grain

- self-sufficiency and absolute grain security; and
- the new energy security strategy to boost consumption, supply, and technological development in energy, reform the energy system, and strengthen international energy cooperation.

The Central Committee also achieved the following:

- developed and implemented the action plan to see China become a manufacturing power;
- set up state seed funds for investment in emerging industries;
- promoted big data development;
- implemented the Internet Plus action plan;
- accelerated the technological upgrading of traditional industries;
- sped up the fostering of emerging industries;
- moved faster to develop modern service industries;
- implemented the innovation-driven development strategy;
- focused on fostering new growth drivers;
- encouraged backbone enterprises to participate in overseas infrastructure construction and industrial cooperation; and
- helped bring Chinese equipment to the world.

These achievements had a profound impact on the transformation of China's economic development.

Under the correct guidance of the new development philosophy, the Central Committee adhered to the general work principle of making progress while maintaining stability, focused on promoting supply-side structural reform, and actively adapted to and led the new normal of economic development. As a result, great achievements were made in economic development, the economy maintained a medium-to-high-speed growth, and the quality and efficiency of development continued to improve.

From 2013 to 2017, the average annual growth of GDP exceeded 7 percent. In 2017, China's GDP reached 82.08 trillion yuan, comfortably

ranking second in the world and accounting for about 15 percent of the world economy. This made China's economy a major engine and anchor of world economic growth. Infrastructure construction picked up pace, agricultural modernization advanced steadily, and steady progress was made in urbanization.

New institutions of the open economy were steadily improved. China led the world in terms of foreign trade, outbound investment, and foreign exchange reserves. A number of significant scientific and technological landmark achievements were made in areas such as manned spaceflight, lunar exploration, quantum communication and deep-sea manned submersibles. New industries and new forms and models for business were becoming ever more important drivers to promote China's steady economic growth and economic structural transformation and upgrading. Growth became more inclusive. The people became more satisfied as steady progress became more apparent.

China's economic growth relied more on an industry-services combination as opposed to industry alone, and depended more on a consumption-investment combination rather than investment alone. China evolved from its former role as a nation driven predominantly by exports to an importer and exporter nation. The country achieved major and long sought-after structural change. China's economy became markedly stronger, revitalized and more resilient with an improved structure and an unprecedented greater influence over global economic development.

Significant Steps in Developing Democracy

The way China plans and accelerates the development of its socialist democracy plays a decisive, comprehensive, and far-reaching role in the nation's political life. China is a large developing country. Choosing the right path for political progress is therefore a fundamental and vital issue.

To mark the 30th anniversary of the promulgation of the current Constitution, on December 4, 2012, at a meeting in Beijing for people from all sectors of society, Xi outlined the core meaning of the socialist political path with Chinese characteristics. He emphasized that the key to keeping to this path lies in ensuring the unity of the leadership of the Party, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance, in expanding socialist democracy to promote socialist political progress by guaranteeing the position of the people, in enhancing the vitality of the Party and the country, and in mobilizing the enthusiasm of the people.

On September 5, 2014, at a conference to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the NPC, Xi further elaborated on the historical, theoretical and practical logic of the socialist political path with Chinese characteristics. He gave a comprehensive summary of the advantages and characteristics of the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics. Xi categorically stated that "The best way to evaluate whether a country's political system is democratic and efficient is to observe the extent to which the succession of its leadership is orderly and in line with the law, the extent to which all people can manage state affairs and social, economic and cultural affairs in conformity with legal provisions, and the degree to which the public can express their needs without hindrance. It also includes observing how far it can be said that all sectors of society are able to efficiently participate in the country's political affairs, the extent to which national decisions can be made in a rational, democratic way, how true it is that professionals in all fields can be part of the national leadership and administrative systems through fair competition, the degree to which the ruling Party can serve as a leader in state affairs in accordance with the constitution and other laws, and the extent to which the exercise of power can be kept under effective restraint and supervision."

After the 18th National Party Congress, with a view to amplifying

the strengths and traits of China's socialist democracy, the Central Committee stayed committed to the following policies:

- giving better play to the Party's core role of exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all;
- upholding the principle that all the power of the state belongs to the people;
- upholding and improving the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation;
- upholding and improving the system of regional ethnic autonomy;
- upholding and improving the system of community-level self-governance;
- upholding and improving the system and principle of democratic centralism;
- improving the institutions, standards, and procedures of socialist democracy; and
- maximizing the strengths of the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, so that the Party and nation can thrive and enjoy long-lasting stability.

The system of people's congresses continued to improve. China continued to ensure that its lawmaking would be more carefully planned and democratic with a focus on promoting law-based governance in all areas and the completion of the key task of improving the quality of legislation. In March 2015, at the Third Session of the 12th NPC, major revisions were made to the Legislation Law of the People's Republic of China, which granted cities divided into districts the power to make local laws, clarified the limits and scope of local legislation, and further improved China's legislative system.

The 12th NPC and its Standing Committee strengthened legislation in key areas. By September 2017, 22 new laws had been enacted, 110 laws had been revised, 37 decisions and resolutions on legal issues and major

problems had been adopted, and 9 legal interpretations had been made. These measures strengthened China's socialist system of laws with Chinese characteristics with the Constitution at its core.

The NPC continued to exercise appropriate and effective oversight to perform its supervision duties in accordance with the law. To meet the Central Committee's mandate that improvements should be made to the system in which people's congresses discuss and decide major issues, and to implement the policy in which people's governments at all levels report to people's congresses at the same level before publishing major policy decisions, the NPC endeavored to guarantee that people's congresses properly deliberated and decided major issues and optimized their capabilities as organs of state power. Work related to NPC deputies continued to evolve and expand. The proportion of frontline workers, farmers, and professional and technical personnel as well as the number of deputies from rural migrant workers in the NPC increased. Deputies performed their duties in accordance with the law. Their attendance at the meetings of the NPC Standing Committee, participation in law enforcement inspections, and participation in the activities of special committees and working committees become more consistent. Channels for expressing and reflecting public opinion were further broadened.

Socialist consultative democracy developed extensively in a multilevel and institutionalized manner. Consultative democracy is unique to China's socialist democracy. It is an institutional arrangement that effectively ensures that it is the people who run the country. In early 2015, the Central Committee issued the Guidelines on Strengthening Socialist Consultative Democracy. The Guidelines represented a top-level systematic design for the development path of consultative democracy. The document defined seven forms of consultative democracy—consultation carried out by political parties, people's congresses, government departments, CPPCC committees, people's

organizations, communities, and social organizations. The Guidelines saw new breakthroughs in the development of extensive, multilevel and institutionalized consultative democracy, greatly enriched the forms of democracy, and broadening its channels for application.

In the five years between the 18th and the 19th national Party congress, the Central Committee held, or commissioned relevant departments to hold, more than 110 deliberative forums and briefings. Xi presided over or attended more than 20 of these.

New headway was made in the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC. In May 2015, the Central Committee promulgated the Provisional Regulations of the Communist Party of China on United Front Work. The Regulations held that “participating in political consultation under the leadership of the CPC” was one of the basic functions of other political parties while also assigning them the duty of “participation in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, democratic oversight, and participation in CPC-led political consultation.”

From November 2012 to November 2017, the central committee of each of the other political parties reflected on their own characteristics and strengths and organized experts and scholars to conduct in-depth research on major issues such as promoting supply-side structural reform, deepening new urbanization initiatives, pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, promoting scientific and technological development and innovation, and revitalizing and upgrading the real economy. Altogether the parties submitted 496 proposals and suggestions to the Central Committee and State Council. Suggestions such as accelerating the development of the Pingtan Comprehensive Experimental Zone and scientifically setting the GDP growth rate for the 13th Five-Year Plan period were incorporated into major policy decisions of the Party and nation.

The CPPCC carried out democratic consultation throughout the performance of its functions, bolstered efforts to promote democracy and enhance unity and shouldered its dual responsibility of offering suggestions and guaranteeing a consensus. The Consultative Conference improved its role as a dedicated consultative body.

The CPPCC National Committee implemented the CPC Central Committee's major reform initiatives toward improving the CPPCC's consultative democracy. The CPPCC National Committee also built an effective system for consultation and deliberation in which plenary sessions of the National Committee would play a leading role, special meetings of the Standing Committee and special consultative meetings would be an essential part, and biweekly consultative forums, consultative meetings with Party and government departments, and consultative meetings on the handling of proposals would form a part of regular proceedings. These initiatives energized the initiative and creativity of CPPCC National Committee members in their participation in the deliberation and administration of state affairs.

After the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee attached great importance to the economic and social development of areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities. It was in such a spirit that the system of regional ethnic autonomy was fully implemented. The Central Committee improved differentiated regional policies, strengthened the system of transfer payments, and improved paired assisted development between more developed and less developed areas. The Committee implemented plans for developing areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities or ethnic groups with smaller populations, alongside an action plan to bring prosperity to border areas and their residents so as to ensure that ethnic minorities and areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities could join the nation in overall prosperity and modernization.

The Central Committee carefully implemented the Party's policies on ethnic and religious affairs by upholding ethnic unity and progress through deepened communication and education, and by helping ethnic groups come together in stronger unity. The Central Committee guided people of all ethnic groups to enhance their sense of Chinese national identity, and their identification with the Chinese nation, Chinese culture, and the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, so as to create a keener sense of cultural unity.

Regulations in support of the Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy were steadily strengthened, the system of laws and regulations concerning ethnic affairs was continuously improved, and the system of regional ethnic autonomy showed increasingly greater vitality and maturity, so that governance capabilities with regard to ethnic affairs were effectively modernized.

Self-governance at the primary level was thriving. The public



- Villagers vote at a meeting on the transfer of an old residence in Houhuang Village, Licheng District, Putian, Fujian Province in March 2015.

were widely and directly involved in the administration of social affairs through villagers', residents', and workers' congresses. Village rules and regulations or villagers' self-governance statutes were formulated in most rural areas, and residents' rules or statutes of self-governance were formulated in most urban communities. The system of community-level self-governance, with residents' self-governance at its core and democratic elections, democratic consultation, democratic decision-making, democratic management and democratic oversight playing essential roles, was established and constantly improved. The public participated in political activity at all levels and in all sectors in an orderly manner. Community-level democracy came to play an increasingly important role.

The Patriotic United Front drive continued to gather speed and develop. The Central Committee held the Central Conference on United Front Work, the Central Conference on Ethnic Affairs, the National Conference on Religious Affairs, the Second Forum on Xinjiang Affairs, the Sixth Central Conference on Tibet Affairs, and the National Conference on United Front Work for New Social Strata. The Central Committee promulgated the Provisional Regulations of the Communist Party of China on United Front Work, the Party's first intraparty regulations on the United Front, and a number of normative documents. The United Front continued to innovate, develop and grow in strength and play important role in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Significant Advances on the Theoretical and Cultural Fronts

Culture is the soul of the nation. A country will only thrive when its culture does, too, and a nation's strength depends on the strength of its culture. China's confidence in its path, its theories, and its system is inseparable from the confidence it has in its own culture. At the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences on May 17, 2016, Xi Jinping stated

that “A nation’s confidence in its culture is its essential, underlying and enduring strength.” The 33rd group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th Central Committee on June 28, saw Xi put forward four kinds of confidence, in the path, theories, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which crystalized the importance of cultural confidence. The Central Committee emphasized the importance of strengthening cultural confidence as a means to stay true to the socialist path of cultural advancement with Chinese characteristics and to stimulate the cultural innovation and creativity of the whole nation.

The Party’s leadership of ideological work underwent profound change. As people’s thinking became noticeably more independent, selective, changeable and diverse, and as profound changes were taking place in public opinion, in the media, and in the means of communication, ideological work at home and abroad became increasingly complex.

In order to strengthen and improve public communication work, from 2013 to 2016, the Central Committee held a national public communication conference, a seminar on literature and art, a seminar on the Party’s media work, a seminar on cybersecurity and IT applications, a seminar on philosophy and social sciences, a national conference on Party schools and a national conference on political and ideological education at institutions of higher learning. At these conferences, Xi delivered a series of major speeches, providing profound answers to major theoretical and practical questions concerning public communication and cultural work for the conditions of the new era.

The Central Committee then laid a series of major plans. The Committee introduced the Guidelines on Integrating Traditional and Emerging Media, the Guidelines on Improving Internet Content, the Measures for Holding Party Committees or Leading Party Members’ Groups Responsible for Ideological Work, and other documents.

Thanks to unremitting efforts, a positive ideological environment was built up, which encouraged officials to be bold in their undertaking of responsibilities, to take an unequivocal stance in their decisions, to become confident in their right to lead, coordinate and speak freely about work—an environment in which their minds drawn closer together in unity.

The guiding position of Marxism in China's socialist ideology underwent further consolidation. Party organizations and government departments at all levels took effective measures to improve the system of Marxist theoretical education. The organizations prioritized the achievement of a sounder understanding of the guiding principles from General Secretary Xi's major speeches, his new ideas, new thinking in general, and new strategies for governance in addition to pursuing more effective means for their implementation. They deepened their understanding and developed education on socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Chinese Dream. Great achievements were made in theoretical training, and China's underlying values enjoyed a greater appeal than ever before, as a palpable wave of positive energy was growing throughout society, alongside greater unity in thinking both within the Party and in society at large.

The Party continued to cultivate and observe core socialist values. At its 18th National Congress, the Party held that members "should promote prosperity, democracy, civility, and harmony, uphold freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law and advocate patriotism, dedication, integrity, and friendship, so as to cultivate and observe core socialist values." In December 2013, the General Office of the Central Committee issued the Guidelines on Cultivating and Practicing Core Socialist Values, which called for the integration of these values into the whole process of national education, the practice of economic development, and social governance.

Patriotic education activities and public campaigns to promote cultural and ethical progress were carried out throughout society. Core socialist values were incorporated into the national education system. Efforts were made to include core socialist values in the curriculum as a central framework for student thought. Major ceremonial activities were elevated to the national level.

The state established September 3 as Victory Day in the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. December 13 became National Memorial Day for the Nanjing Massacre Victims, and September 30 marked Martyrs' Day. In December 2015, the Central Committee issued the Guidelines on Establishing a Sound System for Party and State Awards and Honors. The Standing Committee of the NPC adopted the Law of the People's Republic of China on State Medals and Honorary Titles. By affirming the historical merits of models and setting standards, China encouraged the establishment of a positive environment throughout society in which virtuous people are emulated, heroes are esteemed, and role models guide the way.

A program to preserve and develop excellent traditional Chinese culture was carried out to promote the creative transformation and innovative development of China's cultural heritage. More classic literature, opera, and calligraphy were taught in schools and incorporated into the national curriculum. Various regions took steps to put to good use cultural artifacts in museums, heritages sites and Chinese characters in ancient books so that they could play a crucial role in carrying forward fine Chinese culture traditions.

Cultural undertakings and cultural industries flourished, which in turn guaranteed rich intellectual nourishment. Social benefits were made a priority and pursued in tandem with economic returns. A new round of cultural sector reforms got into full swing. In March 2017, the Law of the People's Republic of China on Guaranteeing Public Cultural

Services came into force, providing legal protections for people's basic cultural rights. The modern cultural industry and the system of markets for cultural goods were revamped. The cultural sector maintained a fast growth rate despite the mounting downward economic pressure. By the end of 2017, 3.47 trillion yuan of value was added to China's cultural sector, which accounted for 4.2 percent of GDP. Coordinated progress was made in cultural exchanges, cultural trade with foreign countries and the promotion of Chinese culture, and there was an increasing drive to bring Chinese culture to the world.

Steady Improvement in People's Lives

In the new era, economic and social development improved, which raised people's living standards and expectations. Their everyday needs became increasingly complex and diversified, and the task of safeguarding and improving people's sense of wellbeing became increasingly complex. The Central Committee remained committed to putting people first and ensuring that people's wellbeing remained the fundamental purpose of development. The Committee developed areas of weakness and achieved groundbreaking results in its bid to guarantee access to childcare, education, employment, medical services, elderly care, housing, and social assistance. The fruits of reform and development were enjoyed by all and enjoyed fairly.

Employment is an essential factor for people's wellbeing, so it is a matter of the utmost importance that must be handled well.

In the face of structural employment pressure, the Central Committee prioritized raising employment and implemented a more proactive employment policy. The Committee introduced preferential policies for startups, developed vocational education and training, and intensified efforts to stabilize employment in enterprise. Over 13 million urban jobs were created on average each year between 2013 and 2017. The registered

unemployment rate in urban areas remained low. The employment structure continued to improve, with tertiary industry creating more jobs than any other sector. Employment in urban areas increased from 48.4 percent in 2012 to 53.4 percent in 2016. The number of employed persons in urban areas exceeded that of rural areas, a situation which represented an historic transformation of the rural-urban employment pattern. It became clear that more people in central and western regions were finding work locally or starting their own businesses close to home. Party committees and local governments improved mechanisms for coordinating labor relations and resolving conflicts. They worked resolutely to prevent employment discrimination, established long-term mechanisms for resolving cases of wage arrears owed to migrant workers, and promoted harmonious labor relations throughout society.

Income is a source of people's wellbeing. The Party and government adhered to the principle of distribution according to work and strove to expand the channels for residents to make work-based earnings and property income. They improved the institutions and mechanisms for distribution based on factors of production. While working to see that individual incomes grew in step with economic development, and that pay rises grew in tandem with increases in labor productivity, the Party and government narrowed the income distribution gap by increasing the income of low and middle-income earners, regulating excessive income, and combatting illegal income. This made income distribution more equitable and orderly. By reforming and improving the income distribution system, the Party and government ensured that individual incomes grew in step with the rate of economic development, and increases in remuneration were accompanied by increases in labor productivity. From 2013 to 2017, the national per capita disposable income increased from 18,311 yuan to 25,974 yuan. In 2017, the ratio of per capita disposable income of urban and rural residents was 2.71,

down 0.17 from 2012.

Education is of cardinal importance. For hundreds of millions of families, education is the promise for a better life, and so strengthening education is fundamental to Chinese people's pursuit of national rejuvenation. The Central Committee deepened education reforms by implementing the fundamental campaign to foster virtue through education, while striving to build an education system that ensures well-rounded development of students by providing them with a sound moral grounding, aesthetic sensibility, and work skills and making them intellectually and physically strong. The main framework of the socialist education system with Chinese characteristics had taken shape.

From 2012, the total government spent on education was maintained at over 4 percent of GDP. Extensive effort was made to comprehensively improve the conditions of schools providing compulsory education in poorer areas, to improve the nutrition of rural students receiving compulsory education, and to provide financial aid for students of all levels of education. In this way fairer education was guaranteed. Governments at all levels continued to expand the coverage of quality educational resources, as they worked hard to address the public's concerns about excessively large numbers of students vying to enroll in popular schools and the shortage of preschools.

In 2017, gross enrollment in preschool education reached 79.6 percent, and the net enrollment rate of primary school-age children reached 99.91 percent. The gross enrollment rate for junior secondary school reached 103.5 percent, and the retention rate of nine-year compulsory education was 93.8 percent. The gross enrollment rate of senior secondary school education reached 88.3 percent. More than 90 percent of children with disabilities had access to education, and more than 80 percent of children living with migrant worker parents were enrolled in public schools in their cities of residence. The gross

enrollment rate of higher education reached 45.7 percent, bringing China closer to universal higher education. Teaching was greatly strengthened, and the establishment of a complete system for improving teachers' ethics covering primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education was accelerated.

Social security is another foundation of wellbeing. Instituting a complete, multi-tiered and sustainable system for providing basic social security for both the urban and rural population, social security system reforms were continuously deepened and the largest social security system in the world was completed. Basic old-age insurance schemes for rural residents and non-working urban residents were established in all areas. Old-age insurance reform in Party and government departments was promoted. Basic old-age insurance funds for employees of enterprises under central regulation were established. Measures were taken to manage investment operations of old-age insurance funds. The social security system was made significantly fairer and more sustainable.

In 2017, the number of urban workers participating in basic old-age insurance schemes stood at 401.99 million, the number of rural residents and non-working urban residents participating in basic old-age insurance schemes was 512.55 million, and the number of urban and rural residents participating in basic medical insurance schemes was 1.17664 billion. Universal coverage was effectively realized. The number of people participating in the unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, and maternity insurance schemes each reached about 200 million, and represented the majority of occupational groups. Through efforts, a multilevel social security system covering rural residents and urban non-working residents was gradually established.

The Healthy China initiative was carried out nationwide. During the August 2016 National Health Conference, Xi stressed the need to

prioritize public health, quicken the implementation of the Healthy China initiative, and strive to safeguard public health at all times. At the conference, a health work principle was established which prioritizes reform and innovation driven community-level health work and focuses on disease prevention, while developing both traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, incorporating healthcare into all policies, and ensuring that the public do their part and reap the benefits.

In October, the Central Committee and State Council issued the Healthy China 2030 Plan, a comprehensive plan for the Healthy China initiative. In accordance with this principle and plan, and against the backdrop of reforms to medical and health care system, coordinated reforms to medical care, medical insurance, and medicine were carried out, raising public disease prevention and control awareness. Measures were taken to shift the focus from treating ailments to improving healthcare management.

The Party developed and strengthened new approaches to social governance with a focus on creating new institutions. The Party stayed true to the socialist path of social governance with Chinese characteristics. The advantages of the Party's leadership and of China's socialist system were leveraged to strengthen the nation's social governance. The socialist system of social governance continued to improve. The law-based social governance model under which Party committees exercise leadership, the government assumes responsibility, non-governmental actors provide assistance, and the public get involved was effectively realized. A framework for social governance based on collaboration, participation, and common interests was put in place. The focus of social governance was shifted to the community level, which was followed by a focus on resources, services, and management. By strengthening community-level grid-based service

management and making comprehensive use of advanced technologies such as big data and artificial intelligence, an all-round and multifaceted crime prevention and control system was established. Society became better able to predict and prevent public security risks. The management system for social organizations was reformed to promote healthy and orderly development, and in such a way as would make social organizations play a more effective role. Government's administration on the one hand, and society's self-regulation alongside self-governance on the part of citizens on the other, began to reinforce each other. The risk of violent terrorist attacks was effectively prevented and controlled through a special campaign to crack down on violent terrorist activity.

Notable Progress in Promoting Ecological Conservation

After the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee, with General Secretary Xi Jinping at its core made ecological progress an integral part of the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy. Based on the policy which holds that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, the Central Committee contributed to historic, watershed changes in ecological and environmental protection in China.

An eco-friendly environment means wellbeing for all. After more than 30 years of sustained and rapid development, environmental problems that had accumulated over the years were rife in some areas. Such problems were not merely a major concern with a bearing on the Party's mission and purpose, but they were also major social issue which could impact the wellbeing of the people.

To promote ecological conservation, it is imperative to have the strictest possible institutions and legislation in place. At the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee in November 2013, "structural

reform to promote eco-civilization” was included in the greater reform project. It was proposed that reform should be deepened to promote eco-civilization, with a focus on the Beautiful China initiative; to move faster to set up a system for eco-civilization; to improve institutions and mechanisms for developing territorial space, conserving resources and protecting the ecological environment; and to promote modernization in which man and nature exist together in harmony.

In 2015, the Central Committee and State Council issued the Guidelines on Accelerating Eco-Civilization and the Integrated Reform Plan for Promoting Eco-Civilization. These documents comprehensively and systematically set out the overall objectives, basic concepts, major principles, key tasks, and institutional safeguards for eco-civilization. They mandated that a complete system for promoting eco-civilization with clearly defined property rights, diversified participation, and an equal focus on incentives and restraints should be established by 2020. It was under the guidance of such top-level planning that institution building toward eco-civilization was carried out across the board and deepened steadily with a series of major breakthroughs.

Eco-civilization cannot be effectively promoted without vigorous ecological and environmental supervision. After the 18th National Party Congress, serious cases of ecological damage were investigated and punished. The Central Committee made it clear that both the Party and the government should assume responsibility for ecological and environmental protection, and that it would be the responsibility of officials to promote eco-civilization.

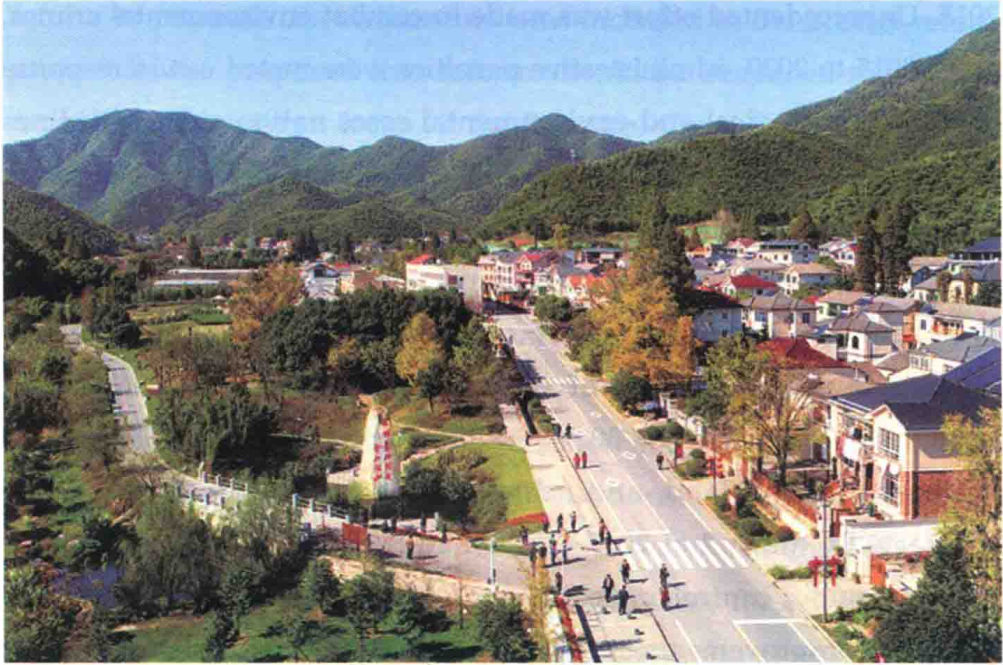
From 2015 to 2020, two rounds of central ecological and environmental protection inspection was carried out. These inspections played a key role in solving outstanding ecological and environmental problems and promoting high-quality economic development. The new Environmental Protection Law was the “strictest in history,” and came into force in

2015. Unprecedented effort was made to combat environmental crimes. From 2015 to 2020, administrative penalties were meted out in response to 930,600 ecological and environmental cases nationwide, with fines amounting to 57.864 billion yuan.

Following a shift in focus from protection to restoration, the Party bore the idea that protecting and improving the environment meant protecting and developing the productive forces firmly in mind and worked to shore up areas of weakness. From 2013 to 2017, China increased afforestation by 30.667 million hectares, tended 42.5 million hectares of forest land, and achieved 21.66 percent national forest coverage. By the end of 2017, China had brought 8.4 million hectares of desert under control, generally contained desertification, and made significant improvements in key target areas. Deserts were reduced by an annual average of 1,980 square kilometers, putting an end to their historical spread.

The proportion of state-controlled Class I–III surface water increased to 67.9 percent, and the proportion of water bodies lower than Class V fell to 8.3 percent. Water quality in the main streams of major rivers steadily improved. In 2017, the average concentration of fine particulate matter (PM_{2.5}) in cities at and above the prefectural level was 22.7 percent lower than the 2013 level. PM_{2.5} concentrations in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Pearl River Delta had fallen by 39.6 percent, 34.3 percent, and 27.7 percent, respectively.

In a bid to further promote eco-civilization policy direction, systems for developing and protecting territorial space and territorial space planning were steadily improved. All regions were required to implement functional zoning plans, promote development in strict accordance with the positioning of functional zones, and optimize spatial layout for development. In August 2015, the State Council issued the National Plan for Marine Functional Zones, extending China's functional



- Yu Village, Anji County, Zhejiang Province, an impressive example of green development featuring sound ecosystems, thriving businesses, and affluence.

zoning strategy to cover all of its land and sea territory. The Central Committee encouraged simple, moderate, green, and low-carbon living. Eco-friendly practices in families, schools, communities, shopping malls, and buildings were promoted extensively.

Mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes and grasslands were treated as a community of life, and the protection of ecosystems was strengthened across the board. A series of important measures were introduced: a total moratorium was placed on the commercial logging of natural forests, desertified land was closed off on a trial basis as a protective measure, efforts to return marginal farmland to forest or grassland and return grazing land to grassland were increased, new reclamation was totally ceased, and there was a promotion of national scale greening strategies. These were carried out so that important ecological function areas such as forests, grasslands and wetlands could lie fallow. The system of river and lake officers was put in place for the

management of rivers and lakes nationwide. Regulations on incentives for environmental conservation were extended to cover key sectors and important regions. Incentives were made to be commensurate with economic and social development. Pilot transregional and transbasin initiatives for ecological compensation were carried out. An operational mechanism took shape to ensure compensation for ecological damage, payment from beneficiaries, and reasonable compensation for ecological protection.

China actively participated in global environmental and climate governance. The nation took the lead by publishing China's National Plan on Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and implementing the National Plan for Tackling Climate Change (2014–2020).

In December 2015, China actively promoted the Paris Agreement, a historic consensus which had been reached at the UN Climate Change Conference in Paris. During the G20 Hangzhou Summit in 2016, on behalf of the Chinese government President Xi formally handed over the instrument to ratify China's entrance into the Paris Agreement to the United Nations. China actively undertook its international obligations on biodiversity conservation while championing global environmental governance. China's concept and strategy for eco-civilization was widely recognized by the international community.

Environmental problems are a result of development models and ways of life. The formation of a green development model was accelerated to fight the problems of the day. The amount of available resources and the intensity of their usage were controlled. The red line for water resources was strictly adhered to. The scale of land designated for construction projects was strictly controlled. A revolution in energy production and consumption was promoted. Adjustments to the energy structure were accelerated. China became the world's largest user of new

and renewable energy.

Comprehensive resource conservation was successfully promoted, and the intensity of energy and resource consumption dropped significantly. Ecological and environmental protection standards were greatly improved, forcing traditional industries to upgrade and reform. China continued to phase out backward production practices and excess capacity that caused heavy environmental pollution, consumed large quantities of resources and had no hope of meeting environmentally friendly standards. China accelerated the development of energy-saving and environmentally friendly industries and the circular economy. Through the development of green credit, green bonds, green insurance and other green financial products, trials for trading carbon emission and pollution discharge rights were carried out. More private capital was guided toward green industries. Major environmental protection infrastructure, ecological protection and restoration projects, and beautiful countryside initiatives became the most sought after investments.

Along with the continuous promotion of green development, green living became a common consensus and common pursuit. The Central Committee encouraged simple, moderate, green, and low-carbon living while staunchly opposing extravagance, excess, and unreasonable consumption. The Committee led the way toward healthy green living. The supply of green products and services increased. The sharing economy, service leasing, second-hand trading and other new forms of business flourished. Energy-saving and environmentally friendly recycled products were favored by consumers, and initiatives such as cleaning your plate and low-carbon travel received a positive response throughout society.

The national education and training system gave much greater prominence to efforts to protect ecosystems, resources, and the

environment. The Party and nation became more active in the promotion of green development, and the former trend of neglecting ecological and environmental protection was turned around.

3. Pursuing Coordinated Implementation of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy

The Introduction of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy

The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee convened in November 2013 to develop plans for comprehensively deepening reform. The Session issued a decision on the major issues concerned, which defined the orientation, targets, and tasks of reform for that time and the period ahead. In October 2014, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee was convened to study the rule of law. It adopted the resolution on major issues concerning the comprehensive advancement of law-based governance, which defined the strategies and major tasks for law-based governance in China. The Fourth Plenary Session's resolution complemented the decision of the Third Plenary Session. Like the wheels of a chariot or the wings of a bird, reform and the rule of law would move China forward in the cause of finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. As its practices evolved, the Party was continuously deepening its understanding of the laws of governance.

During an inspection tour in Jiangsu in December 2014, not long after the Fourth Plenary Session, Xi Jinping first mentioned the need for coordinated progress on the four tasks of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, deepening reform, advancing law-based governance, and exercising full and rigorous self-governance of the Party.

In February 2015, in an important speech at a seminar for provincial- and ministerial-level officials on applying the guiding principles of the Fourth Plenary Session to advance the rule of law in China, Xi defined these four tasks as a four-pronged comprehensive strategy, with each element having vital importance for China's overall development. These four constituent parts complemented, supported, and reinforced each other, and formed an organic whole with an internal logic and linkages based on integrated goals and measures. By encapsulating China's principal contradictions and their primary facets, the four-pronged comprehensive strategy accorded with materialist dialectics and became an overarching guide for national governance in the new context.

As the third and fourth plenary sessions were dedicated to deepening reform and advancing the rule of law, the Central Committee accordingly devoted its fifth plenary session to building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and its sixth to exercising full and rigorous self-governance of the Party.

At the Fifth Plenary Session in October 2015, the Party proposed a new philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and shared development, based on the deep understanding it had acquired of the new normal in economic development. At the session, the CPC adopted the Recommendations for the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, which laid out the thinking, direction, and priorities of the country's development efforts during the 13th Five-Year Plan period based on the new development philosophy.

In October 2016, the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee was convened to study the issue of exercising full and rigorous self-governance of the Party. This session put forth basic principles for ensuring earnest intraparty political activities, comprehensively purifying the political environment, and improving the system of oversight within the Party in the new context. It provided

an important systemic guarantee for exercising full and rigorous self-governance of the Party.

The four-pronged comprehensive strategy was developed as a general approach to national governance with consideration for the newest trends in China's development. Aimed at fundamental, overarching, and pressing issues, it represented a top-level design for promoting reform, opening up, and modernization, and articulated strategic goals and measures for the development of the cause of the Party and the country over the long term. By pursuing coordinated implementation of the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy, the Party demonstrated that it had reached new heights in its understanding of the laws governing the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Finishing Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

Building a moderately prosperous society in all respects occupied a leading position in the four-pronged comprehensive strategy. The CPC Central Committee led the whole Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in striving to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the year 2020, a goal set forth at the 18th National Party Congress. This goal was not just about "a society of moderate prosperity," but more importantly about "moderate prosperity in all respects," which is arguably more difficult to achieve. Building a moderately prosperous society in all respects would be impossible if there was not prosperity for all.

Rural areas were the key to achieving moderate prosperity in China. Rural areas, especially poor rural areas, represented the area of greatest weakness in the endeavor to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Xi Jinping pointed out that "Poverty is not socialism. If

poor areas remain poor, if the state of these areas remains unchanged, and if living standards remain unimproved over the long term, then the socialist system will have failed to demonstrate its superiority, and what we see will not in fact be socialism.” He also declared, “With greater resolve, more focused approaches, and more powerful steps, we must take extraordinary measures to win the fight against poverty, ensuring that all rural residents falling below China’s current poverty line are lifted out of poverty, that all poor counties bid farewell to poverty, and that poor regions alleviate poverty as a whole.”

Following the 18th CPC National Congress, the Central Committee opened a new phase in poverty alleviation, marked by a major boost in spending and the development of new approaches. Poverty alleviation initiatives needed to emphasize targeted measures if they were to succeed. Only by applying the right approaches, based on differentiated policies for different people and localities, and for different causes and types of poverty, would initiatives be effective and poverty be eliminated at its roots. In November 2013, during a tour of Hunan Province, Xi Jinping first introduced the concept of targeted poverty reduction and stressed the principles of following a fact-based approach, acting in accordance with local conditions, and taking differentiated and targeted measures. This concept marked an important transition in China’s efforts to eliminate poverty.

As targeted measures took effect, a succession of new breakthroughs were attained in the poverty reduction cause. The Recommendations for the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, which were adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, made lifting the impoverished rural population out of poverty the fundamental benchmark for moderate prosperity in all respects. The Recommendations stated that the key to finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects was to address the

weaknesses in economic and social development as quickly as possible so as to ensure that by the year 2020, all rural residents falling below China's current poverty line would be lifted out of poverty, that all poor counties would bid farewell to poverty, and that poor regions would alleviate poverty as a whole. Thereafter, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the Decision on Winning the Critical Battle against Poverty, which required that all rural poor populations would have their basic living needs met and have access to compulsory education, basic medical services, and housing by the year 2020. On this basis, it called for a high-degree of precision in six areas, namely identifying target groups, designing projects, using funds, implementing measures, assigning first secretaries in consideration of local needs, and setting desired outcomes. In answer to the crucial questions of who exactly should receive assistance, who should provide it and how, and what standards should be applied for exiting poverty, the decision set out five key



• Xi Jinping chats with residents in Shibadong Village, Paibi Township, Huayuan County, Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province, on November 3, 2013.

measures through which people would be lifted out of poverty, namely increased production, relocation, ecological compensation, education, and subsistence allowance policies. This sounded the start of a general offensive on the toughest problems in poverty alleviation.

In this period, China stepped up efforts to reduce poverty through the development of local industries. To boost vitality and momentum in poor areas, it developed distinctive local industries, tourism, photovoltaic power facilities, e-commerce, and other industries. It also promoted ecological conservation, returned marginal farmland to forest or grassland, and relocated people from inhospitable areas, steps that brought substantial environmental improvements in poor regions, yielding victories for China in both environmental protection and poverty alleviation. Development of infrastructure and public services led to overall improvements in the conditions in poor areas, with particularly striking enhancements in rural infrastructure. Community-level governance and management capacities in poor regions were raised, and primary-level Party organizations in rural areas became more cohesive and creative in carrying out poverty screening, facilitating people's exit from poverty, and implementing poverty alleviation projects. The practices of assigning the first secretaries to CPC village committees and stationing work teams in villages helped to improve officials' competence and strengthen personnel training in rural areas. By the end of 2017, the government had assigned 435,000 first secretaries and stationed 2.78 million officials in villages. China's rural poor population decreased by more than 68 million, with 8.3 million people being relocated from inhospitable areas, and the poverty headcount ratio dropping from 10.2 percent in 2012 to 3.1 percent.

To ensure poverty alleviation progressed smoothly, the CPC Central Committee gave full play to the principal and guiding role of government investment, and leveraged the strengths of governments at

all levels and all sectors of society. It intensively encouraged coordination between the western and eastern regions, dedicated support from Party and government organizations, and poverty alleviation assistance from the People's Liberation Army, the People's Armed Police, and the non-government sector. A model for poverty alleviation under which government projects, industry support, and public participation complemented each other was established. This increased financial investment in poverty reduction, encouraged capital market support for the development of poor areas, and attracted non-government investment, thus boosting the level of investment in poverty alleviation through diverse channels. By January 2017, 267 developed counties (including county-level cities and districts) in the eastern region had provided dedicated support to 390 poor counties in the western region, which helped to both promote poverty alleviation in the western region and coordinated regional development. By the end of 2017, 46,200 private enterprises had provided assistance to 51,200 villages. These enterprises invested 52.7 billion yuan in poverty alleviation industries, and donated 10.9 billion yuan to charities related to poverty alleviation, benefiting 6.2 million people registered as living below the poverty line.

Expanding the middle-income group was also crucial in the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. While setting forth the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, the 16th CPC National Congress also defined the task of increasing the proportion of middle-income earners. The 17th and 18th national congresses reiterated this notion in the respective statements that "middle income earners should account for the majority" and "middle-income groups should keep growing." This task was also stressed at the third and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th Central Committee, which were dedicated to comprehensively deepening reform and formulating the 13th Five-Year Plan. To fulfill this task, the Party and government defined

priorities in theoretical and practical innovation and formulated a series of new policies. Thanks to unremitting efforts, the size of China's middle-income group increased significantly to become the largest in the world with over 400 million people.

Major Breakthroughs in Comprehensively Deepening Reform

The task of comprehensively deepening reform was the key link in the four-pronged comprehensive strategy, playing a pioneering and guiding role. On entering a new era, the CPC Central Committee launched an all-inclusive push to deepen reform. As reform began to fire on all cylinders, numerous breakthroughs were made, and rapid but steady steps were taken into new territory.

In November 2013, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee adopted the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform. To promote the overall development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the Decision set out a top-level design and master plan for comprehensively deepening reform. It detailed the guiding thinking, targets, tasks, and major principles, the strategic focal points, priorities, and key areas of reform, as well as the working mechanisms, means of achieving progress, and roadmap and timetable. The Third Plenary Session defined the overall goals of comprehensively deepening reform as improving and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance. The session called for decisive results from reforms in major areas and key sectors by the year 2020 to give shape to a complete set of well-conceived, well-regulated, and effective systems that would be more mature and more fixed in their form. The Third Plenary Session made a number of breakthroughs on major theoretical and policy issues. It introduced new ideas and new conclusions, such as "ensuring that the market plays the decisive role in

resource allocation and that the government plays its role better,” and “advancing extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development of consultative democracy.” It unveiled a total of 336 reform measures in the political, economic, cultural, social, and ecological spheres as well as for Party building. The Session was of great and far-reaching significance, as it ushered in a new era of comprehensively deepening reform based on overarching and systemic plans, marking the launch of a new phase in China’s reform and opening up endeavors.

Owing to its complexity and systemic nature, the undertaking to comprehensively deepen reform required high-level leadership. In December 2013, the CPC Central Committee established the Central Leading Group for Comprehensively Deepening Reform headed by Xi Jinping. It oversaw the general design, overall coordination, overall progress, and supervision of reform. Apart from demonstrating the importance and commitment the Central Committee attached to reform, the establishment of the central leading group would help to ensure the Party’s core role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating overall initiatives, make reform more systemic, holistic, and coordinated, and guarantee the completion of all reform tasks at all links.

During the five years since the 18th Party Congress, the Central Leading Group for Comprehensively Deepening Reform has convened on 38 occasions, deliberated and passed 365 major reform documents, defined 357 key tasks for reform, and introduced more than 1,500 reform measures. Thanks to these efforts, breakthroughs were made in key areas, and the general frameworks for reform were established in major fields.

While promoting reform, the Central Committee emphasized the economy as the focus and stressed the need to harness it as a driving force. To give the market the decisive role in resource allocation and ensure the government played its role better, it introduced a series of

new concepts and measures. These included supply-side structural reform, rural land reform to separate land ownership rights, contract rights, and management rights, deeper state asset and SOE reform, and the development of mixed-ownership economic entities, the joint pursuit of the Belt and Road Initiative, and the construction of pilot free trade zones. It promoted important developments in leading reforms related to SOEs, the fiscal, tax and financial systems, scientific and technological innovation, the land system, opening up, culture, education, judicial impartiality, environmental protection, elderly care, employment, medicine and health care, Party building, and discipline inspection. Such reforms enabled China to overcome institutional and systematic obstacles to social creativity and development momentum.

In the course of deepening reform, the Central Committee devoted strong attention to institutional designs that would have fundamental, system-wide impacts over the long run. The institutional arrangements it made include the following:

- improving the management of state assets by enforcing strong oversight with a focus on the management of state capital;
- instituting a comprehensive, well-regulated, and fully transparent budgeting system;
- pursuing well-judged reforms in the fiscal, tax, and financial systems;
- building up the systems and mechanisms for achieving integrated urban-rural development;
- developing new institutions for an open economy;
- promoting the extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development of consultative democracy;
- guaranteeing the independent, law-based exercise of judicial and procuratorial powers by judicial departments;
- improving the leadership system and working mechanism for

combating corruption;

- establishing the National Security Commission;
- improving the property rights system for natural resource assets;
and
- deepening national defense and military reform.

The continual improvement of these institutions helped to enhance China's national governance system and capacity.

Progress in Comprehensively Advancing Law-Based Governance

It was essential for China to comprehensively advance law-based governance in order to resolve the major issues in its development, unlock and strengthen social vitality, promote greater social fairness and justice, safeguard social harmony and stability, and ensure the long-term stability of the country. At the Central Conference on Judicial, Procuratorial, and Public Security Work convened in January 2014, Xi Jinping stressed the need to regard social stability as the basic task, social fairness and justice as core values, and a happy and peaceful life for the people as the underlying goal as China worked to ensure justice was served in every single case. It was necessary to eliminate the impediments in judicial institutions, mechanisms, and guarantees and to enhance judicial credibility, with a focus on three areas: ensuring independent and impartial exercise of judicial and prosecutorial powers in accordance with the law; improving the mechanisms for the exercise of judicial powers; and improving the system of judicial guarantees for human rights.

The Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Law-Based Governance of China, adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in October 2014, stated that the overall objective of China's drive to comprehensively advance law-based governance was to

establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and build China as a socialist country under the rule of law. This objective not only clarified the nature and direction of the effort to comprehensively advance law-based governance, but also highlighted the main priorities to grasp, thereby establishing a clear overarching framework for determining the detailed tasks of this undertaking. As such, more than 180 major reform measures were introduced at the Fourth Plenary Session based on this objective, covering all aspects of the rule of law. In April 2015, at its 11th meeting, the CPC Central Leading Group for Comprehensively Deepening Reform reviewed and approved the Plan for Implementing the Major Measures of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee (2015–2020), which represented a general plan of work for comprehensively advancing law-based governance over the period.

In practice, the Central Committee gave particular attention to the role of the Constitution in China's governance, making it clear that governing in accordance with the Constitution was the precondition for achieving law-based governance of the country. In November 2014, the 12th NPC Standing Committee established in law December 4th as China's National Constitution Day. In July 2015, the system of pledging constitutional allegiance was established. Under the system, all officials make a public pledge of allegiance, swearing loyalty to the Constitution, the country, and the people on taking office.

To ensure good governance would be underpinned by effective laws, it was essential to put in place a complete body of laws and regulations. This was the premise and foundation upon which law-based governance would be advanced. Based on China's national conditions, legislative bodies accelerated lawmaking in the area of national security. China enacted a series of important laws, including the National Security Law, the National Intelligence Law, the Counter-Espionage Law, the Anti-

Terrorism Law, the Cybersecurity Law, the Law on Administration of Activities of Overseas Nongovernmental Organizations in the Mainland of China, the Law on National Defense Transportation, and the Nuclear Security Law. These laws provided solid legal guarantees for China's national security, core interests, and other major interests. Legislation was also steadily advanced in the economic, social, public wellbeing, cultural, and environmental protection fields. By September 2017, China had put 260 laws into force. Through these efforts, continuous improvements were being made to the Chinese socialist system of laws, at the heart of which is the Constitution.

The building of a law-based government was the key task in comprehensively advancing law-based governance, as it would lend impetus to the development of a law-based country and society. To ensure all functions were fulfilled in accordance with law, governments at all levels reviewed every administrative power exercised by their departments, made adjustments where necessary, and carried out final confirmations, before releasing this information to the public. In December 2015, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council promulgated the Outline for Building a Law-based Government (2015–2020), which defined the overall objective of building a law-based government with “well-conceived functions and legally defined powers and responsibilities that enforces the law strictly and impartially, operates in an open, clean, and efficient way, and has strong credibility” by 2020. In January 2016, the State Council carried out trials for compiling lists of powers and responsibilities in the National Development and Reform Commission and six other departments. These two types of lists clearly defined the boundaries for government powers and helped to promote the reforms to streamline administration, delegate power, improve regulation, and provide better services. By the end of 2017, the number of items subject to approval by State Council offices and departments

had been slashed by 44 percent, and the practice of non-administrative approval had been completely ended.

Reform of the judicial system was focused on the enforcement of judicial accountability. Quota systems were adopted for judges and procurators, helping to further enforce judicial accountability. In this way, China improved the mechanisms for exercising judicial powers to better ensure that those who hear cases determine their outcomes, those who issue judgments take responsibility for them, and those in charge are responsible for their decisions. In line with the arrangements of the Central Committee, in 2014, China launched groups of trials on practicing categorized management for judicial officers, enhancing judicial accountability, strengthening occupational safeguards for judicial officers, and having provincial governments exercise unified management of and provide funding for the human, financial, and material needs of local courts and procuratorates below the provincial level. In 2016, these trials were extended to the country as a whole.

Through comprehensive reform of the judicial accountability system, China introduced a quota system for judges and procurators, and established the mechanisms to ensure that those who hear cases determine their outcomes, those who issue judgments take responsibility for them, and those who are in charge are responsible for their decisions. It adopted a lifelong accountability system for holding judges and prosecutors to account for the quality of their handling of cases. These reforms brought about continuous improvements in the mechanisms for exercising judicial powers, which combined and clearly stipulated rights and responsibilities.

To increase the credibility of the judiciary, China worked to implement reform of the litigation system focused on court proceedings to ensure that factual evidence from investigations and reviews would stand up in court. It strengthened the system for showing leniency to

those who plead guilty and express a willingness to accept punishment for their crimes. It improved the accelerated sentencing procedures for certain criminal cases, made further arrangements for handling cases according to their complexity and level of priority, and developed a layered criminal litigation system. The six circuit courts under the Supreme People's Court helped to bring judicial bodies closer to communities in the six major regions they covered. China also improved the systems of people's assessors and supervisors.

To address the problems people encountered when taking legal action, a system was introduced whereby cases to be heard in courts needed only to be registered, supplanting the previous system which required a review of cases prior to their filing. This ensured the courts would take on all cases that they were legally mandated to accept. To guard against irregular litigation practices, the country strengthened supervision and increased the punishments for false lawsuits. By deepening comprehensive and integrated reform of the judicial accountability system, China further improved the systems and mechanisms by which investigative, procuratorial, judicial, and enforcement powers complement and constrain each other. It stepped up efforts to develop a full set of standard and efficient systems for checking and overseeing the exercise of law-enforcement and judicial powers. In this new round of judicial reform, China developed new systems for managing the judiciary and new mechanisms for exercising judicial powers, demonstrating fairness and justice in the new era.

As a key measure underpinning the development of law-based governance, efforts to build a law-based society were continuously strengthened. In 2016, the Organization Department of the Central Committee and three other departments jointly issued the Guidelines on Improving the Systems for Studying and Using the Law for Staff Members in State Organs. Focusing on the "critical minority" that

leading officials represent, the Guidelines encouraged government employees to take the lead in respecting, studying, obeying and using the law. In March, the Central Committee and the State Council forwarded the Seventh Five-Year Plan to Popularize Knowledge of the Law (2016–2020), which was formulated by the Publicity Department of the Central Committee and the Ministry of Justice. This represented the beginning of the seventh five-year plan for promoting legal knowledge. The Guidelines on the Responsibility of State Organs for Popularizing Legal Knowledge, issued in May 2017, stipulated for the first time that state organs had the primary responsibility for raising awareness of the rule of law. Based on the principle that whoever enforces the law is responsible for popularizing the relevant legal knowledge, a framework for popularizing legal knowledge was gradually put in place, whereby Party committees exercised unified leadership and relevant departments assumed different responsibilities and performed their respective functions.

Achievements in Strengthening Party Self-Governance

Full and rigorous Party self-governance had been a fundamental guarantee for the four-pronged comprehensive strategy and a distinctive theme of Party building since the 18th National Party Congress. General Secretary Xi Jinping noted that “As we engage in a great struggle with many new historical features and strive to advance the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics under new circumstances, it is imperative that we intensify our efforts to promote the grand new undertaking of Party building and commit to comprehensively governing the Party with strict discipline; this will ensure the Party’s sound development and management.” Full and rigorous self-governance is an ongoing endeavor that the Party simply cannot afford to weaken or halt at any stage. On this point, all Party members must always be clear-

minded and practically committed; they must maintain the firm political will needed to promote the development of full and rigorous Party self-governance.

At the Central Economic Work Conference in December 2013, Xi pointed out that of all the attributes of socialism with Chinese characteristics, Party leadership was the most essential. In July 2016, at a ceremony marking the 95th anniversary of the Party's founding, Xi stressed that the leadership of the Communist Party of China was the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

To uphold Party leadership, all Party members must first and foremost uphold the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee. In January 2014, at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, Xi stated that "The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau are the leadership and decision-making core of the Party." Acting on this, the Standing Committee of the Central Committee Political Bureau convened a meeting on January 16, 2015, to hear work briefings from the leading Party members' groups of the NPC Standing Committee, the State Council, the CPPCC, the Supreme People's Court, and the Supreme People's Procuratorate. On January 23, the Political Bureau heard a comprehensive report on the work of these bodies.

At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee in October 2016, the Party adopted the Code of Conduct for Intraparty Political Life under New Circumstances and the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Oversight. The Code of Conduct stressed that "Upholding the authority of the Central Committee and ensuring Party-wide compliance with its orders and prohibitions has a direct bearing on the future of the Party and country and concerns the

fundamental interests of all the people of China.” At the Sixth Plenary Session, the Central Committee formally affirmed General Secretary Xi Jinping’s position at both its core and that of the entire Party. This step reflected the will of all Party members, all military service personnel, and all the people of China. It was in the fundamental interests of the Party and the country and constituted a fundamental guarantee for upholding and strengthening Party leadership. During the session, all members of the Party were called upon to unite closely around the Central Committee with Xi Jinping at the core; to consciously maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, uphold the leadership core, and keep in alignment; and to resolutely safeguard the Central Committee’s authority and uphold its centralized, unified leadership.

To strengthen the overall leadership of the Party, the Central Committee took steps to further improve relevant systems and mechanisms. In January 2015, it issued the Guidelines on Strengthening and Improving the Work concerning People’s Organizations, which stressed that Party leadership was a fundamental guarantee for this work. In June, the Provisional Regulations regarding the Work of Leading Party Members’ Groups were issued—the first set of Party regulations dedicated to the work of these groups. That December, the Central Committee promulgated the Regulations regarding the Work of Local Party Committees in order to improve the mechanisms for facilitating the core leadership role and the operations of local Party committees. In October 2016, the Central Committee convened a meeting on Party building in SOEs. At the meeting, systemic arrangements were made to address the issue of Party leadership and Party organizations being rendered weak, ineffectual, hollow, and peripheral in SOEs. The Central Committee stressed the need to unswervingly maintain Party leadership over SOEs and open a new phase of strengthening SOE Party organizations. In December, the CPC Central Committee and the

State Council issued the Guidelines on Strengthening and Improving Theoretical and Political Work in Colleges under the New Circumstances, which called on institutes of higher education to enhance Party building across the board and always uphold the leadership of the CPC.

To comprehensively strengthen self-governance, the Party made work conduct a priority. Full and strict self-governance in the new era began with the establishment of rules by the Political Bureau and the implementation of the central Party leadership's eight-point decision on improving Party and government conduct. As the first set of important Party regulations formulated after the 18th CPC National Congress, the eight-point decision marked a major breakthrough in improving the Party's style of work. Xi Jinping stressed that members of the Communist Party of China shall always be ordinary members of the working people; no Communist Party member was allowed to pursue any personal gain or privilege beyond the individual benefits and the powers of their positions as defined by laws and policies, and all Party members must oppose privileged mindsets and practices. The Party aligned its crackdowns on pointless formalities, bureaucratism, hedonism, extravagance and corruption with its efforts to combat privileged thinking and practices. It introduced a raft of measures to regulate the use of official vehicles and office space, secretarial services, and official business expenses, and set strict standards for the pay and benefits of officials. This helped effectively rein in such thinking and practices among officials. Discipline inspection and supervision agencies took aim at specific problems, tackling extravagant dining, recreational travel, and gift giving at the public expense, which did much to improve practices both within the Party and in society at large, and garnered strong support among Party members and the general public for full and strict Party self-governance.

The Central Committee, attaching primary importance to discipline,

strictly enforced the political discipline and rules of the Party. At the first meeting of the 18th Central Committee's Political Bureau on November 16, 2012, General Secretary Xi said that the Political Bureau needed to "set an example in observing the Party's organizational principles and code of conduct for intraparty political life, and in knowing the rules and following the code of discipline." In January 2013, at the Second Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, Xi pointed out that the strict enforcement of Party discipline first and foremost required the strict enforcement of political discipline, as this was its most important, most fundamental, and most critical aspect. At this meeting, Party commissions for discipline inspection at every level were called upon to give top priority to ensuring political discipline and to step up oversight and inspection regarding its enforcement. Discipline inspection commissions were to eliminate the interest groups that had arisen where political and economic corruption had converged in order to remove hidden political risks. They were to focus on addressing the problem of officials disregarding political discipline and rules, and investigate and punish those who publicly expressed views that contradicted Central Committee decisions, ignored orders, or violated prohibitions. During the five years following the 18th National Congress, a total of 15,000 cases of political disciplinary violations were filed and investigated, and 15,000 officials were punished, of which 112 were directly managed by the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee. These efforts helped safeguard the Party's centralized, unified leadership. In October 2015, revised versions of the Code of Integrity and Self-Discipline for CPC Members and the CPC Regulations on Disciplinary Action were issued. Laying emphasis on moral values, the Code reiterated the Party's ideals, convictions, purpose, and fine traditions and style of work and set out high standards for conduct that were both attainable and concrete. The Regulations, meanwhile,

emphasized the establishment of rules in the form of negative lists, and put forward six rules of discipline based on the disciplinary provisions of the Party Constitution. While tightening discipline enforcement, the Central Committee stuck with its policies of punishing mistakes to prevent their recurrence and treating the sickness to save the patient. It proposed four new patterns that should be established in the oversight of discipline compliance,¹ strengthened routine management, and intensified efforts to carry out criticism and self-criticism activities and oral and written inquiries. Through these steps, discipline enforcement became a tool for tackling problems at their root.

Corruption, the greatest risk confronting the Party, had gravely undermined the CPC's governance foundations. In the face of serious and ongoing corruption problems in the CPC, the Central Committee with Xi Jinping at the core was resolutely determined to live up to the people's expectations even if it would mean offending many within the Party. It ensured that no areas were off-limits, no ground was left unturned, and no tolerance was shown for corruption. It made unswerving efforts to "take down tigers" and "swat flies," and strengthened international cooperation against corruption and pursued corrupt officials who had fled overseas. The tremendous force and speed with which the Party punished corruption turned into a powerful deterrent. In the five years following the 18th National Congress, it put under investigation a total of 440 officials who were at the provincial and ministerial level and above or under the direct management of the Central Organization

¹ The four patterns are as follows: 1) Criticism and self-criticism activities and oral and written inquiries should be regular occurrences to ensure that those who are guilty of misconduct are made to "blush and sweat"; 2) The majority of cases should be dealt with through light penalties and minor adjustments to official positions; 3) A minority of cases should be dealt with through heavy penalties and major adjustments to official positions; and 4) Serious violations of discipline and suspected criminal activity which must be filed as cases and investigated should be a rare occurrence.

Department. Included in this were 43 members and alternate members of the 18th Central Committee and 9 members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. Discipline inspection and supervision agencies at all levels followed up 2.674 million leads, filed 1.545 million cases for investigation, and punished 1.537 million officials. Of these, more than 8,900 officials worked at the director-general level, and 63,000 at the director and county level, while 58,000 cases involving suspected criminal liability were transferred to judicial bodies. Particularly notable was the resolute investigation and punishment of corrupt officials such as Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou, Sun Zhengcai, and Ling Jihua for their violations of Party discipline and the law. Through the anti-corruption efforts, major strategic success was achieved in strengthening Party self-governance. The goal of creating a deterrent so people wouldn't dare to be corrupt was initially attained; the cage of institutions that make corruption impossible was reinforced; and the moral defenses to eliminate any want among officials to be corrupt also took shape. The overwhelming momentum of the anti-corruption campaign was thus consolidated and developed further.

Effective self-supervision needed to start with intraparty political life, as did strict Party self-governance. In October 2016, at its Sixth Plenary Session, the 18th CPC Central Committee carried out an in-depth analysis of the new circumstances and problems in Party building. On this basis, it defined measures to shore up weaknesses in intraparty political life and internal oversight, and established standards to tighten intraparty political activities and purify the political environment. It stressed that all Party members must consciously maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, uphold the leadership core, and keep in alignment, and ensure a high level of accord with the Central Committee with Xi Jinping at the core in their thinking, stance, and actions.

The Central Committee joined the efforts to ideologically improve the Party with those to institutionally strengthen self-governance; with a focus on the fundamental issue of ideology, it sought to lay a solid foundation for full and rigorous Party self-governance. From June 2013 to September 2014, a campaign to study and practice the mass line was carried out throughout the Party, centering on the issues of working in the people's interests and being pragmatic, honest and upright. A campaign for the observance of the Three Stricts and Three Earnests was launched for officials at and above the director and country level in 2015.¹ In 2016, activities were hosted to give Party members a good understanding of the Party Constitution, Party regulations, and General Secretary Xi Jinping's major policy addresses and to meet Party standards; these activities were then regularized and institutionalized in 2017. The campaign to promote full and strict Party self-governance was extended from officials to all Party members, and it transitioned from being a concentrated to a routine educational initiative. As a result of these efforts, the ideals and convictions of all Party members were strengthened and their Party consciousness was deepened.

The Party strove to comprehensively tighten up the cage of institutions and regulations for self-governance. In November 2013, the Central Committee issued the Five-Year Plan for the Formulation of Party Regulations (2013–2017). The plan proposed that the Party would work over the next five years to develop a system of regulations and institutions covering Party building and other major fields of work that would fit the requirements for running the Party, thus grounding activities within the Party in established institutions and standards. The plan also pointed out that the Party would develop a well-designed system of Party regulations and rules that was rigorous, comprehensive,

¹ The Three Stricts and Three Earnests are: to be strict with oneself in self-cultivation, the use of power, and self-discipline; and to be earnest in one's thinking, work, and behavior.

practicable, and effective by the time of its centenary in 2021. The Guidelines on Strengthening the System of Party Regulations and Rules issued by the Central Committee stated that improvements in this area should be based on a coordinated approach to regulating entities, conduct, and oversight.

The Central Committee also worked continually to improve Party and state oversight systems. In the five years following the 18th National Congress, the Central Committee revised the Regulations on Discipline Inspection twice, formulated a five-year plan for inspection tour work, and organized 12 rounds of inspection tours to over 277 Party organizations. This was the first time that central discipline inspections were conducted in all areas, departments, and industries within one term of office. The Party revised regulations on internal oversight to tighten up oversight and inspections of intraparty political activities as well as the implementation of the Party's line, principles, and policies, in order to firmly uphold the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee. Operating under a single name and unified management, CCDI resident offices achieved coverage of all Central Committee and central government agencies, with one office responsible for either one or several agencies. The Central Committee deepened reform of the national supervision system, establishing an authoritative and efficient national anti-corruption agency under the Party's unified command. This agency brought all public sector workers exercising power under supervision coverage, thereby continuing the improvement to the oversight systems of the Party and the state.

The strict management of officials is a key element of strict Party self-governance, as it ensures the training and selection of good officials that our Party and people need. The recruitment criteria that should be employed by the Party constitute the foremost issue with respect to officials. At the National Organizational Work Conference in June

2013, Xi Jinping proposed a set of criteria for good officials for the very first time. They should have firm convictions, commitment to serving the people, a strong work ethic, and pragmatism and be willing to take responsibility and be clean and honest. To put these criteria into practice, the Central Committee revised and reissued the Regulations relating to the Selection and Appointment of Leading Cadres along with other sets of regulations. It strengthened the leadership and final oversight roles of Party organizations and took robust measures to stop practices of selecting officials solely on the basis of votes, assessment scores, GDP growth rates, or age. The Central Committee also continuously deepened the reform of the management system for officials and personnel, in an effort to address longstanding, major, and intractable problems. In July 2015, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee issued the Guidelines on Promoting and Demoting Leading Officials, which defined the standards, forms, and channels to be employed in demoting officials. These guidelines played an important part in creating a personnel appointment approach and political environment where the capable were promoted, the excellent were rewarded, the mediocre were demoted, and the incompetent were dismissed. In August 2016, the Guidelines on Guarding against the Promotion of Officials with Unhealthy Tendencies were issued. These guidelines stated that candidates for promotion must be evaluated carefully to ensure they were loyal, clean, and responsible. To strengthen supervision and oversight over officials, the Central Committee revised the Regulations on the Reporting of Personal Information by Officials and issued the Measures for Dealing with the Results of Checks on Personal Information Reported by Officials in February 2017. With this, the personal information reporting system for Party officials was improved and tightened up.

4. Comprehensively Promoting National Defense and Military Modernization

Setting Forth the Goal of Building a Powerful Military in the New Era

As the world today faces changes of a kind unseen in a century, profound developments are occurring on the international strategic landscape. International military competition is becoming increasingly intense, and China is developing from a large country to one that is strong as well as large. To be truly strong and secure, however, China must have a strong military.

In November 2012 at the First Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, Xi Jinping was appointed chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC). As soon as he assumed office, Chairman Xi, with a keen grasp of the trends of the new global military revolution, made plans for a series of major issues concerning national defense and military modernization in the new era, from the strategic perspective of realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. In December, at a meeting with military officers at and above the divisional level in Guangzhou, Xi first introduced the “dream of building a powerful military.” He said that, for China’s military, the dream of making the country strong was also a dream of making the military strong. To achieve national rejuvenation, it was essential to make the country prosperous and the military strong, and to consolidate national defense and enhance the armed forces.

To realize the dream of building a powerful military, it was necessary to categorically answer the question of what kind of people’s military to build in the new era and how to build it.

At the end of 2012 at an enlarged meeting of the CMC, Xi proposed striving to build a people’s military that follows the Party’s command, is

capable of winning battles, and maintains excellent conduct. At a plenary meeting of the PLA delegation to the First Session of the 12th NPC in March 2013, he categorically stated that building a people's military that faithfully follows the Party's command, is capable of winning battles, and maintains excellent conduct constitutes the goal of building a powerful military in the new context. At an enlarged meeting of the CMC in February 2016, Xi issued the call to accomplish the goal of building a powerful military and world-class armed forces.

In the goal of building a powerful military, to follow the Party's command is of the essence as it defines the political orientation of military development. The ability to win battles is the core competency, the most basic function of a military force, which determines the fundamental direction of development. And excellent conduct constitutes a guarantee for the nature, purpose, and character of the military.

These key priorities set forth under the goal of building a powerful military reflect the high level of cohesion between the Party's principle of strengthening the military, the fundamental functions of the military, and its unique political advantages. This goal constitutes a strategic plan and top-level design created by the Central Committee for national defense and military development from an overall perspective; it is the Party's general strategy for strengthening and running the military in the new era.

In the building of a strong country with a strong military, strategy must come first. In accordance with the national strategies for security and development, the Central Committee and the CMC have constantly enriched and improved the strategy of active defense in line with the conditions and tasks of the new historical period, and have ensured up-to-date military strategic guidance.

In November 2013, it was decided at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee to create new military theories and strengthen

military strategic guidance.

In 2014, the CMC formulated a military strategy for the new context. Still based on the principle of active defense, the strategy detailed coordinated steps for war preparedness and war prevention, rights protection and stability maintenance, deterrence and combat, and wartime operations and force deployment in peacetime. It advocated military preparedness aimed at winning local, informatized wars, and also highlighted the sea as a strategic focus. This strategy shifted military strategic guidance onto a more proactive footing.

In May 2015, the first white paper dedicated to China's military strategy, *China's Military Strategy*, was officially released. The white paper focused on the military strategy of active defense in the new context. It made clear that China would adjust the basic point in making preparation for military struggle, create a new basic operational strategy, and improve the strategic layout of the military to resolutely safeguard China's national sovereignty, security, and development interests. The white paper was a reflection of the developments in and practical achievements of the military strategy of the people's armed forces.

Enhancing Political Loyalty of the Military in the New Era

Following the Party's command is the most important condition for achieving the Party's goal of building a powerful military in the new era. From October 30 to November 2, 2014, the first conference on military political work in the 21st century was held in Gutian Town, Shanghang County, Fujian Province. Xi Jinping delivered a major speech at the meeting, in which he stressed that revolutionary political work is the lifeblood of a revolutionary military force. He stated that the contemporary theme of the military's political work was to provide a strong political guarantee for achieving the Party's goal of building a powerful military in the new context with a focus on realizing the

Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Xi stressed that there must be no weakening in the military's political work and that prominence must be given to the four fundamental elements of ideals and convictions, Party spirit and principles, standards for combat effectiveness, and the prestige of political work. He emphasized the need to focus on five key tasks, namely, strengthening the spirit of the military, managing mid- and high-ranking officers, improving conduct and combating corruption, cultivating fighting spirit, and innovating and developing political work.

Xi pointed out that the political work of the military is essentially about the Party leading the military and keeping it under its control. As the armed group for implementing the Party's political tasks, the people's military must adhere to the absolute leadership of the Party and maintain an unfaltering commitment to listening to the Party, following it, and fighting in the direction the Party points. Xi's speech systematically summarized the fine traditions formed in the long course of military political work, and stressed that these fine traditions, as the basic principles and contents of military political work, must be passed down from generation to generation of service personnel.

This conference on military political work was a major meeting held at a critical juncture in the development of the Party, the country, and the military; it marked the start of a new journey of improving the Party's theoretical competence and enhancing the military's political loyalty. Xi's speech at the conference fully clarified a series of major issues concerning the Party's efforts to improve the military's theoretical understanding and political loyalty from the perspective of contemporary development and overall strategic imperatives. As it established the strategy of enhancing the military's political loyalty in the new era, the speech was a programmatic document that opened a new phase of military development.

In December 2014, the Central Committee circulated the Decision on Several Issues concerning the Political Work of the Military in the New Context. At the end of 2014, the military began a rectification of problems concerning thinking, personnel appointments, organization, and discipline, and launched inspections of work related to officers, finances, and other areas. This rectification was aimed at promoting an improvement in political work and re-instilling political discipline in the military.

In February 2015, the CMC formulated the Integrated Plan for Implementing the Guiding Principles from the Military Political Work Conference, and issued to the entire military the general plan and the tasks for implementing the strategy of enhancing political loyalty. With a focus on ensuring absolute loyalty to the Party, the people's military shone a spotlight on all internal problems and took painful measures to address irregularities. A typical example was the investigation and strict punishment of grave violations of discipline and laws as in the cases of Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou and others, and the steps taken to thoroughly eliminate their negative influence and purify the political environment. Attaching great importance to the cultivation of military spirit, the people's military strove to train revolutionary officers and soldiers for a new era who have faith, ability, courage, and integrity, and to build a highly competent military with an iron-clad belief, conviction, discipline, and sense of duty.

The system of the chairperson of the CMC assuming overall responsibility is the fundamental system and form through which the Party's absolute leadership over the people's military is upheld. In November 2012, to ensure stricter implementation of this system in practice, the CMC revised the Working Rules of the Central Military Commission to ensure that the chairperson assumes overall responsibility for CMC work. In April 2014, the CMC issued the Guidelines on

Establishing Sound Relevant Working Mechanisms to Ensure the Chairperson Assumes Overall Responsibility for the Central Military Commission. The document established three mechanisms for requesting instructions and submitting reports, for supervision and inspection, and for information services. This further promoted the institutionalization of the requirements for the chairperson responsibility system. Reform measures were implemented to reshape the military leadership and command system and optimize the military's size, structure, and composition, thus creating new institutional structures that are more conducive to the implementation of the chairperson responsibility system.

From the military political work conference onward, the people's military in the new era began to renew its thinking, enhance political loyalty, and restore and carry forward its glorious traditions and fine conduct, leading to noticeable improvements in the political environment and the creation of a solid political foundation for military development and reform.

Deepening National Defense and Military Reform

Confronted with institutional obstacles, structural contradictions, and policy problems that had long frustrated the development of national defense and the military, the Central Committee and the CMC identified reform as the key to their solution. Resolute actions were taken to dismantle longstanding institutional barriers and completely reshape the people's military, generating a powerful wave of momentum for reforming and strengthening the armed forces. Root and branch reform was rolled out in national defense and the military, yielding major breakthroughs at a consistent pace, with measures that were unprecedented in their intensity, scope, and effect on deep-rooted interests.

In November 2013, at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, deepening national defense and military reform appeared as a separate section in the Plenary Session's resolution, was included in the integrated plan for comprehensively deepening reform, and was upgraded to a fixed intention of the Party and an activity of the state. In March 2014, the Central Military Commission's Leading Group for Deepening National Defense and Military Reform, headed by Xi Jinping, held its first plenary meeting. Thereafter, relevant working bodies were set up to study, discuss, and draft a reform plan.

In July 2015, Xi presided over an executive meeting of the CMC and a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau to consider and finalize the Integrated Plan for National Defense and Military Reform. The plan detailed a full set of reform measures to tackle deep-rooted problems and introduced a number of major innovative breakthroughs, while retaining the distinctive characteristics of the people's military.

In November 2015, the CMC held a reform work conference to make a general plan for deepening national defense and military reform. After the meeting, the CMC issued the Guidelines on Deepening National Defense and Military Reform. This document clarified the guiding thought, basic principles, and overall objectives, as well as the roadmap and timetable, for reform. It set out reform tasks for the leadership and management system, the joint combat command system, the size, structure, and composition of the military, the training of new types of military personnel, the policy system, military-civilian integration, the command and management system and force structure of the People's Armed Police (PAP), and the military law system. The document also called for the development of a modern military force system with Chinese characteristics and the capacity to win informatized wars and accomplish missions, as well as for further improvements to the socialist

military system with Chinese characteristics.

At the end of 2015, reform began in the leadership and command system and focused on breaking down institutional barriers. Based on the general principles of the CMC exercising overall leadership, the theater commands being responsible for military operations, and the services focusing on developing capabilities, 15 CMC functional sections were formed based on a reorganization. The leading body of the PLA Army (PLAA) as well as the PLA Rocket Force (PLARF), the PLA Strategic Support Force (PLASSF), and the PLA Joint Logistic Support Force (PLAJLSF) were established, and the CMC-services-troops leadership and management system was set up. The CMC's joint operations command structure was improved, and a joint operations structure was instituted for regional commands, with the seven military area commands being reorganized into five theater commands. The reform also introduced a joint logistics support system, and the CMC-theater commands-troops combat command system was established. This round of reform at and above the level of theater commands dismantled the long-established headquarters system, the military area command system, and the land-force dominated army system, instituting historic change in the military's organizational structure.

From the end of 2016, reform relating to the size, structure, and composition of forces was carried out, with a focus on resolving structural problems. The aim was to improve structures, develop new types of forces, optimize proportions, and reduce sizes. In this effort to improve scale and composition, the total number of active service personnel was cut from 2.3 million to 2 million, and the number of administrative and non-combatant personnel was reduced. Adjustments were made to force structures, mainly to reduce the army's size, and the structures of all services and arms were improved, substantially increasing the proportion of new high-quality combat capabilities. The

composition of combat units was reformed, and the army-brigade-battalion system was introduced in the main combat units. The setup of the military's academies was also improved.

This round of reform established a modern military force system with Chinese characteristics, enabling a shift from a quantity- and scale-based model to one of quality and efficiency, and from being personnel-intensive to technology-intensive.

By the 19th National Party Congress, historic breakthroughs had been made in national defense and military reform; the CMC was exercising overall leadership, the theater commands were responsible for military operations, and the services were focused on the development of capabilities. A revolutionary reshaping of the organizational structure and force system of the people's military had been completed.

In modern warfare, technology is the core combat capability. Keeping this in mind, the Central Committee and the CMC crafted strategic plans for innovation in defense-related science and technology. In January 2016, the CMC Science and Technology Committee was established. In July 2017, at the inaugural meeting of the newly restructured Academy of Military Sciences, National Defense University, and National University of Defense Technology, an occasion of discussion attended by the main leaders of China's military academies, scientific research institutions, and training institutions, Xi Jinping stated that China must fully implement a strategy of strengthening the military with science and technology and rely on technological progress and innovation as the basis for developing the military and generating combat capabilities. At a rally marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in August, Xi pointed out that China must fully implement the strategy of developing the military with science and technology and continuously increase the contribution of innovation to military development and combat capability improvements.

Following developments in military technology around the world, the people's military looked to innovation to boost combat effectiveness. With innovation as the underpinning, it made a series of strategic plans to develop new types of combat forces and accelerate the research and development of high-tech weapons and equipment. It expedited major projects and accelerated the development of strategic cutting-edge and disruptive technologies, with a series of notable achievements made.

Strict, law-based military governance must underpin any effort to build a powerful military. Such governance was inevitably to be an important part of reforming and modernizing the people's military.

In October 2014, at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, strict, law-based military governance was made part of the overall plan for comprehensively exercising law-based national governance. In December, at an enlarged meeting of the CMC, Xi stressed that the Party's basic military governance strategy is strict, law-based governance. He said that as the military modernized and became more IT-based, law-based governance would become more important. He noted that, on the basis of law, the military must effect three fundamental transformations: from a sole reliance on administrative orders to law-based administration, from work based solely on habit and experience to work grounded in laws and systems, and from an intermittent, campaign-based work approach to one that is founded on rules and regulations.

In February 2015, the CMC issued the Decision on Advancing Strict, Law-Based Military Governance in the New Context. As a comprehensive plan, the Decision called for the establishment of a sound military law system with Chinese characteristics and the formation of well-developed and efficient systems of military regulations as well as systems to implement, supervise, and safeguard military law, in order to strengthen the role of law in enhancing national defense and military

capabilities.

In accordance with the requirements of the Central Committee and the CMC, the people's military creatively developed the military legislation system at the two levels of the Central Military Commission and the theater commands, military services, and armed police force, and set legislative authority standards. In May 2017, the Regulations on Military Legislative Work came into force, providing a regulatory basis and basic guidelines for military legislative work in the new era. The National Defense Transportation Law and other military laws were enacted, and common regulations and the Plan for the Development of Primary-Level Units of the Military were revised. All these helped establish a regulatory system and code of conduct for military development in the new era.

The first step in achieving strict military governance was the implementation of the Central Committee's eight-point decision on improving work conduct. In December 2012, the CMC issued the Ten-Point Regulations of the Central Military Commission on Improving Military Conduct. Administrative bodies and leaders of the CMC played an exemplary role in their implementation. After the 18th National Party Congress, the CMC established an inspection system, set up inspection agencies, and initiated inspection work. By February 2017, the CMC had completed the first round of inspections and reviews of all CMC administrative departments and major organizations. To establish a sound legal supervision system, it set up a new CMC Discipline Inspection Commission and a CMC Politics and Law Commission, formed the CMC Audit Office, and introduced resident auditing in all military units. The CMC also established a points-of-contact system for primary-level supervision of conduct.

In order to preserve the military's nature and character as the people's military, the CMC made the decision at a reform meeting in

November 2015 that the military would no longer provide paid services. In February 2016, the CMC issued the Circular on the Cancellation of All Paid Service Activities of the PLA and PAP, which set a timeline of about three years for phasing out all paid service activities.

Strengthening the Military's Training, Preparedness, and Ability to Win Wars

In promoting national defense and military modernization in the new era, the Central Committee and the CMC focused on improving combat readiness and the ability to win wars as the military's major responsibilities. They took improving the ability to fight and win—the key measure of a strong military—as the core task in the Party's goal of building a powerful military in the new era. They called for a full focus on the task of improving the ability to fight wars and for all efforts to be channeled in this direction, with an overall improvement in the military's ability to prepare for war in the new era, so as to ensure Chinese troops are always ready and able to fight and prevail in combat if called upon.

At an enlarged meeting of the CMC at the end of 2012, Xi categorically stated that combat capability is what matters, and required that this basic criterion be applied throughout the entire process and in all aspects of military development, thus setting the direction for war preparedness in the new era. In March 2014, a broad-based discussion on the basic criterion of combat capability unfolded throughout the military, and all military units at every level, with the full participation of each member, checked whether they were satisfying this criterion. As a result, the consensus on how to train for and win wars was further consolidated.

To meet the needs of actual combat, the people's military focused on conducting training under combat conditions, so as to ensure that training is guided by combat and is carried out in a way to promote fighting performance and meet the needs of war. In March 2014, the

CMC issued the Guidelines on Conducting Better Military Training under Combat Conditions, setting out systematic plans. In the same month, the CMC set up a leading group for military training supervision. At the end of 2015, training supervision departments were established in bodies at the two levels of the CMC and theater commands, military services, and armed police force, marking the formal establishment of a military training supervision system. In November 2016, the CMC issued the Interim Regulations on Military Training under Combat Conditions, which put forward stringent measures and regulations for such training. By holding units and individuals accountable for lax and unrealistic training, further headway was made in promoting military training under combat conditions.

In line with the requirements on joint operations, the people's military deepened joint warfare training, and accelerated efforts to improve integrated joint operations capabilities. In January 2015, the military issued a series of regulations and documents, including the Interim Regulations of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on Joint Operations Training, to systematically regulate the organization and implementation of joint training in all fields and at all levels. In 2016, joint command bodies at the two levels of the CMC and theater commands were set up, which opened a new phase of joint warfare training with joint operations serving as the key link, and brought continuous improvements in combat capabilities for joint operations based on the network information system and in the military's ability to fight under multi-dimensional conditions.

In implementing the policy and plan of the Central Committee and the CMC, all military units carried out extensive mission-specific training for all strategic areas and exercises for all services and arms. Theater commands organized a series of joint live exercises under the codenames East, South, West, North, and Central. The PLA Army carried

out extensive military training competitions. The PLA Navy expanded offshore training. The PLA Air Force strengthened systematic and all-airspace training based on operational plans. The PLARF organized confrontational and test training and training for brigades and regiments based on operational plans. The PLASSF and PLAJLSF were also integrated into the joint warfare system. The PAP carried out exercises such as Guardian. The Chinese military also strengthened joint exercises and training with foreign militaries and conducted international military cooperation. These efforts helped the people's military make significant progress in improving preparedness.

During this period, the people's military accomplished major missions such as protecting maritime rights, countering terrorism, maintaining stability, and carrying out disaster rescue and relief, international peacekeeping, vessel escort operations in the Gulf of Aden, and humanitarian assistance. It safeguarded China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, and boosted the prestige of the military and the country.

5. Adhering to the Principle of One Country, Two Systems and Promoting National Reunification

Maintaining the Long-Term Prosperity and Stability of Hong Kong and Macao

The policy of One Country, Two Systems is a great undertaking of the CPC. In the new era, the Central Committee studied the new situation and developments, properly dealt with the complications, eliminated all kinds of interference, and fully and accurately implemented the principle of One Country, Two Systems. Moreover, the Central Committee firmly upheld the central government's overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong

and Macao under the Constitution and the basic laws of the two regions, deepened exchanges and cooperation between the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao, and achieved new success in the practice of One Country, Two Systems while braving the winds and waves.

In December 2012, when listening to a briefing by the chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), Xi Jinping solemnly affirmed that the central government's policy of implementing One Country, Two Systems and acting in strict accordance with the basic laws would not change, that its determination to support the chief executives and the governments of the Hong Kong and Macao SARs in governing and performing their duties in accordance with law would not change, and that its policy of supporting the two regions in developing their economies, improving the lives of their people, promoting democracy, and fostering harmony would not change. In addition, Xi stressed that the key is to thoroughly and accurately understand and implement the One Country, Two Systems principle, and to fully respect and safeguard the authority of the basic laws.

With the full support of the central government and based on a decision adopted at the 31st Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 10th NPC, the HKSAR government reformed the electoral system in accordance with law.

In June 2014, the Information Office of the State Council issued the white paper *The Practice of the One Country, Two Systems Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* in response to the vague understanding and one-sided interpretation of the One Country, Two Systems principle and the Basic Law of the HKSAR demonstrated by some individuals in Hong Kong. The white paper systematically expounded the basic policies of the central government toward Hong Kong, highlighting the important point that the central government has overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and thereby addressing the root of

the problem.

Based on the report submitted by the chief executive of the HKSAR, the Standing Committee of the 12th NPC adopted at its 10th Meeting on August 31 the Decision on Issues Relating to the Election of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR by Universal Suffrage and on the Method for the Formation of the Legislative Council of the HKSAR in 2016, defining the core elements and institutional framework of the system of universal suffrage for the chief executive.

In late September, the long-planned and illegal “Occupy Central” campaign broke out in Hong Kong. In the face of the complicated and serious situation in Hong Kong, the central government did not waver in fully and accurately implementing the One Country, Two Systems principle, and adhered to the bottom line of the principle and did not back down. It coordinated the efforts of all parties concerned, and fully supported the HKSAR government in quelling, in accordance with law, the illegal “Occupy Central” campaign, which lasted 79 days, and the subsequent Mong Kok riot, thus maintaining the stability of Hong Kong.

In December 2014, Xi Jinping attended the meeting celebrating the 15th anniversary of Macao’s return to China and the inaugural ceremony of the fourth-term government of the Macao SAR. He stated, “To continue to advance the One Country, Two Systems principle, we must remain committed to its fundamental purpose, jointly safeguard national sovereignty, security and development interests, and maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao. We must continue to govern Hong Kong and Macao and implement the principle of One Country, Two Systems in accordance with law. We must adhere to the One Country principle while respecting the differences of the Two Systems, uphold the power of the central government while ensuring a high degree of autonomy in the SARs, and give play to the role of the mainland as the staunch supporter of Hong Kong and Macao

while increasing their competitiveness. We must never waver from these principles.”

When listening to the work report of the chief executive of the HKSAR in December 2015, Xi emphasized, “The central government will never waver in its commitment to the policy of One Country, Two Systems, and it will make sure that this policy is fully and accurately applied in Hong Kong without any distortion or alteration. This will enable us to keep advancing in the right direction.”

In moving forward with the practice of One Country, Two Systems, the central government attached great importance to the law-based governance of Hong Kong and Macao, contained and combated in accordance with law forces seeking “Hong Kong independence,” and resolutely safeguarded the core interests of the state and the fundamental interests of the Hong Kong and Macao SARs.

In response to the incident in which during the oath-taking process of the sixth-term Legislative Council of the HKSAR, a very small number of newly elected members advocated “Hong Kong independence,” as well as to their other illegal words and deeds, the NPC Standing Committee, in November 2016, took the initiative in issuing an interpretation of Article 104 of the Basic Law of Hong Kong to clarify the law-based meaning and requirements of the oath-taking process. The Standing Committee also supported the relevant agencies of the HKSAR government and judicial organs in prosecuting and disqualifying the legislators concerned, thus upholding both the authority of the Basic Law and the rule of law in Hong Kong.

In accordance with the guiding principles behind the interpretation of the Basic Law of Hong Kong by the NPC Standing Committee, the Macao SAR took the initiative to add a provision on “prevention of independence” to the law on the election of its Legislative Assembly in order to prevent problems before they arise.

The central government also took measures to improve the system by which the chief executives report on their duties, to exercise the power to appoint the chief executives and other principal officials in accordance with law, and to strengthen public awareness of the Constitution and the basic laws.

In addition to ensuring law-based governance of Hong Kong and Macao, the Party and state proactively planned and fully supported the economic and social development and the improvement of people's lives in Hong Kong and Macao from the perspective of overall development and the long-term prosperity and stability in the two regions, and helped Hong Kong and Macao and the mainland to complement each other with their respective strengths and realize mutually beneficial cooperation and common development.

In March 2016, China's 13th Five-Year Plan categorically stated that China would: see that Hong Kong and Macao take on greater positions and roles in the country's economic development and opening up; support the two regions' participation in the two-way opening up of the country and the Belt and Road Initiative; upgrade the Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CEPA) between the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao; and deepen financial cooperation between the mainland and Hong Kong.

During this period, the central government supported Hong Kong in hosting the Belt and Road Summit and joining the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and supported Macao in hosting the 8th APEC Tourism Ministerial Meeting and the 4th and 5th Ministerial Conferences of the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Portuguese-Speaking Countries. The central government also introduced a series of policies and measures to support the mainland, Hong Kong, and Macao in strengthening exchanges and cooperation and promoting common development.

The mutual recognition of funds between the mainland and Hong Kong and financial connectivity policies such as the Shanghai-Hong Kong Stock Connect, the Shenzhen-Hong Kong Stock Connect and the Bond Connect not only steadily promoted the opening up of China's financial market, but also consolidated and enhanced the competitiveness of Hong Kong as an international financial center. Under the CEPA, the mainland signed service trade agreements with Hong Kong and Macao respectively, essentially realizing the liberalization of trade in services. The mainland and Hong Kong also signed the Investment Agreement and the Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation. Efforts were also made to promote the development of cross-border infrastructure and the facilitation of customs clearance for people and goods between the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao.

From June 29 to July 1, 2017, Xi Jinping attended the meeting celebrating the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China and the inaugural ceremony of the fifth-term government of the HKSAR, and visited the region. During his stay in Hong Kong, Xi put forward important concepts, ideas, and propositions such as the three beliefs,¹ the four requirements for taking the lead,² and the four principles that must always be upheld.³ Xi pointed out that the practice of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong has been a resounding success in the 20 years since Hong Kong's return to China. He stressed that "the principle

¹ They are that the people of Hong Kong should believe in themselves, in Hong Kong, and in the country.

² They are that representatives of various sectors in Hong Kong should take the lead in supporting the chief executive and the new SAR government in exercising law-based governance; in promoting unity; in caring for young people; and in promoting exchanges and cooperation between Hong Kong and the mainland.

³ They are that Hong Kong should always fully understand the relationship between One Country and Two Systems, always act in accordance with the Constitution and the Basic Law, always focus on development as its top priority, and always maintain a harmonious and stable social environment.

of One Country is like the roots of a tree. For a tree to grow tall and luxuriant, its roots must run deep and strong.”

Xi added, “We must have a strong sense of One Country and firmly observe the One Country principle, and thereby correctly handle the relationship between the HKSAR and the central government. Any attempt to endanger China’s sovereignty and security, challenge the authority of the central government and the sanctity of the Basic Law of the HKSAR, or use Hong Kong as a channel for infiltration and sabotage against the mainland, is an act that crosses the redline, and is absolutely impermissible.... Development, an abiding pursuit, is critical to Hong Kong’s survival, and it holds the golden key to resolving problems there.... Hong Kong enjoys the backing of the motherland and is open to the world. It therefore has many favorable conditions for development and distinctive competitive advantages.... We should ensure the success of development on the mainland which practices the socialist system; we should also ensure the success of development in Hong Kong which practices the capitalist system.... We should stay committed to the basis of One Country and well leverage the benefits of Two Systems.”

These statements provided important guidance for the practice of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong, and for the HKSAR to improve its governance and plan for long-term development.

From 2012 to 2016, Hong Kong’s gross regional product (GRP) grew at an average annual rate of 2.6 percent in real terms, higher than the average growth rate of developed economies in the same period. Hong Kong’s status as an international financial, shipping and trade center was strengthened, and its status as a global offshore RMB business hub and international asset management center was reinforced. Macao’s GRP per capita was among the highest in the world, and social programs were boosted to a new level.

The successful practice of One Country, Two Systems once again

demonstrated that this principle not only provided the best solution to the historical questions of Hong Kong and Macao, but constitutes the best institutional arrangement to ensure Hong Kong and Macao's long-term prosperity and stability following their return. It has proved to be a workable solution and an achievable goal welcomed by the people.

Promoting the Peaceful Development of Relations across the Taiwan Strait

Promoting the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations and the reunification of China is integral to the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Faced with difficulties and challenges such as the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations entering a "deep water zone" and the complex changes in the situation in Taiwan and in China's periphery, the Central Committee maintained strategic confidence and strategic resolve and ensured the right direction in developing cross-Strait relations. It remained committed to the major principles and policies on work related to Taiwan and maintained the initiative in cross-Strait relations, enabling important progress in these relations.

In February 2013, in a meeting with the honorary chairman of the Chinese Kuomintang, Lien Chan, as well as with people from all walks of life in Taiwan, Xi stressed that it is the duty of the CPC's new central collective leadership to continue to promote both the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations and peaceful reunification across the Taiwan Strait. Xi stated that compatriots on both sides of the Strait are members of the Chinese nation, and these natural blood ties cannot be broken by any force; that both sides of the Strait are part of the one and same China, and no force can change this basic fact; that cross-Strait exchanges and cooperation are blessed with advantageous natural conditions, and no force can stifle this demand for two-way benefits; and that all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation are resolved to

work tirelessly to stand tall among the world's nations, and no force can obstruct this common aspiration of the whole nation.

In June, the 5th Strait Forum on the theme "Fostering Kinship and Fulfilling Dreams" was held in Fujian and was attended by nearly 10,000 people from Taiwan who were from 22 counties and cities and represented 37 organizations and more than 30 sectors.

In October, Xi stressed in a meeting with the honorary chairman of the Taiwan-based Cross-Strait Common Market Foundation, Vincent Siew, that enhancing cross-Strait political trust and solidifying the common political foundation is the key to ensuring the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations, that the longstanding political differences between the two sides must be resolved gradually, and that the heads of the competent departments of both sides should meet to exchange views on matters that need to be dealt with in cross-Strait relations.

In February 2014, after consultations between the two sides, the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council and Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council established a regular contact and communication mechanism based on the common political basis of the 1992 Consensus. The heads of the two departments visited each other many times, playing a positive role in safeguarding the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations and promoting exchanges and cooperation between the two sides. The signing of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement and many other agreements contributed greatly to growing cross-Strait relations and to furthering the interests and enhancing the wellbeing of compatriots on both sides of the Strait. The CPC and the KMT made good use of the platform of regular communication and worked to expand cross-Strait economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation, and continued to hold cross-Strait economic, trade, and cultural forums, producing a number of common proposals, including "actively promoting the negotiation and implementation of follow-up agreements regarding the Cross-Strait

Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement.” These proposals were largely transformed into common or respective concrete policy measures and brought tangible benefits for compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Guided by the conviction that the two sides are of the same family and are a community with a shared future, the mainland continued to host platforms for interaction and cooperation on a wide range of topics and for the convergence of public opinion, such as the Strait Forum, the annual conferences of the Cross-Strait CEO Summit, the Strait Youth Day, the Shanghai-Taipei City Forum, and the Cross-Strait Zhongshan Forum. This generated increased enthusiasm for exchanges among members of the general public.

On November 7, 2015, Xi Jinping and Taiwan leader Ma Ying-jeou met in Singapore to exchange views on furthering the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations. Xi stressed that the Chinese people on both sides of the Strait are fully able and wise enough to solve their own problems and together make greater contributions to world and regional peace, stability, development, and prosperity. He added that at the new starting point for the development of cross-Strait relations, the two sides should bear in mind the overall interests of the Chinese nation, keep pace with the times, and work together to strengthen the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations and realize national rejuvenation. Xi put forward the following four principles: adhering to the common political foundation across the Strait; consolidating and furthering the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations; enhancing the wellbeing of the compatriots on both sides of the Strait; and working wholeheartedly to realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

This was the first meeting between leaders across the Taiwan Strait since 1949, creating a precedent for direct dialogue and communication between leaders across the Strait, and opening up room for further

development of cross-Straits relations. According to the consensus reached at the meeting, the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council and Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council established a cross-Straits hotline.

After the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) came to power in 2016, major changes took place in the Taiwan political situation, dealing a heavy blow to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. In March 2016, Xi Jinping stressed at a meeting of the Shanghai delegation at the Fourth Session of the 12th NPC that the mainland's policy toward Taiwan is clear and consistent, and will not change as a result of political changes in Taiwan. In November, Xi met with Chinese KMT chairwoman Hung Hsiu-chu and stressed that the CPC and the KMT should do their utmost to seize every opportunity to enhance the affection and wellbeing of compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, to promote the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and to safeguard the overall interests of the Chinese nation.

The Party Central Committee, while appropriately addressing the changes in the situation in Taiwan, continued to strengthen exchanges and interactions with those political parties, groups, counties, cities, and public figures on the island that accept the 1992 Consensus and support the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. It continued to promote cross-Straits exchanges and cooperation in various fields along with economic and social integration, and firmly safeguarded the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

In June 2015, the State Council amended the Measures for the Administration of the Movement of Chinese Citizens between the Mainland and Taiwan, exempting Taiwan residents from visa procedures for travel to the mainland, and issued electronic identification cards to Taiwan compatriots.

During this period, the relevant authorities in the mainland introduced more than 20 policies and measures to make it more

convenient and create better conditions for Taiwan compatriots to study, work, and live in the mainland. In order to help Taiwan youth coming to the mainland for internship, employment and entrepreneurship, the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council and relevant provinces and municipalities set up 53 cross-Straits youth employment and entrepreneurship centers and demonstration sites, attracting more than 1,000 Taiwan-invested enterprises and teams. Cross-Straits education exchanges and cooperation achieved new progress. Cultural exchanges and cooperation were enriched. Cross-Straits exchanges in fields and sectors such as trade unions, youth, women's issues, sports, health, religion, clans and folk beliefs continued to intensify. These strengthened the Chinese cultural ties between compatriots on both sides of the Straits and solidified the foundation of public opinion for cross-Straits cooperation.

Resolutely Opposing and Deterring Separatists Advocating "Taiwan Independence"

The biggest threat to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations came from the forces and activities seeking "Taiwan independence." After the 18th National Party Congress, the Central Committee was deeply aware of the major changes in Taiwan, and kept in view the overall and long-term interests of the Chinese nation. It firmly safeguarded China's national sovereignty and territorial integrity, resolutely opposed and deterred any separatist activities seeking "Taiwan independence," and maintained the overall stability of the Taiwan Straits.

In March 2014, the anti-service-trade-agreement incident broke out in Taiwan. It was in essence an "anti-China" incident that was instigated and supported by separatists advocating "Taiwan independence" and external forces. It was a premeditated and organized attempt to harm the development of cross-Straits relations and affected, to a considerable

extent, the process and pace of the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations.

After the DPP, which advocated "Taiwan independence," came to power in May 2016, it refused to recognize the 1992 Consensus that embodies the one-China principle, and unilaterally undermined the political basis for the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations. It condoned and supported various forms of "desinification" separatist activities with the goal of progressively achieving "Taiwan independence." It incited opposition between public opinion on both sides of the Strait, obstructed and harmed cross-Strait exchanges and cooperation in various fields, and depended on external support in challenging the mainland, thus posing a serious challenge to the peaceful development of cross-Strait relations.

The Central Committee remained highly alert to "Taiwan independence" activities in all forms, resolutely opposed separatist activities aiming for "de jure Taiwan independence," firmly deterred attempts to progressively achieve "Taiwan independence" that would erode the basis for peaceful reunification, and did not allow any space for "Taiwan independence" separatist activities.

Both before and after the changes in the political situation in Taiwan, Xi Jinping gave several speeches, stressing, "The forces aiming for 'Taiwan independence' instigate hostility and confrontation across the Strait, undermine national sovereignty and territorial integrity, harm peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, and obstruct the development of cross-Strait relations. They have nothing to offer but disaster to Chinese people on both sides of the Strait. We Chinese on both sides of the Strait should stand firmly together to counter such attempt. We will resolutely deter any form of separatist acts for 'Taiwan independence,' safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and never let the historical tragedy of national division repeat itself."

This drew a clear bottom line and created a strong deterrent for both the Taiwan authorities and the forces aiming for “Taiwan independence.” The question of Taiwan is a Chinese internal affair. The Chinese government is resolutely opposed to external forces playing “the Taiwan card” and making trouble in the Taiwan Strait, and resolutely counters negative Taiwan-related movements of any countries; this has enabled more and more countries and peoples to come to understand and support China’s just cause of safeguarding national unity.

6. Advancing Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics and Building a Human Community with a Shared Future

Putting Forward Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics

The second decade of the 21st century witnessed increasing trends toward multipolarity, economic globalization, the application by societies of information technology, and cultural diversity. With the rapid rise of emerging market economies and developing countries, the international balance of power became more equal. This led to a major reshaping of the global governance system and the accelerated evolution of the international landscape. In a world undergoing profound transformation and adjustment, China’s relations with the world changed significantly—never before was China so close to the center stage or so closely interconnected with the rest of the world. China thus entered a crucial period in realizing national rejuvenation. In this process of interacting with the world, China also reached a new historical starting point with regard to its diplomatic efforts.

Faced with a world undergoing momentous changes of a kind not

seen in a century, the Party Central Committee meticulously planned China's diplomatic efforts and set the strategic tasks of balancing domestic and international imperatives and improving overall plans regarding diplomacy, so as to advance diplomatic relations with other major countries, neighboring countries, and other developing countries, as well as multilateral diplomacy and diplomatic initiatives on all fronts, and thereby create a favorable international environment for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

At the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs in November 2014, Xi Jinping put forward the strategic thinking of conducting major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. He stated that, as a major country, China must develop its own approach to diplomacy. China must, by summing up past experiences, enrich and develop its diplomatic theories of international relations, and make its approach to diplomacy uniquely Chinese in character, style, and manner. China must fly the flag of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, give consideration to both the domestic and international situation, and adopt a holistic approach to security and development. It must continue to pursue the overriding objectives of peaceful development and national rejuvenation. It must work to safeguard its sovereignty, security, and development interests, foster an international environment that is more conducive to its peaceful development, and preserve and extend this important period of strategic opportunity for development. These efforts would help to ensure the fulfillment of the Two Centenary Goals and the realization of the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Following the outlining of this thinking, the Party Central Committee began to advance major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics on all fronts and to make comprehensive plans for China's diplomatic initiatives. These included championing the building of a human community with a shared future, pursuing the Belt and

Road Initiative, initiating the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, setting up the Silk Road Fund, hosting the first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation and other multilateral conferences, and encouraging the evolution of the global governance system. These efforts resulted in a further increase in China's international influence, its ability to inspire, and its power to shape. With a distinctively Chinese approach to diplomacy as a major country, China gained a favorable external environment for its national rejuvenation and made new major contributions to world peace and development.

Promoting the Building of a Human Community with a Shared Future

As the world was undergoing momentous changes not seen in a century, humanity found itself confronted by many common risks and challenges. Hegemony, power politics, and neo-interventionism were being ramped up, protectionism and unilateralism were gaining prominence, and flare-ups of conflict, terrorism, famine, and disease were all too common. Traditional and non-traditional security threats became entangled, and a strong sense of uncertainty reigned around the world. People worried about what lay in store for humanity and hoped for new wisdom that could offer fresh solutions.

In a speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in March 2013, Xi Jinping issued a call for humanity to build a community with a shared future. At a series of major international events that followed, Xi conducted detailed explorations into this vision, which were widely influential among the international community. In a speech at the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly at UN headquarters in New York in September 2015, Xi further enriched this idea by linking it to the development of a new type of international relations centered on mutually beneficial cooperation.



- Xi Jinping speaks at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

In a keynote speech at the annual meeting of the Davos World Economic Forum on January 17, 2017, Xi noted that economic globalization was an objective requirement for the development of productive forces and an inevitable result of scientific and technological progress, rather than the product of certain groups of individuals or countries. Facing the opportunities and challenges of economic globalization, the correct thing to do was to make full use of every opportunity, collectively respond to every challenge, and steer economic globalization along the right path with a dynamic model of growth, an

open and mutually beneficial model of cooperation, a just and equitable model of governance, and a well-balanced and inclusive model of development. If we could establish a strong awareness of the human community with a shared future, truly come together and share our common responsibilities, meet our challenges collectively, and overcome adversity with concerted efforts, then we would be able to make our world more beautiful and its people happier.

On January 18, the day after his Davos address, Xi delivered another keynote speech, this time at the UN Office at Geneva. In response to the defining question of our times—what is happening to the world and what can be done about it?—Xi set out China's proposal of building a human community with a shared future and realizing mutual benefits to be shared by all. Xi put forward a systematic explanation of the theory behind the vision of a human community and the path toward realizing this goal, and called for an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity to be built. This major proposition, underpinned by a magnificent international vision and a strong sense of responsibility, helped to clarify misunderstandings and articulate a clear development path forward for a world that had found itself at a crossroads.

The idea of a human community with a shared future was a response to the momentous changes which the world had not seen in a century. Offering Chinese insights and solutions to the various complex problems confronting humanity, it gained widespread recognition among the international community, and was included in UN Security Council Resolution 2344 in March 2017.

This idea was a concentrated reflection of the wisdom of traditional Chinese culture, as well as a representation of humanity's common hopes and aspirations. It reflected the tendency toward peace, development, and prosperity common among all peoples of the world, and constituted

a cause that could lead the trends of our times and the forward progress of human civilization.

Encouraging International Cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative is a great undertaking carried out by China as part of its major country diplomacy. In fall 2013, Xi Jinping proposed building a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. That November, advancing the development of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road and promoting all-around opening up was instituted as a major policy of China and written into the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform that was adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. Xi used the term “Belt and Road Initiative” for the first time at the sixth ministerial conference of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum in Beijing in June 2014. He also systematically elaborated on the spirit of the Silk Road and the principles that should be upheld in pursuing the BRI at this conference. The BRI was thus formally proposed as a new model of cooperation and as a way to achieve common prosperity and development.

Following this, specific plans were rolled out for the development of the BRI. In November 2014, the Dialogue on Becoming Better Connected Partners was held in Beijing. Xi Jinping suggested that cooperation should be strengthened by treating cooperation with Asian countries as a priority, using economic corridors as a supporting pillar, developing transport infrastructure in order to make breakthroughs, building a financing platform, and promoting cultural and people-to-people exchanges. He also remarked that connectivity should comprise a large network that is comprehensive and multi-dimensional; this would create

an open system enabling increased dynamism and the flow of talent and resources. Xi thus laid out the direction and path for developing the BRI. In March 2015, the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Commerce jointly published the Vision and Actions on Jointly Building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. Focusing on eight aspects, including contemporary background, principles for collaboration, framework and approaches, cooperation priorities, and cooperation mechanisms, this document upheld the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration, and aimed to increase policy communication, infrastructure connectivity, trade links, capital flows, and shared ties between peoples. The BRI was thus presented more clearly to the world as a platform for international cooperation.

The BRI constitutes both a major strategic move for expanding opening up and a top-level design for promoting economic diplomacy, as well as a new platform designed to explore new models of global governance and to advance the building of a human community with a shared future, and it has thus generated worldwide interest. In May 2017, China hosted the first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in Beijing. At the opening ceremony, Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech, in which he emphasized that the BRI should be developed into a path of peace, a path of prosperity, a path of greater openness, a path of innovation, and a path that connects different civilizations. The Forum was attended by 29 heads of state or government and over 1,600 representatives from more than 140 countries and over 80 international organizations. At the Forum, the Leaders' Roundtable issued a joint communiqué and reached a broad consensus regarding all sides working together to develop the BRI.

By the end of September 2017, 74 countries and international

organizations had signed BRI cooperation agreements with China, and these not only included nations in Asia and Europe, but also those in Africa, Latin America, and the South Pacific.

Under the guidance of a clear vision and thanks to the concerted efforts of the people of participating countries, the BRI gradually evolved from a concept into specific actions and into a platform for international cooperation. Total trade between China and other participating countries in 2014–2016 exceeded US\$3 trillion, and Chinese investment in these countries surpassed US\$50 billion. By October 2017, China had signed over 130 bilateral and regional transport agreements with other participating countries and worked together with the relevant countries to open 356 road routes for international passenger and freight transportation; there were around 4,200 direct flights every week connecting China with 43 other participating countries; and China-Europe freight train services had registered over 5,000 trips on more than 50 routes, connecting China with over 30 cities in 12 European countries.

Forging Global Partnerships

To realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and build a human community with a shared future, China needs to actively develop global partnerships and expand the convergence of its interests with those of other countries. Based on the partnerships in multiple forms with many countries around the world, the Party Central Committee has, through overall planning and a holistic approach, advanced diplomatic relations with other major countries, neighboring countries, and other developing countries, as well as multilateral cooperation. This has helped to forge more inclusive and constructive global partnerships. By building a world-wide network of partnerships, China is broadening the circle of countries with which it has friendly relations.

The relations between major countries have a significant bearing on

global strategic stability. It is therefore of critical importance to build a framework for ensuring overall stability and balanced development of relations between major countries.

Providing ballast as it does for world peace and global stability, the Sino-Russian relations have always been one of the priorities in China's diplomacy. In March 2013, Xi Jinping chose Russia as the first leg of his first foreign visit as Chinese president, during which he met with President Vladimir Putin. The top leaderships of the two countries have since maintained close and frequent communications, including more than 20 meetings between their presidents at various international occasions. In July 2017, the two heads of state signed a Joint Statement between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation on Further Deepening the China-Russia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership of Coordination, making overall plans for the development of Sino-Russian relations and elevating to a higher level this strategic partnership between the two countries.

With regard to its relations with the United States, China has always maintained that China and the US—the world's largest developing country and developed country respectively—should earnestly address and appropriately handle relations between them, thus showing a sense of responsibility to all humanity, to history, and to their peoples. In June 2013, Xi Jinping visited the US and met with Barack Obama. In the talks that took place on this occasion they agreed to build a new model of major country relations between China and the US. In April 2017, Xi made another trip to the US and met with Donald Trump. As a result, the two sides established four high-level dialogue mechanisms covering diplomacy and security, the economy, law enforcement and cybersecurity, and social and cultural issues.

Relations with Europe continued to deepen and expand. With the release of the China-EU 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation

in November 2013, the two sides agreed to push forward their comprehensive strategic partnership. In March 2014, Xi Jinping visited Europe and paid a visit to the headquarters of the European Union (EU). The Sino-EU relationship was developing at more levels, with exchanges and cooperation becoming more comprehensive, balanced, and substantive. At the one-to-one level, China's relations with individual European countries revealed a positive trend of all-around and mutually-reinforcing development.

China and neighboring countries are interdependent and share a common destiny. Building ties of good neighborliness between them is the foundation for achieving common development and prosperity. With this understanding, the Party Central Committee held a neighborhood diplomacy seminar in October 2013, the first of its kind since the founding of the People's Republic. The meeting stressed that China pursues friendship and partnership with its neighbors as its basic policy, and seeks to promote harmony, security, and common prosperity with them. The principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness was thus put forward as a basis for these relations. At the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs in November 2014, Xi Jinping emphasized the importance of advancing neighborhood diplomacy and turning China and its neighboring countries into a community with a shared future. In the years following the 18th National Party Congress convened in 2012, Xi paid visits to Northeast Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Eurasia, thereby extending top-level exchanges to essentially all neighboring countries and providing strategic guidance for enhancing mutual trust and cooperation. In addition, China also increased mutually beneficial cooperation and connectivity with its neighbors. By advancing the BRI, China shared the benefits of its development with adjacent countries, and thereby reinforced its mutual dependence and confluence of interests with them. Since its launch in 2016, the Lancang-Mekong

cooperation mechanism has increased friendly exchanges between the peoples of the six countries in the Lancang-Mekong region, and has contributed significantly to their social and economic development.

Other developing countries are China's natural allies in international affairs. During his visit to Africa in March 2013, Xi Jinping proposed for the first time the principle of sincerity, pragmatism, affinity, and good faith as the basis for China's relations with Africa. At the neighborhood diplomacy seminar in October that year, he emphasized that China should be committed to the right approach to justice and the pursuit of interests, and that it should provide more assistance to other developing countries as far as capacity will allow. Under these two principles, solidarity and cooperation between China and other developing countries went from strength to strength, while the collective dialogue mechanism was extended to cover the entire developing world and cooperation was advanced on all fronts.

To advance its relations with African countries, China proposed 10 cooperation initiatives at the 2015 Johannesburg Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in South Africa, thus starting a new era of win-win cooperation and common development between China and Africa.

With regard to its ties with Arab states, China promoted the spirit of the Silk Road, worked to achieve better alignment in strategy and action, and moved forward with the BRI. As a result, all-around cooperation between China and Arab states entered a new stage, their future-oriented strategic partnership of comprehensive cooperation and common development continued to deepen, and cooperation mechanisms reached greater maturity.

To advance its relations with Latin America, China worked with the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) to co-found the China-CELAC Forum, proposed a new blueprint for jointly building the BRI, and worked to open a path for trans-

Pacific cooperation. With these efforts, the comprehensive cooperative partnership of equality, mutual benefit, and common development reached a new height, thus initiating a new era in China-CELAC relations.

In addition, in September 2015 China worked with the UN to co-host the High-Level Roundtable on South-South Cooperation in order to promote South-South cooperation that is deeper and of a higher standard, and to boost development in developing countries.

Political party diplomacy, economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, and people-to-people diplomacy constitute the social foundation for international relations. Since the 18th National Party Congress, under the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee, all political parties, the government, the military, local authorities, and nongovernmental organizations have worked together and supported each other in creating a synergy for advancing Chinese diplomatic efforts.

Showing Leadership in Global Governance Reform and Development

As the international balance of power changed and global challenges continued to increase, strengthening global governance through reform and development of the global governance system became a prevailing trend.

China participated in and worked to protect and also reform the contemporary international order; it strove to bring its insights and energy to the cause of global governance. At the third Nuclear Security Summit in The Hague, Netherlands in March 2014, Xi Jinping first proposed a rational, coordinated, and balanced approach to nuclear security. At the 22nd APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Beijing that November, an Asia-Pacific partnership for shaping the future was established. The meeting also launched the development of the Free

Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific, ratified the APEC Connectivity Blueprint for 2015–2025, and produced more than 100 cooperative outcomes in close to 30 areas. At the G20 Summit held in Hangzhou in September 2016, China provided guidance and coordination for all sides in adopting a series of guiding principles and indicators on important issues such as innovative growth, structural reform, multilateral investment, climate change, and sustainable development. The G20 Leaders' Communiqué Hangzhou Summit was issued, and 28 core outcome documents were also approved, providing a major boost to the G20's transformation from a crisis-response mechanism to one for long-term governance. China also successfully hosted other major diplomatic events such as the Shanghai Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and the BRICS Summit in Xiamen. During such events, Xi put forward the proposal of building an innovative, dynamic, interconnected, and inclusive world economy as a Chinese solution to the many global challenges confronting the human community.

China also participated in formulating governance rules for emerging



• G20 Hangzhou Summit.

sectors, and promoted reform of those parts of the global governance system that were unjust or unreasonable. During a visit to Indonesia in October 2013, Xi Jinping proposed to establish an Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. When the bank began operations in January 2016, it became the first multilateral financial agency established based on a Chinese proposal. In December 2014, the Silk Road Fund, also set up by China, began operations. The fund has a BRI focus and helps advance infrastructure projects, resource development, production-capacity cooperation, and financial cooperation in BRI countries and relevant regions. In July 2015, the New Development Bank (NDB), another China-backed initiative, began operating. Headquartered in Shanghai, it supports infrastructure projects and sustainable development in member countries. As China's international status rose, the number of Chinese nationals holding key posts in specialized UN bodies and major international organizations also increased. In 2016, China's quota in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) grew to the third largest from the sixth. In the same year, the IMF included the RMB in the Special Drawing Rights currency basket. These developments indicated that China's voice and influence in the international arena were growing noticeably stronger.

China played a constructive role in the efforts to resolve international and regional hot-button issues. As a developing country, China continued working to safeguard the common interests of all developing countries. By initiating a series of international organizations and cooperation mechanisms with developing countries as their main players, it helped to establish a network of multilateral mechanisms covering all developing countries. Meeting its own responsibilities, following international rules, and fulfilling international obligations, China worked with the international community to take coordinated action on global challenges such as climate change, international terrorism, and nuclear security and non-proliferation. In addition to this, it provided

strong support for economic and social development in the Middle East and Africa, was involved in efforts to resolve refugee issues, and played a proactive role in the formulation of regulations for emerging areas such as cyber, polar, deep sea, outer space, and biosecurity. China also launched and hosted the World Internet Conference, with a view to establishing a democratic and transparent multilateral governance system for the internet worldwide. By September 2017, it had deeply engaged in cooperation with over 70 countries and regions to crack down on internet crimes, proposed an international narcotics control plan featuring shared responsibility and public participation, and worked in concert with many nations on law enforcement operations to track down international fugitives and the proceeds of crime and combat telecom fraud. It fully participated in law enforcement and security cooperation through the UN, the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China-Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and other organizations within the international and regional frameworks for cooperation. China also established an international cooperation mechanism for law enforcement and security in the Mekong River Basin, along with a forum for international cooperation on law enforcement along the New Eurasian Land Bridge security corridor. Finally, China firmly supported and actively participated in UN peacekeeping operations, maintaining the largest deployment of peacekeeping personnel of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Safeguarding National Sovereignty, Security, and Development Interests

In a speech at a meeting celebrating the 95th anniversary of the CPC's founding on July 1, 2016, Xi Jinping noted that China does not covet the rights and interests of other countries, nor does it envy their

development, but it will never give up its own legitimate rights and interests. The Chinese people do not believe in fallacies, nor are they afraid of them; they do not make trouble, nor are they afraid of it. No country should entertain the fantasy that China will barter away its core interests or allow its sovereignty, security, and development interests to be infringed upon. The CPC Central Committee constantly enriched and developed means and approaches for safeguarding China's interests, stood firm in protecting national sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity, and resolutely deterred and combated all forms of separatist activities. It worked actively to ensure China's economic and financial security, protect China's overseas interests, and guard against and mitigate all kinds of risks and challenges, thus providing strong support for reform, development, and national rejuvenation.

China conducted diplomatic initiatives on issues involving Xinjiang and Tibet, fought back against baseless accusations, and gained the understanding and support of a majority of countries on the UN platforms and in the international community. It took firm action to safeguard its territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, and deterred various plots and actions seeking to infringe upon China's homeland security.

With regard to the issue of the South China Sea, China stood up for its own sovereignty on just grounds, from a position of strength, and with restraint. It took resolute steps to oppose the interference of forces outside the region while working with relevant countries in the region to strengthen communications, enhance mutual trust, handle differences appropriately, and focus on cooperation. In addition to the issuance of the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on China's Territorial Sovereignty and Maritime Rights and Interests in the South China Sea along with other official documents, China reaffirmed its stance on this issue on many international occasions, thereby

effectively safeguarding its territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests in the South China Sea. At the same time, it continued to settle disputes through dialogue and negotiation, steadily advanced the consultations on establishing a code of conduct in the South China Sea, and worked to ensure a stable maritime situation. Despite disruption, China finished as scheduled the expansion of some garrisoned islands and reefs in the Nansha Islands, thus achieving historic progress in safeguarding its sovereignty in the South China Sea. A CPC working committee and a management committee of Yongxing Town, Sansha City were set up in July 2014, marking the founding of the first primary-level government on a Xisha island. With the establishment of this substantive, organizational form of state power, China took another step in asserting its sovereignty in the South China Sea. Since 2015, the Huayang, Chigua, Zhubi, Yongshu, and Meiji lighthouses have been built and put into use, and this further contributed to safeguarding China's sovereignty and maritime rights and interests in the South China Sea.

On the issue of the Diaoyu Island, China adhered to principle and acted in a fair and reasonable manner on the basis of respecting history and international law. It made statements emphasizing that the Diaoyu Island belongs to China on several diplomatic occasions, placed articles reinforcing the same message in key foreign media outlets, and carried out law enforcement patrol missions in the waters of the Diaoyu Island, exercising its national sovereignty in accordance with law. All this fully demonstrated the firm resolve and will of the CPC, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people in safeguarding China's territorial sovereignty.

China worked to protect peace and stability in its neighborhood and to settle problems through dialogue and consultation. While sticking to its principles and enhancing its border control capabilities, China remained committed to carrying out negotiations and communications

through diplomatic and military channels to maintain peace in areas along the China-India border. China adopted a distinctive Chinese approach to addressing issues in international hotspots, encouraging dialogue and promoting peace, and facilitated the process of finding political solutions to the issue of the Korean Peninsula. China also actively mediated in Afghanistan's peace and reconciliation process, called for increased dialogue between India and Pakistan, and worked to ease the tension between Myanmar and Bangladesh, thus making important contributions to the stability of the region.

China safeguarded its overseas interests, protected the safety and legitimate rights and interests of its citizens, organizations, and agencies overseas, and worked to develop robust institutions for safeguarding the security of Chinese interests overseas.

In September 2014, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched a global emergency call center for consular protection and services, aiming to provide timely assistance to overseas Chinese who find themselves in difficulty or in need of help. During the five years following the 18th National Party Congress, China evacuated stranded Chinese citizens from a number of countries in which wars or major natural disasters occurred and organized nine overseas evacuation operations. As of September 2017, China had dealt with over 100 cases of Chinese citizens being kidnapped or attacked overseas, as well as 300,000 consular protection and assistance cases.

Under the general framework of the national security system, it built a unified, efficient mechanism for protecting the security of both overseas Chinese enterprises and outbound investment. China also reached a number of agreements or arrangements with relevant countries on facilitating the movement of people. As of September 2017, 64 countries and regions had provided conditional visa-free entry or visa upon arrival for ordinary Chinese passport holders, and 41 countries had signed

agreements on the simplification of visa procedures with China. As a result of these efforts, Chinese citizens now find it more convenient and safer to go abroad.

7. The Party's 19th National Congress, Establishing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the Party's Guiding Ideology, and Securing a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

The Party's 19th National Congress

The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Beijing from October 18 to 24, 2017. The Congress was attended by 2,280 delegates and 74 special delegates, representing over 89 million Party members in the country.

At the Congress, Xi Jinping, on behalf of the 18th Central Committee, delivered the report "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era." The theme of the Congress was: Remain true to the Party's original aspiration and keep its mission firmly in mind, hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, secure a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, and work tirelessly to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

The Congress applauded the historic achievements that had been secured and the historic shifts that had occurred in the cause of the Party and the country since the Party's 18th National Congress.



- Xi Jinping delivers a report to the 19th National Congress of the CPC on behalf of the 18th Central Committee.

Over the five years from the 18th to the 19th Congress, the Party demonstrated tremendous political courage and a powerful sense of mission as it developed new ideas, new thinking, and new strategies, adopted a raft of major principles and policies, launched a host of major initiatives, and pushed ahead with many major tasks. It solved many tough problems that were long on the agenda but never resolved, and accomplished many things that were wanted but never got done. With this, it pushed forward historic shifts in the cause of the Party and the country.

The Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core acted with courage to confront major risks and tests facing the Party and to address prominent problems within the Party. With firm resolve, it tightened discipline and improved Party conduct, fought corruption and punished wrongdoing, and removed serious potential dangers in the Party and the country. As a result, both the intraparty political

atmosphere and the political ecosystem of the Party improved markedly. The Party's ability to innovate, power to unite, and energy to fight were all significantly strengthened; Party solidarity and unity were reinforced, and its engagement with the people was greatly increased. Revolutionary tempering enabled the Party to grow stronger and radiate with great vitality. With this, efforts to develop the cause of the Party and the country gained a strong political underpinning.

The achievements of the five years touched every area and broke new ground, and the changes in the Party and China were profound and fundamental.

It was clearly stated in the report to the 19th National Congress that the original aspiration and the mission of Chinese Communists is to better the lives of the Chinese people and to rejuvenate the Chinese nation. This original aspiration, this mission, is what inspires Chinese Communists to advance.

With a focus on national rejuvenation, the greatest dream of the Chinese people in the modern era, the report summarized the Party's nearly 100 years of struggles since its founding, and emphasized: "Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever before of making the goal of national rejuvenation a reality. As the old saying goes, the last leg of a journey marks the halfway point. Achieving national rejuvenation will be no walk in the park; it will take more than drum beating and gong clanging to get there. Every one of us in the Party must be prepared to work even harder toward this goal. Realizing our great dream demands a great struggle, a great project, and a great cause. This great struggle, great project, great cause, and great dream are closely connected, flow seamlessly into each other, and are mutually reinforcing. Among them, the great new project of Party building plays the decisive role."

A correct understanding of the historic juncture and the phase of

development in the Party and people's cause underpins the Party's efforts in making clear its central task for the stage and in formulating lines, principles, and policies. The following major political judgment was issued at the Congress: "Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era, and this signifies that the Chinese nation, which in modern times had endured so much for so long, has achieved a tremendous transformation: it has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong; and it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation. It signifies that scientific socialism is full of vitality in 21st century China, and that the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics is now flying high and proud for all to see. It signifies that the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics have kept developing, thereby blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization. It thus offers a new option for other countries and nations who want to speed up their development while preserving their independence, as well as Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to solving the problems facing humankind."

It was noted at the Congress that the principal contradiction facing Chinese society had evolved into the contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life. This represented a historic shift that affected the whole landscape and that created many new demands for the work of the Party and the country. This shift in the principal contradiction facing Chinese society, from one between underdeveloped social production and the people's ever-growing material and cultural needs to one between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life, was the natural outcome of social and economic development.

After a long journey, it was time for the Party to devise a new chapter and embark on an ambitious new journey. Integrated strategic plans and

arrangements were therefore made at the Congress for achieving the Two Centenary Goals,¹ securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and embarking on a new journey to build a modern socialist China in all respects.

It was stated in the report that the period between the 19th and the 20th National Congress is the period in which the timeframes of the two centenary goals converge. In this period, the Party must not only achieve the first centenary goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, but build on this momentum to embark on a new journey to achieve the second centenary goal of building a modern socialist country in all respects.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the international and domestic environments and the conditions for China's development, a two-stage development plan was drawn up for the period from 2020 up to the middle of the 21st century: In the first stage, from 2020 to 2035, build on the foundation created by the moderately prosperous society with a further 15 years of hard work to ensure socialist modernization is fundamentally realized; in the second stage, from 2035 to the middle of the 21st century, on the basis of having fundamentally achieved modernization, strive for another 15 years to develop China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

At the Congress, an overall plan was set out for promoting economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological advancement in China; this was formulated in accordance with the five-sphere integrated plan that serves as the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

¹ The Two Centenary Goals are to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the time the Communist Party of China celebrates its centenary in 2021 and to turn the People's Republic of China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the time it celebrates its centenary in 2049.

The report stressed the need to apply the new development philosophy and develop a modernized economy; to improve the system of institutions through which the people run the country and develop socialist democracy; to build stronger cultural confidence and help socialist culture to flourish; to become more adept at ensuring and improving people's wellbeing and strengthen and develop new approaches to social governance; and to speed up reform to develop sound systems for establishing an ecological civilization in order to build a Beautiful China.

At the Congress, important plans were also set out regarding national defense and the armed forces, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and China's diplomatic initiatives. The report heightened the need to stay committed to the Chinese path of building a strong military and fully advance the modernization of national defense and the military; to uphold the policy of One Country, Two Systems and promote national reunification; and to follow the path of peaceful development and work toward a human community with a shared future.

The following general requirements were set forth for Party building in the new era: Uphold and strengthen overall Party leadership and ensure that the Party exercises effective self-supervision and practices strict self-governance in every respect; take strengthening the Party's long-term governance capacity and its advanced nature and purity as the main thrust, enhancing the Party's political building as the overarching principle, holding dear the Party's ideals, convictions, and purpose as the underpinning, and harnessing the whole Party's enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity as the focus of efforts; make comprehensive efforts to ensure that the Party's political building is enhanced, its theory strengthened, its organizations consolidated, its conduct improved, and Party discipline enforced, with institution building incorporated into every aspect of Party building; step up efforts to combat corruption and

continue to improve the efficacy of Party building; and build the Party into a vibrant Marxist governing party that is always at the forefront of the times, that enjoys the wholehearted support of the people, that has the courage to reform itself, and that is able to withstand all tests.

The Congress approved the report of the 18th Central Committee, adopted the revised Constitution of the Communist Party of China, and approved the work report of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. The 19th Central Committee and the 19th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection were elected at the Congress.

At the First Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee, Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, Li Zhanshu, Wang Yang, Wang Huning, Zhao Leji, and Han Zheng were elected as members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Xi Jinping was elected as general secretary of the Central Committee; Xi Jinping was appointed chairman of the Central Military Commission; and Zhao Leji was appointed secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.



- Newly-elected members of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau meet with the press.

Establishing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the Party's Guiding Ideology

Focusing on the long-term development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the Party, at its 19th National Congress, put forward Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and incorporated it into the Party Constitution, establishing it as a guiding ideology that the Party must adhere to in the long term. The guiding ideology of the Party has thus once again succeeded in advancing with the times.

Since the 18th National Congress, the Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has, by combining theory and practice, provided a systematic answer to a profound question presented by the era: what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics to uphold and develop in the new era and how to go about doing it. This involves fundamental issues such as the overarching objective, task, plan, and strategy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, the direction, model, and driving force of development, and the strategic steps, external conditions, and political guarantees. Based on new experience, the Central Committee conducted theoretical analysis and policy guidance on the economy, political affairs, rule of law, science and technology, culture, education, the wellbeing of the people, ethnic and religious affairs, social development, ecological conservation, national security, national defense and the armed forces, the principle of One Country, Two Systems and national reunification, the united front, foreign affairs, and Party building. This has all led to the development of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

The report at the Congress provided a thorough explanation of the key concepts and practical requirements of Xi Jinping Thought

on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era through “8 clarifications” and “14 commitments.”

The “8 clarifications” made the following aspects clear:

It clarified that the overarching task of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation, and that, on the basis of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a two-step approach should be taken to develop China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the 21st century.

It clarified that the principal contradiction facing Chinese society in the new era is that between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people’s ever-growing needs for a better life. The Party must therefore continue commitment to the people-centered philosophy of development, and work to promote well-rounded human development and common prosperity.

It clarified that the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the five-sphere integrated plan, and the overall strategy is the four-pronged comprehensive strategy. It highlighted the importance of fostering stronger confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

It clarified that the overall goal of deepening reform in every field is to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and to modernize China’s system and capacity for governance.

It clarified that the overall goal of comprehensively advancing law-based governance is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and to build a country of socialist rule of law.

It clarified that the Party’s goal of building a strong military in the new era is to be achieved by developing the people’s forces into world-

class forces that obey the Party's command, that are able to fight and to win, and that maintain excellent conduct.

It clarified that major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to foster a new type of international relations and to build a human community with a shared future.

It clarified that the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; that the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; and that the Party is the highest force for political leadership. It set forth the general requirements for Party building in the new era and underlined the importance of political work in Party building.

The "14 commitments" stated the Party's commitment to the following: ensuring Party leadership over all work, taking a people-centered approach, continuing to comprehensively deepen reform, adopting a new development philosophy, guaranteeing that the people run the country, ensuring every dimension of governance is law-based, upholding core socialist values, ensuring and improving living standards through development, ensuring harmony between human and nature, pursuing a holistic approach to national security, upholding absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces, upholding the principle of One Country, Two Systems and promoting national reunification, promoting the building of a human community with a shared future, and exercising full and rigorous governance of the Party. These commitments collectively constitute the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

The organic integration and unity of the "8 clarifications" and "14 commitments" reflects a deeper understanding of the laws underlying socialism with Chinese characteristics on the part of the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core, and

features a combination of theory and practice along with the integration of epistemology and methodology. In the new era, everyone in the Party must uphold the Party's basic theory, line, and policy to promote constant development of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

It was stated at the Congress that Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era builds on and further enriches Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. It represents the latest achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, and encapsulates the practical experience and collective wisdom of both the Party and the people. It is an important component of the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and is a guide to action for all Party members and all the Chinese people as they strive to achieve national rejuvenation. It must therefore be adhered to and steadily developed on a long-term basis.

Following the 19th National Congress, at which the guiding position of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era was confirmed, the Thought was also incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China after corresponding amendments to the Constitution were passed at the First Session of the 13th NPC in March 2018, thus ensuring that the guiding ideology of the nation keeps up with the times and that the will of the people and of society as a whole is realized.

General Secretary Xi Jinping is the main founder of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. As a Marxist statesman, thinker, and strategist of tremendous courage, great political wisdom, and a strong sense of responsibility, he put forward a series of pioneering concepts, ideas, and strategies, playing a decisive role in the development of this theory.

In adhering to Marxist stands, viewpoints, and methods, as well

as to the basic principles of scientific socialism, Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era has drawn lessons from socialist movements worldwide, and enriched and developed Marxism with brand new ideas on the basis of practices and developments in the new era, thereby creating a scientific system of theories.

Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is comprehensive, logical, and profound in its content, and shines with the glory of Marxist truth. In integrating Marxist philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, it connects the past, present, and future, while covering various fields including promoting reform and development, ensuring stability, domestic and foreign affairs, and strengthening national defense, along with Party, state, and military governance. Being people-centered and problem-oriented, it is a clear reflection of the Party's firm convictions, high level of self-awareness and self-confidence, and strong sense of responsibility, and represents the Party's higher-level understanding of the laws underlying the Party's governance, the development of socialism, and the evolution of human society.

Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era constitutes an innovative contribution to the development of Marxism. By combining theory with practice, this Thought moves with the times and is constantly enriched and improved as an open, guiding theory for social reform and the Party's self-reform in the new era in tandem with developments in the great practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Xi Jinping's thinking on the armed forces, the economy, diplomacy, ecological conservation, and the rule of law constitutes the extension of this theoretical system into those respective fields. Practice is limitless, and so are theoretical breakthroughs. As Marxism for contemporary China and Marxism in the 21st century,

Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is sure to break new ground in unison with new developments and practices.

As theoretical breakthroughs are made, the Party must act to equip itself with the latest achievements. Since the 19th National Congress, the Central Committee has given political priority to thoroughly studying and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, in order to better equip the Party with this theory and use it to guide the Party's work and practice. A series of key measures were implemented to ensure that what is learned is applied in practice and that beliefs are acted on.

Revising the Constitution of the Communist Party of China

Revising the Constitution of the Communist Party of China was essential for ensuring the Party's guiding ideology keeps up with the times, for developing the cause of the Party and the country in the new era, and for implementing the guiding principles from the 19th National Congress; at the same time, it was also a strategic measure for advancing the great new project of Party building.

Establishing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the Party's guiding thought and incorporating it into the Party Constitution constitutes the highlight of the revised Party Constitution and its most prominent historic contribution.

At the Congress, it was unanimously agreed that Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, along with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, should be established as guide to action for the Party in the Party Constitution.

Revisions to the Party Constitution fully reflected the new theoretical, practical, and institutional accomplishments the Party had achieved since the 18th National Congress, as well as the major theoretical viewpoints and strategic thinking set down in the report to the 19th National Congress. This was embodied in the following aspects:

The culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics, along with the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, was incorporated into the Party Constitution.

The Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation were included in the Party Constitution.

In addition to this, the Party Constitution was revised in accordance with the new statements on the principal contradiction facing Chinese society set forth at the 19th National Congress.

Furthermore, the following statements were added to the Party Constitution: we shall give play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation and ensure the government plays its role better; advance supply-side structural reform; establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics; advance the extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development of consultative democracy; nurture and practice core socialist values; promote the creative evolution and development of fine traditional Chinese culture; firmly hold the leading position in ideological work; strengthen and develop new approaches to social governance; pursue a holistic approach to national security; increase awareness that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets; build people's armed forces that obey the Party's command, are able to fight and win, and maintain excellent conduct by enhancing their political loyalty, strengthening them through reform and technology, and managing them in accordance with law; foster a strong sense of community among the Chinese nation; uphold justice while pursuing

shared interests; work to build a human community with a shared future; and pursue the Belt and Road Initiative.

These statements are of great importance in helping all Party members to more purposefully and determinedly implement the Party's basic theory, line, and policy, and to better uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics.

These revisions to the Party Constitution ensured that the Party's guiding thought keeps up with the times, promoted the development of the Party and the country's cause in the new era, and strongly advanced the great new project of Party building. The revised Party Constitution fully embodies the Party's latest achievements in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context, along with the major strategic concepts the Party Central Committee has put forward since the 18th Congress and the new experiences produced in the Party's work and in Party building.

8. Upholding Overall Party Leadership and Strengthening the Party More Effectively

The general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era put forward in the political report of the Party's 19th National Congress constitute a top-level design and comprehensive plan for advancing the great new project of Party building. They clearly defined the purpose, policy, main thread, overall layout, and goals of strengthening the Party in the new era, and provided further answers to the historic questions of what kind of party to build in the new era and how to build it. They pointed out the direction and provided basic guidelines for upholding the Party's overall leadership and making the Party stronger.

Upholding Party Leadership over All Work

The Party exercises overall leadership over all areas of endeavor

in every part of the country and is the highest political leadership. Xi Jinping gave a clear and vivid explanation of the central role of Party leadership when he stated that “The Communist Party of China is, figuratively speaking, like a moon surrounded by a myriad of stars.” Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee for success in all the work of the Party and country and integral to overcoming all difficulties and risks.

At its 19th National Congress, the Party established the following points as important components of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era: The defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is CPC leadership; the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is CPC leadership; and the Party is the highest political leadership. These major political principles were also added to the Party Constitution, and “upholding CPC leadership over all work” was made the first point of the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. This forms the most basic summary of the experience of the CPC and the Chinese people in upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, and reflects their confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In March 2018, the revised Constitution of the People’s Republic of China was adopted at the First Session of the 13th NPC. While the Preamble of the Constitution establishes the leadership position of the Party, the General Principles stipulate that the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is CPC leadership. This strengthened the Party’s role of providing overall leadership and coordinating work in all areas. The establishment of the Party’s leadership position in the Constitution, China’s fundamental law, was a reflection of the most essential dimension of the Chinese context. It

helped enhance the whole population's awareness of Party leadership, ensure effective implementation of Party leadership throughout the entire process of the nation's work, and see the cause of the Party and country always move in the right direction.

The Party's overall leadership is concrete, not empty or abstract. It must be reflected in all aspects of governance, and in the design, planning, and operation of the institutions, systems, and mechanisms of state power to ensure it is upheld in all areas and becomes stronger and more effective. In practice, this means continuing to improve the system for upholding overall Party leadership and strengthening Party organizations' leadership positions in other organizations at the same level. Party committees and leading Party members' groups in state bodies, public institutions, people's organizations, social organizations, enterprises, and other organizations must accept the unified leadership of the Party committee that approves their establishment and report to it regularly on their work. This ensures that Party policies, decisions, and plans are implemented in the organizations at their level. Faster steps also need to be made toward establishing Party organizations in new economic and social organizations, so that Party organizations develop in tandem with progress in the Party's work.

At its Fourth Plenary Session in October 2019, the 19th Central



• A deputy votes on the revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China (draft) at the First Session of the 13th NPC.

Committee gave top priority to upholding and improving Party leadership systems. In highlighting the leading position of these systems, it identified the key and essence of national governance. The decision adopted by the Plenary Session stated, "We will improve Party leadership systems whereby the Party provides overall leadership and coordinates work in all areas, so that Party leadership can be implemented in all aspects of the governance of China." This provided a strong institutional guarantee for strengthening overall Party leadership in the new era.

Safeguarding the Central Committee's Authority and Its Centralized, Unified Leadership

The Party Central Committee should exercise leadership over all areas of endeavor. In national governance, the Party Central Committee, like an army commander, holds the position of leadership. If we were to compare socialism with Chinese characteristics to a building, the Central Committee would constitute the key pillar of its structure. The first requirement of adhering to overall Party leadership is to uphold the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership. This is the overriding principle for ensuring Party leadership and the most fundamental political rule. It is a point upon which there can be no equivocation or wavering at any time or in any circumstances.

All majestic mountains have a peak. Xi Jinping has stressed the importance of strengthening consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; and of increasing confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics, so as to ensure that the Party is united, acts in concert, and always provides overall leadership and coordinates work in all areas. After the 19th National Party Congress, the Central Committee put forward specific requirements for resolutely

upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and for resolutely upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership.

In October 2017, the Central Committee Political Bureau met to discuss the Regulations of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening and Upholding the Centralized, Unified Leadership of the Party Central Committee, pointing out that the Political Bureau should take the lead in maintaining political integrity, thinking in big-picture terms, following the leadership core, and keeping in alignment with the central Party leadership; strictly observing the Party Constitution and the code of conduct for intraparty political activities; fully implementing the requirements set forth at the 19th National Party Congress for strengthening and upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee; consciously performing duties and carrying out work under the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core; and firmly upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole. According to the Regulations, all members of the Political Bureau must submit an annual written report to the Central Committee and General Secretary Xi. This became an important institutional arrangement for strengthening and upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee.

In August 2018, the CPC Central Committee issued the revised Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Disciplinary Action. Added to the text were the provisions of "upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership" and "maintaining political integrity, thinking in big-picture terms, following the leadership

core, and keeping in alignment with the central Party leadership.” The document also made specific provisions for punishing actions such as disunity with the Central Committee on major matters of principle, practicing mountain-stronghold mentality, watering down or modifying the decisions and plans of the Central Committee, double-dealing, and duplicity. These Regulations provided a powerful disciplinary guarantee for Party organizations at all levels, Party members, and officials to always maintain a high degree of unity with the Central Committee in terms of political stance, direction, principle, and path, and for ensuring Party-wide compliance with its orders and prohibitions.

In January 2019, the Central Committee issued the Guidelines of the CPC Central Committee on Reinforcing the Party’s Political Foundations. This was a major decision and plan of the Central Committee with regard to reinforcing the Party’s political foundations in the new era. In the Guidelines, the primary task of this work was identified as upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership. The Guidelines stressed that the most important point for upholding and strengthening overall Party leadership was to resolutely uphold the Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership and the most crucial point was to resolutely uphold the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole.

In addition, the Central Committee also issued the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Requesting Instructions and Submitting Reports on Major Issues. The Regulations emphasized that requests for instructions and reports must be made to the Central Committee for major principles and policies concerning the overall work of the Party and country; major principles and issues concerning economic, political,

cultural, social, and ecological advancement and Party building; issues under the centralized, unified management of the Central Committee such as national security, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and overseas Chinese affairs, foreign affairs, national defense, and the military; and any other major matters that should only be led and decided by the Central Committee. The Regulations are of great significance for upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership, ensuring that the Party is united and acts in concert, and making requests for instructions and reports more institutionalized, standard, and effective.

At its Fourth Plenary Session, the 19th Central Committee stated that "we must improve systems for firmly upholding the authority of the Central Committee and its centralized, unified leadership." It stressed the importance of ensuring that the entire Party increases its consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; enhances confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; upholds the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholds the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership; closely follows the Central Committee in terms of thinking, political orientation, and actions; and bears firmly in mind the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole. At the session, it was stated that efforts should be made to improve the leadership system of the Central Committee for major work, strengthen the role of the decision-making, deliberation, and coordination bodies of the Central Committee, improve the mechanism for implementing major Central Committee policy decisions, strictly implement the system for requesting

instructions from and submitting reports to the Central Committee, and ensure that its orders and prohibitions are complied with. It was imperative to improve the organizational system for ensuring centralized, unified Party leadership, so as to form a strong and rigorous system which links the Party's central, local, and primary-level organizations and ensures effective implementation of the Party's decisions and achieve full coverage of Party organizations and work. This institutional arrangement provided a strong guarantee for strengthening the authority of the Central Committee and its centralized, unified leadership.

In September 2020, the Central Committee issued the Regulations on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The Regulations made "upholding Party leadership over all work and ensuring the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee" the first principle to be observed by the Central Committee in its work. The document emphasized that the Central Committee, its Political Bureau, and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau are at the center of the Party's organizational system, charting the course, crafting overall plans, designing policy, and promoting reform to advance the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This document made it clear that only the Central Committee has the right to make decisions and interpretations on major policy issues concerning the entire Party and the whole country. With a focus on strengthening the work of the Central Committee, the Regulations included exhaustive provisions on the Central Committee's leadership, systems of leadership, powers, ways of exercising leadership, decision-making, and self-improvement, thereby providing the basic guidelines for ensuring the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee over the cause of the Party and country.

Upholding General Secretary Xi Jinping's position at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole and upholding the

Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership is a major political achievement and a valuable experience in exercising full and strict self-governance of the Party. To meet the requirements of the Central Committee, each region and department introduced specific regulations and measures in order to achieve this in light of their own conditions. Based on various study and educational initiatives, they guided Party members and officials in increasing their consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; enhancing their confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. Through continuous efforts, Party members and officials considerably raised their political stance, consciousness, and ability, thereby consolidating the Party's unity and solidarity and ensuring that the Central Committee is the sole authority for making final decisions.

Prioritizing the Reinforcement of the Party's Political Foundations

Reinforcement of the Party's political foundations determines the direction and effectiveness of the overall efforts to strengthen the Party. It also constitutes the very soul and foundation of these endeavors. At its 19th National Congress in October 2017, the Party set forth the important issue of reinforcing its political foundations, making this a top priority in the efforts to strengthen itself. This move defined the strategic position of this issue in the efforts to strengthen the Party in the new era. With a focus on this fundamental issue of full and strict Party self-governance, it was noted in the report to the 19th National Congress that, "Reinforcing the Party's political foundations is of fundamental importance to the

Party as it determines the direction and effect of strengthening the Party. The primary task of reinforcing the Party's political foundations is to ensure that the whole Party obeys the Central Committee and upholds its authority and centralized, unified leadership. All Party members must closely follow the Party's political line, strictly observe its political discipline and rules, and closely align themselves with the Central Committee in terms of political stance, direction, principle, and path. We must foster values like loyalty, honesty, impartiality, adherence to fact, and integrity; guard against and oppose self-centered behavior, decentralism, behavior in disregard of the rules, a silo mentality, unprincipled nice-guyism, and sectarianism, factionalism, and patronage. We must resolutely oppose double-dealing and duplicity."

The Guidelines of the CPC Central Committee on Reinforcing the Party's Political Foundations stated clearly that the purpose of reinforcing the political foundations of the Party is to strengthen political convictions, reinforce political leadership, improve political capacity, purify the political environment, and ensure that the Party is united and acts in concert. The entire document complied with and embodied the fundamental requirement of upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. It called for the Party to make this the primary task in reinforcing its political foundations, and to ensure that all other initiatives to strengthen the Party take their lead from this task so that all political criteria and requirements are met while carrying out these initiatives. The Guidelines emphasized that the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership, need to be upheld with the right understanding and actions in order to resolutely prevent any errors in this regard and to

remedy any mistakes should they occur.

In March 2019, the National Conference on Disciplinary Inspection and the Conference for Mobilizing and Planning the Third Round of Disciplinary Inspections of the 19th Central Committee were held. These conferences emphasized the need to conscientiously fulfill political oversight responsibilities during disciplinary inspections in the new era; bear firmly in mind the need to urge compliance with the fundamental requirement of upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership; see political discipline and rules are strictly observed; eliminate the practice of pointless formalities and bureaucratism; ensure that political oversight is conducted with greater detail and on a more regular basis; and promote the implementation of the Central Committee's major policies.

In December 2020, Xi Jinping further stressed at a meeting of the Central Committee's Political Bureau for criticism and self-criticism that it was imperative to enhance political consciousness, to be good at seeing things from a political point of view and understanding the overall political situation, and to constantly improve political judgment, understanding, and implementation.

To implement these requirements, with the Party's political attributes, mission, goals, and aspirations in mind, the Central Committee made sustained efforts to guide the entire Party in strengthening consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; in increasing confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and in upholding the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the

Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. It worked to make sure that reinforcing the Party's political foundations was part of the entire process of making and implementing the major decisions and plans of the Party and country; constantly improve the supervision and accountability mechanisms for acting on the Central Committee's major decisions and plans and General Secretary Xi's instructions and comments; fully investigate and handle violations of the Party's political line and the undermining of its unity; and use political improvement to deepen the overall, strict self-governance of the Party.

Deepening the Party's Self-Reform

The CPC is equally capable of leading the people in undertaking a great social revolution and engaging in significant self-reform. The courage to carry out self-reform is the most salient character of the Party, a quality engrained in the political DNA of Chinese Communists. The reason the CPC has become the backbone of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation is the spirit of self-reform that it has maintained all along. Time and again, the Party has picked up the scalpel to remove whatever ails it, again and again taking the initiative to solve its own problems.

The Party has never halted in its pursuit of self-reform. The political report delivered at the 19th National Party Congress set out a general plan for strengthening the Party: "[to] make all-around efforts to see the Party's political foundations reinforced, its theory strengthened, its organizations consolidated, its conduct improved, and its discipline enforced, with institution building incorporated into every aspect of strengthening the Party, and step up efforts to combat corruption." Xi Jinping has noted the need for the Party to uphold its Constitution as its fundamental set of rules, give top priority to the political work of the Party, combine theoretical work with institution building, strengthen its competence in all respects, and enhance its ability to purify, improve,

and reform itself.

Theory is fundamental to strengthening the Party. One key reason for the Party's ability to grow in strength despite all the difficulties it has encountered is the level of importance it has always given to improving its theories. At its 19th National Congress, the Party emphasized that it would make staying true to its ideals and convictions the top priority in strengthening itself through theory, arm all its members with Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, ensure they keep firmly in mind the Party's purpose, and resolve the fundamental issues of the worldview, outlook on life, and values they should embrace.

Just one week after the 19th National Party Congress closed, Xi Jinping led the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau on a visit to the sites of the First National Party Congress in Shanghai and the Red Boat on the South Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province, to review the history of the Party's founding, retake the Party



- Party members of Liuzhou Steel Group in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region renew their admission oath.

admission oath, and demonstrate the firm political conviction of the Party's new central collective leadership. Xi stated that, "To stay true to our Party's original aspiration and founding mission and keep working hard is the only way to keep the CPC forever full of vitality."

The campaign under the theme of "staying true to the Party's founding mission," beginning at the end of May 2019, was rolled out throughout the Party, progressing from the top down in two stages. The campaign was a vivid example of the efforts to deepen the Party's self-reform and advance full and strict self-governance of the Party in the new era. In order to consolidate the results of the campaign, at its Fourth Plenary Session, the 19th Central Committee established a system for staying true to the Party's founding mission, making education on this topic a regular and long-term practice. In September 2020, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee issued the Guidelines on Consolidating and Deepening the Results of the Campaign to Stay True to the Party's Founding Mission to ensure the results of the campaign would take root.

While carrying out this focused intraparty educational campaign, the Central Committee worked to make learning and education part of the daily routine. It urged Party organizations at all levels to continuously strengthen their theoretical proficiency and get better at equipping all Party members with Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The Central Committee made arrangements for Party members and officials to gain a deep understanding of Xi Jinping's major publications such as *The Governance of China* and his works on specific topics, as well as instructional materials such as *Introducing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*. Through Xi's works, Party members and officials were able to acquire a better understanding of his theory, strengthen their beliefs, reinforce the core values of their faith, and maintain the right

line in their thinking.

The Party also implemented the organizational line for the new era. A party's strength comes from its organizations, so the party with strong organizations is sure to be powerful.

At the National Conference on Organizational Work in July 2018, Xi Jinping introduced and explained the Party's organizational line for the new era, pointing out the direction for enhancing both the Party and its organizational work in the new era. The Party's organizational line for the new era is: fully embracing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era; focusing on improving the organizational system to train high-caliber officials who are loyal to the Party, have moral integrity, and demonstrate a keen sense of responsibility and to gather talented people who are patriotic and dedicated; evaluating officials in terms of both political integrity and professional competence, with priority given to integrity, and appointing people on their merits, so as to provide a strong organizational guarantee for upholding and strengthening overall Party leadership and upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The introduction of a new organizational line provided effective guidelines for strengthening the Party organizationally and important guarantees for making the Party more creative, cohesive, and capable. Following the new organizational line, continued efforts were made to strengthen weak and lax Party organizations at the primary level to ensure their progress and strengthen them in all respects. These efforts helped constantly improve the Party's organizational system. Many outstanding Party members kept emerging, including Zhang Guimei, Zhong Nanshan, Huang Wenxiu, Zhang Fuqing, Zheng Derong, and Zhang Liming, while many advanced primary-level Party organizations from around the country also came to the fore in fulfilling their key roles, including the Party branch of the 74th PLA Army Group's Sixth

Company (also known as the hard-boned Sixth Company), the Party committee of Beijing Ditan Hospital Affiliated to the Capital Medical University, and the general Party branch of the Qingheju Community in Gongrencun Street, Qingshan District, Wuhan, along with many others. As of December 31, 2019, the CPC had 3,202 local Party committees, 4.681 million primary-level Party organizations, and a total of 91.914 million Party members. And its ability to provide political leadership, to give guidance through theory, to organize the people, and to inspire society at large was steadily gaining strength.

The conduct of the CPC amounts to its image. Like a barometer, the CPC's conduct can tell us about the relationship between the Party and the people and between officials and the public, as well as the level of public support the Party enjoys. At its first meeting after the 19th National Party Congress, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee put the task of improving conduct on the work agenda, deliberating the Rules of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee for Implementing the Eight-Point Decision on Improving Conduct. Based on new developments and new problems that had arisen in the implementation of the eight-point decision over the previous few years, the Political Bureau focused on further standardizing, refining, and improving the decision's relevant content to make it more apposite to the actual circumstances of work, so it would be better able to guide and easier to implement.

Solving the outstanding problems of pointless formalities and bureaucratism and easing the burdens of those working on the ground were the focus of improving Party conduct. In March 2019, the General Office of the Central Committee issued the Circular on Solving Outstanding Problems of Pointless Formalities to Ease the Burdens of Those Working on the Ground. The Circular declared that 2019 would be a year of easing the burdens of those working on the ground. In April

2020, the General Office of the Central Committee issued the Circular on Continuing to Address Pointless Formalities Affecting Those Working on the Ground to Let Improved Conduct Provide a Strong Guarantee for Winning a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects. In October 2020, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee stated that the Party would “continue to rectify the practice of pointless formalities and bureaucratism and effectively reduce the burden on those working on the ground.” In improving conduct, the focus was on specific behaviors and making regular and enduring efforts that would produce clear and lasting results, so that the whole Party and the people would clearly feel that things had changed and take hope from the concrete accomplishments that had been made. By proving to people that the Party was as good as its word, these efforts helped pool support within the Party and among the public for its full and strict self-governance.

According to a National Bureau of Statistics public opinion survey, 95.7 percent of people surveyed deemed the efforts in 2020 to implement the guiding principles of the central leadership’s eight-point decision on improving conduct and to address pointless formalities, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance to be effective—14.4 percentage points higher than in 2013; 95.8 percent of people considered full and strict self-governance of the Party in 2020 to be successful, 16.5 percentage points higher than in 2012.

Discipline was turned into a truly powerful deterrent. Strengthening Party discipline is integral to full and strict self-governance. The Party depends on strict discipline and rules to run itself and maintain strict standards among its members. Party members were encouraged to draw a distinct line in their own minds and to be clear about the boundaries within which to act.

All regions and government departments carried out in-depth

education about discipline. Regulations on Disciplinary Action and other Party regulations were used as learning materials for theoretical study groups for members of Party committees and leading Party members' groups, and included in the Party school curricula. Typical cases of officials violating the law and discipline were analyzed in detail for the purposes of warning, deterring, and educating Party members. Party members and officials, especially leading officials, were guided in checking that they were in compliance with the Party Constitution. They were encouraged to enhance their disciplinary awareness, bear firmly in mind the Constitution, regulations and rules of discipline of the Party, and act within set boundaries. They were urged to internalize disciplinary regulations and see that revering the Party Constitution and observing Party discipline became second nature to them.

At a meeting in July 2018, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee stressed the need to consolidate and build on the results of fully enforcing Party discipline and making those who violate discipline accountable, to make major efforts to establish rules and regulations and ensure compliance with them, to develop deterrents in the form of regulations and discipline, to have discipline address both symptoms and root causes, to ensure that all Party members and officials practice self-discipline as a matter of course, and to advance full and strict Party self-governance.

Rules have fundamental and long-term significance. In February 2018, the Central Committee issued the Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of Party Regulations (2018–2022). Designed to meet the need for upholding and strengthening the Party's overall leadership in the new era and promoting the overall development of the Party with a focus on reinforcing its political foundations, this plan set out a top-level design for the five-year development of Party regulations and systems.

The Central Committee put stronger emphasis on achieving effective

compliance with Party regulations. It made it clear that all rules were mandatory and binding, and prevented them from becoming toothless instruments.

In September 2019, the Central Committee issued the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on the System of Responsibility for Implementing Party Regulations (Interim). The Regulations clarified the responsibilities of Party organizations of all types at all levels, as well as those of Party members in leadership positions and set forth requirements for supervision, assessment, and accountability. This constituted an important step in fundamentally solving the difficulties in fully enforcing Party regulations and ensuring comprehensive compliance with them. Together with the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on the Formulation of Party Regulations and the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Recording and Reviewing Party Regulations and Normative Documents, which were revised and published at the same time, this document further standardized the whole chain of work related to Party regulations. They constituted the rules governing the formulation and enforcement of rules in the Party.

In order to ensure continued implementation of the responsibility system, which is the key to enforcing full and strict Party self-governance, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee issued the Regulations on Full and Strict Party Self-Governance Accountability for Party Committees and Leading Party Members' Groups in March 2020.

The journey of improving Party conduct and building integrity is always ongoing, and the same is true of combating corruption. After the 19th National Party Congress, Xi Jinping stressed that corruption, the biggest risk to the Party's governance, still existed; not all old corruption cases had been resolved while new ones were continuing to occur. According to Xi, the situation was still serious and complex, and efforts must continue to improve Party conduct, building integrity,

and combat corruption.

The Central Committee, determined to push forward the fight against corruption, maintained its tough stance in punishing corrupt practices. It continued to insist that there were no areas off-limits, no organizations or individuals that would be viewed as exceptions, and no tolerance shown for corruption. It imposed tight constraints, maintained a firm stance, and strengthened the long-term deterrents against corruption. Those who took bribes and those who paid them were punished alike. Corrupt officials who failed to rein in their behavior after the 18th National Party Congress, and especially after the 19th National Party Congress, were investigated and prosecuted as soon as they were identified. The Central Committee continued to tackle corruption and misconduct occurring on the people's doorsteps, and fully investigated every case of corruption concerning poverty alleviation and people's wellbeing and every official who shielded organized crime and local criminal gangs.

While strengthening deterrence to make sure officials do not dare to commit acts of corruption, the Central Committee integrated improving Party conduct and fighting corruption with deepening reform, improving institutions, and promoting governance. It ensured that anti-corruption supervision and oversight over the exercise of public power covered everyone in the public sector who exercises such power, thus strengthening the cage of institutions so such people are unable to commit acts of corruption. The Central Committee strove to ensure that people learned lessons from corruption cases, strengthened Party members' sense of Party consciousness and integrity, and continued to strengthen people's vigilance so they have no desire to commit acts of corruption.

Through the unremitting efforts of the entire Party, the fight against corruption achieved an overwhelming victory, which was consolidated

across the board. By resolving longstanding internal problems, the Party had purified itself.

Party and state oversight systems are an important institutional guarantee for boosting the Party's ability to purify, improve, and reform itself under the conditions of long-term governance. After the 19th National Party Congress, the Party's discipline inspection system, the national supervision system, and discipline inspection and supervision commissions were all reformed. The power oversight structure that achieved full coverage through disciplinary inspection, supervision, dispatched personnel, and inspection tours was improved.

Intraparty oversight was used to provide political guidance, while oversight was embedded in the processes of governance at the regional, departmental, industry, and community level, and in work units. It was ensured that Party committees and leading Party members' groups assumed the main responsibility for oversight, that Party secretaries were the persons with primary responsibility, and that discipline inspection commissions and supervision commissions assumed oversight responsibility in concert. The Party focused on internal scrutiny, constantly improving the systems for scrutinizing the exercise of power and enforcing Party discipline and state laws. It promoted oversight by people's congresses, democratic oversight, oversight by administrative and judicial organs, oversight through auditing, accounting, and statistics, as well as oversight by the general public and the media in a coordinated manner thereby creating strong synergy for regular supervision over the long run.

At its Fourth Plenary Session in October 2019, the 19th Central Committee made major institutional plans for "upholding and improving Party and state oversight systems, and strengthening the restraints and oversight over the exercise of power." It stated that it was imperative to improve the authoritative, efficient oversight system with

complete coverage under the Party's unified leadership; make oversight more serious, coordinated, and effective; put in place mechanisms for the exercise of power that ensure sound decision-making, resolute implementation, and effective oversight; develop integrated institutions and mechanisms in which officials do not dare to be, are not able to be, and do not want to be corrupt; and ensure that the powers conferred by the Party and the people are always used for the people's benefit.

9. New Strides in the Development of the State System and Governance System

Systematic and Holistic Overhaul of the Organizational Structure and Management Systems of the Party and the State

Seeking to ensure that Party leadership and the Chinese socialist system would be upheld and enhanced on the level of the functions of Party and state institutions and to advance the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, the Party Central Committee put deepening reform of these institutions on the agenda as a priority task. In February 2018, the Third Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee adopted the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions and the Plan on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions, making overall plans for the reform effort in five areas, namely improving the systems for overall Party leadership, optimizing the setup and functions of government institutions, coordinating the reform of Party, government, and military institutions and people's organizations, ensuring a rational setup for institutions at the local level, and promoting the codification of institution staffing arrangements. On March 17, the reform plan of State Council bodies was approved at the First Session of the 13th NPC.

The objective of these reforms was to build a system of functions of Party and state institutions that was well-conceived, procedure-based, and efficiently functioning, a system for the Party to exercise overall leadership and coordinate all initiatives, a government administration system featuring law-based execution of duties, a system for the armed forces that was world-class and boasted distinctive Chinese qualities, and a system of people's organizations with a broad network of connections for serving the public. They pushed for people's congresses, governments, CPPCC committees, supervisory organs, judicial and procuratorial bodies, people's organizations, enterprises, public institutions, and social organizations to take coordinated action and boost synergy under the Party's unified leadership in order to enhance China's system and capacity for governance across the board. This objective put stress on resolving problems with systems and mechanisms that had long-term implications in order to create favorable conditions for forming an even better Chinese socialist system.

Deepening reform of Party and state institutions was the first on a list of tough tasks for implementing the decisions and plans of the 19th National Congress of the CPC, and represented a systematic and holistic reshuffling of the organizational structure and management system of these institutions. After the Third Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, all those concerned from the central down to the local levels made solid and concerted efforts to see that each reform plan was rapidly executed. When the newly-founded National Commission of Supervision was officially unveiled and put into operation in March 2018, the reform program went into full swing. In November, institutional reform plans from 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government were all released publically. The Party Central Committee stepped up its coordinating efforts, defined clear frameworks for reforms, effectively addressed people-related

issues, and enforced strict discipline. The campaign proceeded according to a prioritized roadmap with the central level first, the provincial level second, and sub-provincial levels after that. In this way, reform tasks were completed in just over a year's time. At the ministerial level, 25 institutions were established or reestablished, while 35 institutions had their leadership management systems and duties adjusted and optimized. In addition, regulations designating the duties, institutions, and personnel of 39 departments and notices on adjusting the duties of 25 departments were issued. Rigorous steps were taken to keep the composition and staffing of departments and institutions from going beyond overall parameters, thereby successfully streamlining them on the whole. Through institutional reform, all types of organizations and institutions at central and local levels and their systems of management were holistically adjusted and optimized. The systems of Party leadership, government administration, the armed forces, and people's organizations were improved in the course of reshuffling, and the Party's leadership capacity, the government's administrative capacity, and the armed forces' combat capacity were systematically strengthened. The setup of people's congresses and CPPCC organs was optimized, while great strides were made toward a more mature and established system of functions of Party and state institutions as well as the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance.

Effective efforts were made to strengthen overall Party leadership, and the system of institutional functions upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the Party became more refined. Seeing that the imperative to strengthen Party leadership was implemented in every field and all aspects on the level of institutional functions was a defining outcome of this round of institutional reform. The institutional reform campaign strengthened the Party's leadership over important work related to deepening reform, law-based governance, the economy,

national security, cyberspace, foreign affairs, institutional composition, military-civilian integration, auditing, education, agriculture and rural areas, etc. It also improved the distribution of duties between the Party's organizational, publicity, united front, political and legal, Party building, and education and training departments, and bolstered coordination between departments working on major tasks in the same sector or area. Through the campaign, the Party's capacity to chart the direction, manage the big picture, formulate policies, and facilitate reform was enhanced, and its position in exercising overall leadership and coordinating overall initiatives was consolidated.

Another important component of this round of institutional reform was deepening reform of the national supervision system and strengthening the Party's unified leadership over anti-corruption efforts. At the 19th National Congress, the requirement was set forth to deepen reform in this area by extending trial efforts nationwide and to establish supervisory commissions at the national, provincial, prefectural, and county levels. By February 2018, supervisory commissions were fully established at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels across the country. At the Third Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, establishing the National Commission of Supervision was designated as the first task in deepening reform of central Party institutions. The First Session of the 13th NPC passed constitutional amendments and the Supervision Law, establishing the constitutional status of supervisory commissions as state institutions. Reform of the national supervision system was a major political reform and top-level design with wide-reaching implications. Establishing supervisory commissions at the national, provincial, prefectural, and county levels and strengthening the Party's unified leadership over anti-corruption work enabled full coverage of supervision over all civil servants that exercised public power, and established an authoritative and efficient oversight system

with full coverage under the Party's unified command.

This round of reform of Party and state institutions also made special plans for deepening reform of people's organizations. This involved further refining the system of Party committees exercising unified leadership over the work of these groups to help them strengthen their political consciousness, become more advanced, and better represent the people. It also involved vigorously promoting linkage between the functions of Party and government organs and those of people's organizations, with the ultimate goal of better exerting their role as bridges for the Party and the government to keep in touch with the people.

In July 2019, Xi Jinping delivered an important address at a meeting to sum up the campaign to deepen reform of Party and state institutions, in which he gave full affirmation to the major achievements and precious experience that had been accumulated over the course of the campaign. This mainly included the following: upholding full Party leadership over institutional reform, pursuing an "in with the new, out with the old" approach, promoting greater coordination and higher efficiency in the functions of institutions, linking together the central and local levels in a combined effort, integrating reform with the rule of law, and ensuring that ideological and political work permeated the entire process of reform. The campaign proved that the strategic decision of the Party Central Committee on deepening reform of Party and state institutions fully manifested the political strengths of the Party's centralized, unified leadership and the Chinese socialist system.

Driving Reform Deeper across the Board

After its 19th National Congress, the Party pushed forward with all-round deepening of reform. Systematically integrating the theoretical, institutional, and practical outcomes of deepening reform after the Third

Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, it drew clearer top-level designs for comprehensively deepening reform in the new era. These put priority on laying foundations and establishing a framework in the initial stage, then focused on making all-round progress and building momentum in the medium term before finally directing energy toward making systems more integrated and efficient.

In November 2017, it was stated at the first meeting of the Central Leading Group on Comprehensively Deepening Reform that no matter what is reformed or how far these changes go, there are three things that must not change: the centralized, unified leadership of the Party over reform, the overall objectives of improving and developing the Chinese socialist system and advancing modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, and the principle of putting the people first in reform. In May 2018, the Central Commission for Comprehensively Deepening Reform, which had recently been established after the Third Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, reviewed and passed the Implementation Plan for Major Reform Measures in the Report to the 19th National Congress of the CPC (2018–2022). This plan laid out the 158 reform measures confirmed at the congress, and listed elements including the organizations responsible for taking charge, the goals and approaches of reforms, and their intended durations and outcomes. In this way, an overall roadmap for comprehensively deepening reform over the next five years took shape, and a pledge was made to ensure that the objectives and tasks put forward at the Party's 19th National Congress were fully completed by 2022.

The Party continued to put in hard effort and take on tough challenges to see that comprehensively deepening reform would lead to decisive progress in key areas by 2020. A whole series of major reform measures were launched in succession, including the following:

- deepening reform of Party and state institutions, and establishing

the National Commission of Supervision;

- setting up sound systems, mechanisms, and policies for integrated urban-rural development, and moving faster to put in place a system of macro regulation suited to the needs of high-quality development;
- promoting reform and innovation in pilot free trade zones, and providing support to Hainan in all-round expansion of reform and opening up, to Hebei for experimenting and pursuing breakthroughs in the Xiongan New Area, and to Shenzhen in its transformation into a trailblazing demonstration area for Chinese socialism;
- advancing reform trials in state-funded and state-operated companies, strengthening oversight on nonfinancial firms' investment in financial institutions, setting up a Science and Technology Innovation Board at the Shanghai Stock Exchange and launching trials for a registration-based IPO system, proceeding with the integration and sharing of trading platforms for public resources, and expanding the autonomy of universities and research institutes over scientific research;
- launching nationwide reform of vocational education and trials for integrating it with industry, and improving systems and mechanisms for supervising education;
- reforming comprehensive oversight on the healthcare industry, reforming and improving the vaccine management system, and carrying out trials for the development of regional medical centers.

The year 2018 marked the 40th anniversary of the launch of reform and opening up. In December, the Party Central Committee held a ceremony to celebrate the occasion. Speaking at the ceremony, Xi Jinping reflected on four glorious decades of reform and opening up, reviewed the great achievements and precious experience captured in the process,

and expressed determination and conviction to see reform and opening up through in the new era. He said, "We are at a point in our journey where the road is getting steeper and more challenging, but we must keep pushing forward or else we will lose ground. Though we have already travelled far on the path of reform and opening up, we need to continue the trek, because there are more difficult yet glorious missions that lie ahead." Xi Jinping thus called on the whole Party and all Chinese people to keep pushing reform and opening up forward in the new era, and to work with unremitting effort to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

By the end of 2020, basic institutional frameworks were largely established in all sectors, with many sectors transformed and restructured in historic, systematic, and holistic ways. This laid down solid foundations for developing a well-conceived, procedure-based, and effectively functioning set of institutions and for making institutions in all sectors more mature and well-defined. In December 2020, the 17th meeting of the Central Commission for Comprehensively Deepening Reform deliberated a report summarizing and evaluating the spectacular progress made in comprehensively deepening reform over the years since the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, pointing out that this represented a profound transformation of ideas and theories, organizational methods, and the state system and governance system featuring broad public participation. The meeting also underscored the point that although China had already overcome numerous challenges, there were still many more yet to come. It would therefore be necessary to ensure that continued reform progressed in conjunction with the overall work of the Party and the state and with efforts to integrate institutions and forestall and defuse major risks, and also to inspire innovation while pooling energy to advance forward. This would open up new prospects for reform in the new stage of development.

Upholding and Improving the Chinese Socialist System, and Promoting the Modernization of China's Governance System and Capacity

With profound changes constantly occurring in China's internal and external environments, new demands were placed upon the country's institutional development. Institutional development is concerned more with addressing deep-seated problems with systems and mechanisms. It requires more systematic, holistic, and coordinated reform, and involves heavier tasks in rule setting and system building. Therefore, China needed to put greater effort into upholding and improving the Chinese socialist system and into advancing the modernization of its system and capacity for governance.

In October 2019, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee reviewed and adopted the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Modernizing the State Governance System and Capacity. This decision systematically reviewed the tremendous achievements and distinctive strengths of China's state system and governance system, and addressed the important political question of what aspects of these should be preserved and consolidated, and what aspects should be developed and refined. It also explained the key institutions underpinning the Chinese socialist system, and put forward top-level designs and comprehensive plans for upholding and improving Chinese socialism and advancing the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance in the new era. This plenary session went through and integrated the systems of the Party and the state in all sectors, drawing up a grand blueprint for upholding and improving the Chinese socialist system and providing solid institutional guarantees for realizing national rejuvenation.

The Fourth Plenary Session put forward the following overall timeline for upholding and improving the Chinese socialist system and advancing modernization of China's system and capacity for governance:

- by the Party's centennial in 2021, achieving clear progress in developing more mature and well-defined institutions in all sectors;
- by 2035, ensuring that all institutions are more refined, and completing the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance for the most part;
- by the PRC's centennial in 2049, fully completing modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, and seeing that the Chinese socialist system is more consolidated and that its strengths are on full display.

Focusing on this overall timeline, the Decision adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session made new institutional arrangements with regard to upholding and improving the system of Party leadership, the system of the people running the country, the system of Chinese socialist rule of law, the Chinese socialist administrative system, the basic socialist economic system, the system of advanced socialist culture, the system for ensuring public wellbeing, the social governance system, the system of ecological civilization, the system of absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces, the systems under the policy of One Country, Two Systems, the independent foreign policy of peace, and the Party and state oversight systems. At the session, it was emphasized that upholding and improving the key institutions underpinning the Chinese socialist system must be the priority, and that energy should be focused on building stronger foundations, leveraging strengths, addressing shortcomings, and remedying deficiencies. By doing so, China would develop a set of well-conceived, procedure-based, and efficiently functioning institutions, do better at translating its institutional strengths into effective governance, and consistently demonstrate the institutional strengths and formidable

vitality of Chinese governance.

The Chinese socialist system is like a great towering tree made up of a full set of intricately connected parts. The branches of this tree are the key institutions of Chinese socialism, and these form the overall framework of the state system and governance system. The Fourth Plenary Session conducted a review of practical experience, and put forward some new designations on the basis of already existing institutions of key importance. For example, the basic socialist economic system was defined as a system with the structure of a socialist market economy in which public ownership is the mainstay and diverse forms of ownership develop side by side, and in which distribution according to work is the main form that coexists with other forms of distribution. In addition, the fundamental system of upholding the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain was explicitly articulated, while further elaboration was made on the system of Chinese socialist rule of law, the Chinese socialist administrative system, the system for making advanced socialist culture develop and flourish, the coordinated urban-rural system for ensuring public wellbeing, the social governance system based on collaboration, participation, and common interests, the system of ecological civilization, the system of absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces, the systems under the policy of One Country, Two Systems, and the Party and state oversight systems. On different levels and with different focuses including internal affairs, foreign relations, and national defense as well as governance of the Party, the country, and the military, these three categories of systems make institutional arrangements for the undertakings of the Party and the state in all areas. They therefore represent the general principles and guidelines for the Chinese socialist system.

Defining and consolidating the country's key institutions in the Constitution and laws while using the force of the state to ensure

implementation were important means of guaranteeing that China's governance system was systematic, standardized, coordinated, and stable. As the times evolved and reform advanced further, there was an increasingly urgent need for a set of sound, well-equipped legal norms in order to modernize national governance. In May 2020, the Third Session of the 13th NPC passed the Civil Code of the People's Republic of China. This was the first codified statute in the history of the PRC, and represented a major symbolic achievement for the development of institutions and the rule of law under Chinese socialism in the new era. The Civil Code systematically integrated civil laws already in force, while also making revisions and improvements in light of new issues and circumstances, as demonstrated in its commitment to equal protection of rights in areas such as health, property, transacting, wellbeing, and personal dignity. In November, the Party Central Committee convened a work conference on comprehensively advancing law-based governance, which stressed the importance of resolutely following the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, and pushing modernization of China's system and capacity for governance forward along this track. In December, the Party Central Committee released the Program for Building a Law-Based Society (2020–2025), which stated that building a law-based society was an important part of efforts to modernize China's system and capacity for governance and put forward plans for accelerating progress in this regard. In the same month, the Party Central Committee released the Plan for Building Rule of Law in China (2020–2025), which included specific plans and arrangements for developing complementary systems for the rule of law, including a complete system of legal norms, an efficient system of enforcement, a rigorous system of oversight, a powerful system of guarantees, and a refined system of intraparty regulations.

The best way of judging whether or not an institution is workable,

efficient, and effective is seeing how it functions in practice. Over a protracted period of struggle, the Party led the people in bringing about two miracles. The first was the miracle of rapid economic development. China caught up with the times in leaps and bounds, completing a process of industrialization that took centuries for developed countries in the space of mere decades, and shooting up to become the world's second largest economy. At the same time, the country's composite national strength, scientific and technological clout, defense capabilities, cultural appeal, and international influence improved markedly, as did the lives of the people. Therefore, the Chinese nation, taking on an entirely new posture, could now stand tall and firm in the East. The second was the miracle of enduring social stability. China was able to keep its society harmonious and stable over the long term, enabling the people to live and work in peace and contentment, and earning recognition from the international community as one of the countries where there is the strongest sense of security in the world. These two miracles could only have been possible, and were indeed made inevitable, as the result of the Party leading the people through determined long-term struggle and of the distinct strengths of China's state system and governance system.

Celebrating the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China

The year of 2019 marked the 70th anniversary of the PRC's founding, and the Party and government organized grand and exuberant activities to celebrate the occasion.

On September 29, the Party Central Committee held a solemn ceremony to award national medals and honorary titles at the Great Hall of the People. Xi Jinping presented awards to 42 recipients and delivered an address in which he stressed that heroes will only come to the fore if people venerate them and strive to follow in their footsteps. Greatness

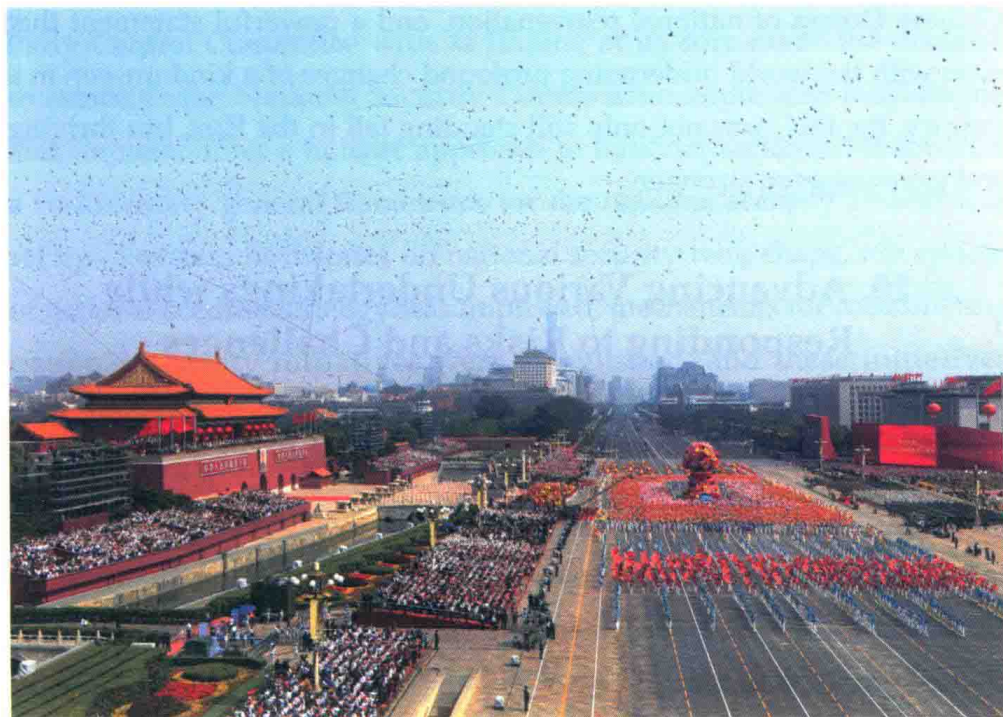
is created in the hands of everyday people. By holding on to firm ideals and convictions, maintaining an indomitable fighting spirit, and working with a down-to-earth mindset to see that every unremarkable task gets done well, each and every ordinary person can have an extraordinary life, and make extraordinary achievements through ordinary work.

On the evening of September 29, a celebratory gala entitled “Stride Forward, the Nation” was held at the Great Hall of the People with performances of music and dance.

On Martyrs’ Day on September 30, a wreath-laying ceremony was held before the Monument to the People’s Heroes on Tian’anmen Square, with Xi Jinping and other Party and state leaders as well as representatives from all sectors in the nation’s capital in attendance.

On the morning of October 1, a grand ceremony was held on Tian’anmen Square to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Xi Jinping delivered a speech from the gate tower above Tian’anmen, in which he said that socialist China now stood tall in the East, and that there was no force that could shake the foundation of this great nation or stop the Chinese people and the Chinese nation forging ahead. This was followed by a military parade, with 59 formations and approximately 15,000 troops inspected. A civilian parade centered on the theme of “Building the Chinese Dream Together” was then held with 100,000 members of the public participating. A gala was also held on Tian’anmen Square that evening, during which Party and state leaders as well as more than 60,000 people from all sectors in Beijing came together in celebration.

Beginning in September, the Beijing Exhibition Center hosted an exhibition entitled “A Great Journey with Glorious Achievements” in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Over a period of roughly three months, the exhibition received 3.15 million in-person visits and more than 140 million online visits.



- Parade during the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

A variety of other celebratory and educational activities to mark the occasion were also organized by different localities and departments.

The celebratory activities for the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC were held in grand, impressive, and dignified style, and were well organized with an excellent blend of ceremony and entertainment. They put the glorious achievements made in the seven decades since the PRC's founding on full display, and demonstrated the might of the Chinese nation and military. They served as a great inspiration for the national spirit and for citizens in all sectors. These celebrations took place on the threshold of the First Centenary Goal, and brought together the whole Party, the military, and the entire nation in a strong and concerted push toward the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. They represented a bold proclamation of the ideals shared by the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation on their quest to realize the

Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and a powerful statement that even with the world undergoing profound changes of a kind unseen in a century, the PRC was not only still standing tall in the East, but thriving and growing even stronger.

10. Advancing Various Undertakings while Responding to Risks and Challenges

Thinking in Both Domestic and International Terms and Balancing Development and Security Imperatives

With the domestic and international environments changing in complicated and profound ways, it was crucial that the Party maintain a broad, dialectical, and long-range perspective in order to accurately recognize and respond to different problems and challenges, and to adapt to new circumstances and new requirements as quickly as possible. The key here was to have a correct view on history, on the big picture, and on development, and to think in both domestic and international terms, while the most important task was to better coordinate the strategy for bringing about the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation with the momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century that were taking place across the globe. Xi Jinping said, “Leading officials must keep two situations in mind—the first is the overall strategic situation for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and the second is the situation with regard to the momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century sweeping the globe. This is where we must start from when planning initiatives.”

Balancing development and security and remaining vigilant about potential dangers in times of calm is a major principle underlying the Party’s governance. After the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the

Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core made the decision to establish the National Security Commission while also introducing and implementing a holistic approach to national security. Meanwhile, a rudimentary general framework for the national security system was set up, a system of theories on national security took shape, the system of national security strategy was improved, mechanisms for coordinating national security initiatives were established, and these initiatives were intensified across the board. After the 19th National Congress, in response to a complex situation in which both internal and external risks and challenges had markedly increased, the Party Central Committee continued to think in both domestic and international terms and balance development and security imperatives, uniting and leading people of all ethnic groups across the country in tackling challenges, forging ahead, and making solid progress toward the grand goals laid out at the congress.

Speaking at the opening session of a seminar for newly-elected members and alternate members of the Party Central Committee as well as provincial- and ministerial-level leading officials on studying and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 19th National Congress of the CPC on January 5, 2018, Xi Jinping said there were three tasks that needed to be carried out with uncompromising commitment, namely upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, advancing the great new project of Party building, and boosting vigilance while heading off risks and challenges. He recounted the fact that the Chinese nation's advance toward rejuvenation had been interrupted on numerous occasions since the advent of modern times, and reminded all Party members that the road ahead would not be smooth sailing. Even in times of triumph, it would be even more important to tread carefully and remain vigilant against potential

dangers in order to avoid errors with strategic or disruptive implications. Xi also stressed that while all kinds of risks needed to be prevented and controlled, the focus should be on wide-reaching risks that could delay or interrupt progress toward national rejuvenation.

At the opening session of a seminar for provincial- and ministerial-level leading officials on the topic of upholding worst-case scenario thinking and forestalling and defusing major risks on January 21, 2019, Xi Jinping offered a thorough analysis of how to go about forestalling and defusing major risks in different areas, including the political, ideological, economic, technological, and social spheres as well as in the external environment and Party building, and put forward clear requirements in this regard. Xi stressed that it was imperative to constantly maintain a high level of vigilance since China faced an international landscape prone to sudden changes, a neighborhood environment that was sensitive and complex, and onerous tasks in reform, development, and stability. This involved not only guarding against “black swans,” but also “grey rhinos”; having the ability to both parry away risks and break through challenges; and being effective at both withstanding risks through ample preparation as well as turning crises into opportunities by taking the initiative and working strategically. At the opening session of the autumn 2019 semester for young and middle-aged officials training at the Central Party School (Chinese Academy of Governance) on September 3, Xi further underscored the fact that while China was presented with rare and historic opportunities, it also faced a list of major risks and trials. To accomplish the goals and tasks laid out by the Party, it would be necessary to boost the Party’s fighting spirit and fighting capacity.

Achieving the grand objective of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation would be dependent upon effectively balancing development and security imperatives. At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on July 30, 2020, the goals for

the stage of high-quality development of greater quality, efficiency, fairness, and sustainability were supplemented with the addition of greater security. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee held in October stressed the need to think in both domestic and international terms, balance development and security imperatives, focus on forestalling and defusing major risks and challenges, and bring about integration in development in terms of quality, structure, scale, speed, effect, and security. At this session, the decision was made to include balancing development and security in the guidelines for China's economic and social development during the 14th Five-Year Plan period, while special strategic plans were also put forward that highlighted the importance of national security in the overall work of the Party and the state.

Responding to Risks and Challenges in an Appropriate Manner

Thinking in terms of worst-case scenarios, boosting vigilance against potential dangers, and focusing on forestalling and defusing major risks is an important part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. Xi Jinping repeatedly emphasized the need to increase vigilance and tackle risks and challenges. The Party Central Committee conducted in-depth analysis of major risks and challenges with a bearing on China's security and development as well as overall social stability in the current and coming period, and proposed countermeasures on this basis. The main risks identified included those related to political, ideological, technological, ecological, and biological security, as well as economic development, social stability, external environment, Party building, and public health, while the need to forestall and defuse risks in the areas of food and energy security as well as nuclear and military security was also emphasized.

After 2018, profound and complex changes swept China's external

environment. In particular, the US became bent on instigating economic and trade friction with China, launching a comprehensive campaign to impose pressure and constraints, which had a detrimental impact on China's economy. The Party Central Committee followed this situation closely, and took appropriate action in response. China adopted forceful countermeasures beginning in March so as to defend its legitimate interests, while simultaneously maintaining its basic stance of resolving disputes through dialogue and working hard to stabilize bilateral economic and trade relations. China made clear to the world its principled stance in the trade war, that although it did not wish to fight, it was not afraid of confrontation, and would stand up for itself when needed, and that the countermeasures it adopted were intended to defend China's rightful interests, to defend free trade and the multilateral system, and to defend the shared interests of peoples around the world. This stance earned broad support from Chinese people nationwide and widespread approval from the international community. Amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, certain politicians from the US and other Western countries did their utmost to disparage China, attempting to pass the buck for their own countries' lackluster response by making China a scapegoat. China took a clear-cut stand to defend itself in public discourse, refuting their criticisms and exposing their falsehoods with evidence and reason. This showed the people of world the ugly and malicious behavior that these politicians were engaging in.

At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in July 2018, the requirement was set forth to ensure stability on six fronts, namely employment, the financial sector, foreign trade, foreign investment, domestic investment, and expectations, with a view to stabilizing the overall economic situation and boosting China's capacity to respond to complexities and challenges. Then in December 2018, the Central Economic Work Conference introduced the policy of

consolidating the gains made in the five priority tasks,¹ strengthening the dynamism of micro entities, upgrading industrial chains, and ensuring unimpeded flows in the economy, thus charting the course for further pursuing the central task of supply-side structural reform and promoting high-quality development.

In June 2019, protests erupted in Hong Kong over the amendment of extradition legislation, posing an unprecedented challenge to the practice of One Country, Two Systems in the special administrative region. Studying the situation closely, the Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core took decisive action, and firmly supported Hong Kong's chief executive, government, and police force in adopting a series of measures to crack down on violent criminals and punish them in accordance with the law, putting an end to the violence, and restoring order. The protests exposed the gaping institutional deficiencies that existed in Hong Kong on the level of national security. In May 2020, the Third Session of the 13th NPC adopted the Decision of the National People's Congress on Establishing and Improving the Legal System and Enforcement Mechanisms for Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), which authorized the NPC Standing Committee to formulate relevant laws for the purpose of preventing, stopping, and punishing any activity that seriously threatened national security through separatism, subversion, or terror, as well as attempts by foreign countries and foreign forces to interfere in the affairs of the HKSAR. In June, the 20th Session of the 13th NPC Standing Committee passed the Law of the People's Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as the Hong Kong National Security Law), which was included in Annex III of the Hong Kong Basic Law

¹ The tasks are to cut overcapacity, reduce excess inventory, deleverage, lower costs, and strengthen areas of weakness.

and designated to be locally promulgated and implemented by the HKSAR. The law put forward specific arrangements to make systems and mechanisms in Hong Kong for safeguarding national security more law-based, standardized, and clearly defined. In July, the Committee for Safeguarding the National Security of the HKSAR and the Office for Safeguarding National Security of the Central People's Government in the HKSAR were established in accordance with the stipulations of the Hong Kong National Security Law. Promulgating and implementing the Hong Kong National Security Law was the most significant move taken by the central authorities in handling Hong Kong affairs since the return of the region, and put up a strong institutional shield for safeguarding national security in Hong Kong. This was a forceful step for preventing, stopping, and punishing criminal acts threatening national security.

In August 2020, the 21st Session of the 13th NPC Standing Committee issued a decision, which stated that the sixth Legislative Council of the HKSAR would continue performing its duties after September 30, 2020 for no less than a year until the seventh council began its term. In November, at the request of the HKSAR chief executive, the 23rd Session of the 13th NPC Standing Committee issued a decision on the issue of qualification of the HKSAR legislative council members, which established the general rule that members would be disqualified if they were lawfully determined to have failed to meet the legally prescribed requirements of observing the HKSAR Basic Law and pledging loyalty to the HKSAR. Meanwhile, it was decided that members of the sixth Legislative Council whose nomination during the original nomination period for the seventh Legislative Council election had been ruled void in accordance with the law would be disqualified. This further defined the political standard that patriots should govern Hong Kong, while those who harbor anti-China sentiment and promote disorder should be kept out of government. In accordance with the decision of the NPC

Standing Committee, the HKSAR government subsequently announced the persons who had been disqualified as legislative council members, thereby fully illustrating the authority of the Constitution and the Basic Law.

In an effort to step up centralized, unified leadership over Hong Kong and Macao-related work, the Party Central Committee made the decision in February 2020 to establish the Central Leading Group on Hong Kong and Macao Affairs, which replaced the Central Coordination Group for Hong Kong and Macao Affairs. A joint office was set up for the group with the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council. This was an important strategic decision made by the Party Central Committee in light of momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century as well as new changes in the internal and external environments of Hong Kong and Macao. It was a major adjustment of the leadership structure for Hong Kong and Macao-related work, which further strengthened the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over this work on the organizational and institutional levels. This not only played a significant role in spurring a return to order in Hong Kong, but also had a profound impact on stabilizing the practice of the One Country, Two Systems policy for the long term.

Resolute efforts were made to unite Taiwan compatriots in opposition to "Taiwan independence" and promote reunification. A white paper released in July 2019, *China's National Defense in the New Era*, stated that the PLA would resolutely defeat anyone attempting to separate Taiwan from China and safeguard national unity at all costs. This reiterated the CPC and Chinese government's stance of resolute opposition to separatism and foreign interference, and drew a clear and inviolable bottom line. After the Democratic Progressive Party was reelected in the region's 2020 elections, separatist forces erroneously believed themselves to be in a position of strength and began engaging in

constant provocation. They made fruitless attempts to promote “gradual independence,” and searched desperately to find grounds for “de jure independence.” The situation in the Taiwan Strait thus grew more serious and complex, while numerous risks and challenges confronted the Party’s Taiwan-related initiatives. In May 2020, a symposium marking the 15th anniversary of the implementation of the Anti-Secession Law was held in Beijing. At this meeting, it was stressed that any separatist plot seeking “Taiwan independence” would be crushed, and that China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity would be resolutely defended. In August, responding to the negative tendencies of certain major countries on the Taiwan question and their seriously misguided signals of support to separatist forces, the Eastern Theater Command of the PLA conducted a series of exercises under actual combat conditions in the Taiwan Strait and at its northern and southern ends involving the systematic mobilization of multiple service branches, thus striking back at provocative acts seeking to achieve “Taiwan independence” and divide China.

Meanwhile, in the diplomatic arena, China took solid steps to address issues related to Xinjiang and Tibet, refuting baseless criticisms and gaining understanding and support from the majority of countries both in the UN and the international community at large. China resolutely safeguarded its territorial sovereignty and maritime rights, and demonstrated a new will and capacity to stand up for itself to defend its interests and dignity. Fighting on the battlefields of diplomacy, legal principle, and public discourse, China effectively interrupted various plots and acts that jeopardized its territorial security, thereby resolutely safeguarding its sovereignty, security, and development interests while also raising its standing and influence internationally.

Strengthening the Military through a Uniquely Chinese Approach

At the 19th National Congress in October 2017, the Party's goal for military development in the new era was defined, namely building people's forces that obeyed the Party's command, could fight and win, and maintained excellent conduct. In addition, new strategic arrangements were put forward which emphasized the need to basically complete the process of mechanization, secure major advances in digitalization, and significantly enhance strategic capabilities by 2020, to strive toward achieving modernization of national defense and the armed forces on the whole by 2035, and to turn the people's armed forces into a world-class fighting force in all respects by the middle of the century.

In October 2020, a proposal to accelerate modernization of national defense and the armed forces and to see that efforts to make the country prosperous and the military strong went hand in hand was put forward at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee. The proposal highlighted the need to thoroughly implement Xi Jinping's thinking on military development and the military strategy for the new era, uphold the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces, continue to enhance the political loyalty of the armed forces, strengthen them through reform, science and technology, and the training of capable personnel, and run the military in accordance with the law. It also noted the need to integrate mechanization with the application of digital and smart technology in military development and to bolster training and preparedness across the board in order to raise China's strategic capacity to safeguard its sovereignty, security, and development interests and ensure the completion of specified objectives by the PLA's centenary in 2027.

The 19th National Congress elevated the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces to the level of basic policy in upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era,

with the clause “chairperson of the Central Military Commission (CMC) assumes overall responsibility over the work of the Commission” written into the Party Constitution, thereby codifying this leadership system in the form of the Party’s fundamental law. Xi Jinping’s thinking on military development was also written into the Party Constitution, establishing its guiding role in the development of national defense and the armed forces. In August 2018, the CMC held a conference on Party building. After the meeting, the Decision on Strengthening Party Building within the Armed Forces in the New Era was released, which put forward strategic plans on comprehensively enhancing Party leadership and Party building efforts within the armed forces in the new era in order to strengthen the military’s political loyalty further. In January 2019, the CMC released Guidelines on Comprehensively Strengthening Management of the Troops. In October, new plans regarding implementation of the system of the CMC’s chairperson assuming overall responsibility for its work were put forward at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee, further grounding this system in law, standards, and procedures. Meanwhile, the session also generated the proposal to build a system of socialist military policies and institutions with Chinese characteristics and to comprehensively promote the modernization of national defense and the armed forces in order to ensure that the Party’s goals for military development in the new era were accomplished. In November, the CMC convened a conference on the development of primary-level military organizations and released a decision on strengthening these organizations in the new era. The decision established new standards for building primary-level organizations that were capable, disciplined, and loyal to the Party, which served as a solid guarantee that the Party’s absolute leadership over the armed forces reached straight to these organizations and the troops. In November 2020, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee held a meeting to deliberate the Regulations for Political



- Xi Jinping reviews PLA troops at the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC on October 1, 2019.

Work in the Military, and mandated that the system of the CMC's chairperson assuming overall responsibility be thoroughly implemented in order to ensure absolute loyalty, integrity, and reliability.

To strengthen and energize the armed forces, it was essential to cultivate talented personnel. In October 2020, the CMC released the Decision on Accelerating the Development of a Three-Pronged System for Cultivating New Military Talent. Working proactively to adapt to the demands of new circumstances and assignments, the entire military took steps to bolster the ranks of skilled personnel in areas including joint operations command, advanced combat operations, and high-level scientific and technological innovation, and in turn a dynamic and competitive talent pool began to take shape.

The ultimate goal of the campaign to strengthen and energize the armed forces was to boost their combat capacity. Warfare therefore needed to remain the focus of full attention and all initiatives in order

to ensure that the armed forces were ready to mobilize, ready to fight, and ready to win. Starting from January 2018 when the CMC organized unified training for the first time, Xi Jinping issued orders mobilizing the entire military for training at the beginning of each year for four years in a row, recognizing this as an important practice for military preparedness. This established training as a major focus. In November 2020, the Guidelines on PLA Joint Operations (trial) were put into effect, becoming the preeminent combat doctrine for the new era. That same month, a conference on military training held by the CMC highlighted the need to accelerate the development of a new training system, speed up transformation and upgrading of training, raise training standards across the board, and boost the military's capacity to win.

Standing at a new historical starting point while facing profound changes in the national security environment and contemporary challenges in building a strong country with a strong military, China's efforts at developing national defense and the armed forces in the new era were focused on realizing the Chinese Dream and the dream of building a powerful military, and followed the approach of strengthening the military through political education, reform, science and technology, cultivation of talent, and law-based management. These efforts secured historic achievements and revamped the military in terms of the structure of its forces as well as its political ecosystem, organizational structure, and standards of conduct. In November 2020, the armed forces basically completed the process of mechanization, and achieved major progress in digitalization. The people's armed forces took solid strides on the path of building a powerful military with Chinese characteristics.

Opening Up a New Phase for Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics

After the 19th National Congress, the global trend toward

multipolarity accelerated while realignment in international relations grew increasingly complex. With the balance of power becoming more even, the international landscape faced a profound shift.

In response to the rise of protectionism and a reversion to unilateralism and bullying, China remained committed to upholding globalization, free trade, and multilateralism. In both its own diplomatic engagements and international forums, and in both policy and action, China sent a clear and consistent signal to the world about its intent to open up more broadly, and stood firmly on the right side of historical progress.

The report to the 19th National Congress defined promoting the development of a human community with a shared future as one point of the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, and this was written into the newly revised Party Constitution. In November 2017, the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting was held in Beijing on the theme of the responsibility of parties in working together toward a human community with a shared future and a better world. In March 2018, the First Session of the 13th NPC passed the amended Constitution, which included in its preamble content on building a human community with a shared future, thus formally elevating this concept to the will of the state. In 2018, “human community with a shared future” was written into outcome documents from the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, the Qingdao Summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Ministerial Conference of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum, and multiple high-level multilateral and bilateral exchanges, bringing together tremendous momentum for jointly building a human community with a shared future.

At the 2018 Boao Forum for Asia, Xi Jinping declared, “China will not close its door to the world; we will only become more and more

open.” In November 2018, the first China International Import Expo was held in Shanghai. This was the world’s first national-level exhibition focused on imports, and a pioneering event in the history of international trade.

At that point, the Belt and Road Initiative had already become the world’s most widely acclaimed public good and largest platform for cooperation. In August 2018, Xi Jinping said that efforts to advance the Belt and Road should shift from drawing the overall blueprint to working out the fine details, and focus on high-quality development so as to benefit the people of participating countries and push forward the development of a human community with a shared future. In 2019, China successfully hosted the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. Due to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, the 2020 Belt and Road Forum was held via video link, with participants agreeing to build a Healthy Silk Road, and generating positive momentum for high-quality development of the Belt and Road.

In 2020, China-Europe freight trains made 12,400 trips, an increase of 50 percent over the previous year, carrying 1,135,000 containers, an increase of 56 percent. The annual number of trips broke 10,000 for the first time, with trips per month averaging steadily above 1,000. These freight trains thus served as “caravans of steel” helping countries along the Belt and Road fight the pandemic.

Conforming to the flow of the times, China pushed development of the global governance system in a more just and equitable direction, and stood as a pillar of order amid chaos around the globe.

In multiple international settings, from the G20 Leaders’ Summit to the China-France Global Governance Forum, and from the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum to the BRICS Leaders’ Meeting and the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations, Xi Jinping discussed in detail the core significance and contemporary meaning of multilateralism,

advocated an outlook on global governance based on the pursuit of shared growth through consultation and collaboration, and made righteous calls in support of multilateralism and opposition to unilateralism and hegemonism. China enthusiastically encouraged different cultures to respect each other and treat each other as equals, to share and appreciate the best of what each has to offer, to be open and inclusive while learning from one another, and to evolve with the times by pursuing innovation and development. This perspective rose to the forefront of the global zeitgeist, and resonated strongly with people around the world.

In September 2020, China launched the Global Initiative on Data Security, advocating multilateralism, safe development, fairness, and justice in global digital governance.

Also in September 2020, Xi Jinping announced at the UN General Assembly that China would strive to reach peak carbon dioxide emissions by 2030 and to achieve carbon neutrality by 2060. This pledge demonstrated China's readiness to act as a responsible major country in protecting the environment and responding to climate change.

During the World Economic Forum's Davos Agenda event in January 2021, Xi Jinping said, "Let multilateralism light our way toward a human community with a shared future."

China is a proponent of stable relations and cooperation between major countries. In 2019, Xi Jinping paid a historic visit to Russia. The leaders of the two countries agreed to develop the China-Russia comprehensive strategic collaborative partnership in the new era, and signed a joint statement on strengthening global strategic stability, thus further consolidating their relationship of comprehensive strategic coordination. In 2020, trade in goods between China and Russia totaled US\$107.77 billion, surpassing the major milestone of US\$100 billion for the third year running. China further expanded its share in Russia's foreign trade, and marked its 11th consecutive year as Russia's largest

trading partner.

Meanwhile, the China-US relationship attracted global attention and exerted an impact on the interests of countries all over the world, with the two countries experiencing the most strain since they established diplomatic relations 40 years prior. Facing bullying and provocation from anti-China forces in the US, China fought back on just grounds, to its own advantage, and with restraint, defending its sovereignty, security, and development interests, norms of international relations and international equity and justice, as well as the legitimate rights and interests of countries around the world, particularly developing countries. At the same time, China maintained stability and continuity in its policy toward the US, working with sober and steadfast composure to handle differences constructively in an effort to safeguard the strategic stability of the international system.

China and Europe built closer bonds through shared interests, and worked together to strengthen coordination and cooperation, enhance mutual trust, defend multilateralism, and respond to global challenges. In 2020, they completed negotiations for the China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment on schedule, thereby adding a timely update to their comprehensive strategic partnership. In February 2021, nearly 90 documents on pragmatic cooperation worth a total of approximately US\$13 billion were signed at the Summit of China and Central and Eastern European Countries, marking a historic high.

Under the accurate guidance of Xi Jinping's thinking on diplomacy, China not only maintained generally stable relations with other major countries, but also succeeded in improving and developing relations with neighboring countries across the board.

China is an active proponent of regional integration and development. Relations between China and ASEAN entered a new stage of all-round development. Meanwhile, in July 2020, China and

the five Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan held their inaugural foreign ministers' meeting via video link, adopting and releasing a joint declaration in which the participants reached consensus on nine important points regarding cooperation and peaceful development in the region. In November, China signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement along with the 10 ASEAN states, Japan, Republic of Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, marking the official launch of the free trade zone with the largest population, most economic activity, and greatest growth potential in the world.

South-South cooperation stepped into a new stage. The year 2018 was made the "year of South-South cooperation" in China's foreign relations, and China engaged in collective dialogue with developing countries in Latin America, Africa, and the Arab world. The Beijing Summit of FOCAC was held in September 2018. Xi Jinping spoke about the "five-no" approach followed by China in its relations with Africa: "no interference in African countries' pursuit of development paths that fit their national conditions; no interference in African countries' internal affairs; no imposition of our will on African countries; no attachment of political strings to assistance to Africa; and no seeking of selfish political gains in investment and financing cooperation with Africa." He thus established standards of self-discipline for China in its cooperation with Africa, and demonstrated the ethical principles that should be followed in international development cooperation.

At the second ministerial meeting of the China-CELAC Forum in January 2018, a special statement was released on supporting and participating in the Belt and Road Initiative, while a joint action plan was set for cooperation in priority areas between China and members of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States in the 2019–2021 period. The ninth ministerial meeting of the China-Arab States

Cooperation Forum was held in 2020, with the two sides coming together to fight the pandemic and make it through troubled times. The meeting reaffirmed the political will of China and Arab states to support each other, and laid out the roadmap for pragmatic cooperation and shared development between the two sides in the coming period.

Under the accurate guidance of Xi Jinping's thinking on diplomacy, China soberly responded to complex and profound changes in the international landscape, and appropriately handled the new difficulties and challenges brought by these changes. China firmly defended its interests, expanded friendly cooperation, and actively demonstrated its sense of responsibility as a major country as it strived to open up a new phase for major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

The Fight against the Covid-19 Epidemic and the Great Spirit of Determination Forged in This Fight

At the beginning of 2020, a sudden novel coronavirus epidemic spread rampantly across China. This was the fastest spreading, most extensive, and most challenging public health emergency China had encountered since the founding of the People's Republic, and the most serious pandemic the world had experienced in a century.

After the coronavirus outbreak began, the Party Central Committee made containment the top priority. Xi Jinping, putting the health and safety of the people above all else, personally took charge and planned the response, and called for confidence, solidarity, and a targeted response based on science. Beginning on the first day of Chinese New Year, Xi Jinping presided over 4 sessions of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and 14 sessions of its standing committee, as well as multiple other important Party meetings. The central leadership demonstrated keen insight, practiced decisive decision-making, offered sound guidance, and met the challenge with composure as they made

meticulous plans for protecting Wuhan and Hubei, formulated major strategies in light of the evolving situation, and led the whole Party, all of the armed forces, and the entire nation in rapidly launching an all-out people's war against the epidemic.

Under the firm leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Chinese people came together in this difficult time, providing overwhelming support to those in need and putting up a strong line of defense against the epidemic. China's medical workers went to battle like warriors clad in white armor, with 540,000 local medical workers from Hubei and Wuhan fighting the virus at close quarters while more than 40,000 medical workers and 346 medical teams from across the country rushed to the front lines without hesitation. Meanwhile, people from all sectors stepped up to the plate. SOEs and public hospitals took on heavy burdens, over 4.6 million primary-level Party organizations took to the fore, and more than 4 million community workers remained on duty around the clock. Private businesses and hospitals, charities, nursing homes, and welfare institutions actively pitched in, countless Party members and officials led by example, and police officers and servicemen and women of the PLA and the People's Armed Police fought bravely on the front lines. Scientists conducted research on treatment, millions of delivery workers provided their vital services, over 1.8 million sanitation workers labored from dawn into the night, and journalists covered response efforts on the front lines. In addition to these, there were hundreds of thousands more volunteers and ordinary people that were the quiet heroes of this nationwide effort. Through extraordinary effort, China largely contained the spread of the virus in just over a month's time, reduced the daily number of new local cases to the single digits in roughly two months' time, and achieved decisive success in the battle to protect Wuhan and Hubei in approximately three months' time. China subsequently succeeded in stemming a number of local outbreaks, thus

achieving a major strategic victory in the nationwide fight against Covid-19.

As the situation evolved, the Party Central Committee adjusted the overall strategy to preventing imported cases and domestic resurgence, and shifted the focus of the response from emergency action to regular control. At the request of the government of the HKSAR, and in line with the direction and overall arrangements of the Party Central Committee, the National Health Commission established a mainland support team for nucleic acid testing to help Hong Kong counter the epidemic. After the spread of the virus was controlled in Macao, the governments of Guangdong Province and the Macao SAR set up a mechanism for mutual recognition of “health codes” and nucleic acid test results, enabling travel between Macao and the mainland to gradually return to normal. China rapidly developed nucleic acid testing kits, while its vaccine R&D efforts led the world overall and all citizens were offered inoculation free of charge through a gradual rollout.

Even as it faced immense pressure in containing the virus at home, China consistently upheld the concept of a human community with a shared future as it actively engaged in international and regional cooperation to fight the pandemic and championed the cause of building



- A patient and a doctor watch the sunset on their way back from a CT scan in Wuhan. The doctor was a member of a medical team among many others sent to assist Hubei.

a global health community. As of December 2020, China had already provided anti-epidemic assistance for more than 150 countries and 10 international organizations, sent 36 teams of medical experts to 34 countries in need, and supplied more than 220 billion masks, 2.25 billion protective gowns, and 1.02 million testing kits to other countries, thus providing vigorous support for nations around the world in fighting the pandemic.

To counter the impacts brought by the epidemic, the Party Central Committee took steps to advance prevention and control efforts and economic and social development in a coordinated manner, and dialed up the macro policy response. On February 23, 2020, a meeting was held to plan efforts for coordinating the epidemic response with economic and social development, at which Xi Jinping called for greater confidence and said that China's development should be viewed from a holistic, dialectical, and long-term perspective. He continued by saying that China should use pressure as a source of momentum, turn crises into opportunities, and make more intensive policy adjustments in order to fully harness the tremendous energy and potential driving the country's growth. Speaking at a seminar on securing a decisive victory in the fight against poverty on March 6, Xi Jinping stressed the need to advance poverty alleviation in coordination with epidemic prevention and control. He said that the country needed to intensify the fight against poverty with even greater resolve, help businesses involved in poverty alleviation resume operations, give poor people priority assistance in finding jobs, and work hard to prevent people from lapsing or relapsing into poverty as a result of the epidemic. At a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on April 17, it was said that while stepping up efforts to ensure stability on six fronts, the Party also needed to fully execute tasks for maintaining security in six areas, namely job security, basic living needs, operations of market entities, food and energy

security, stable industrial and supply chains, and the normal functioning of primary-level governments. Ensuring stability on six fronts and maintaining security in six areas served to keep the fundamentals of the economy stable, providing the time and the tools necessary to make it through this difficult time as well as an important boost of confidence for heading off various risks and challenges. The Party Central Committee and the State Council formulated a series of policies to provide relief for struggling businesses, and launched multiple measures to boost employment on a priority basis, spur investment and consumption, and stabilize foreign trade, inbound investment, and industrial and supply chains. In addition, they encouraged the growth of new forms of business, and pushed forward the orderly resumption of operations in the transportation, food and beverage, retail, and cultural and tourism sectors. A package of policy measures was also implemented to support development in Hubei, and schools were reopened in a staggered fashion. Thanks to the positive effects of a whole raft of policies, China's economy resumed growth in the second quarter, and resumed this momentum in the third quarter with a more robust recovery. China achieved overall growth in the first three quarters combined, thus taking the lead in recovery and becoming the only major economy in the world to register growth in 2020.

On September 8, 2020, a solemn national ceremony was held honoring the heroes of the fight against the Covid-19 epidemic. Xi Jinping awarded the Medal of the Republic to Zhong Nanshan, and the national honorary title of People's Hero to Zhang Boli, Zhang Dingyu, and Chen Wei. The ceremony also commended exemplary individuals and groups and outstanding Party members and primary-level Party organizations across the country that took part in the fight. Xi Jinping spoke in depth about the great spirit of the fight against Covid-19, in which the Chinese people put life above all else, rallied the

entire nation, braved danger, respected science, and looked out for one another. Putting life above all else embodies the Chinese people's deep-rooted tradition of compassion and the people-centered philosophy of Chinese Communists. Rallying the entire nation embodies the great strength of unity enabling the Chinese people to stand together through thick and thin. Braving danger embodies the indomitable will of the Chinese people to overcome whatever difficulties they encounter. Respecting science embodies the Chinese character of being pragmatic and innovative. Looking out for others embodies the Chinese people's love for peace and commitment to working together through hardship. Xi Jinping said: "The great spirit that we have forged in the battle against Covid-19 is deeply rooted in the national character of the Chinese nation and our cultural DNA. It builds on patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, captures China's spirit, and enriches the ethos of both our nation and our time."



- An awards ceremony is held at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing to honor outstanding individuals and groups in the fight against Covid-19 on September 8, 2020.

The Covid-19 pandemic accelerated transformation of the global landscape, and brought significantly increased instability and uncertainty to the world. Facing a complex international environment and new challenges, as well as new demands brought through the shift of the principal contradiction in Chinese society, the Party Central Committee maintained a balanced focus on both the overall strategic situation for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the situation with regard to the momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century sweeping the globe. It led the whole Party and the entire nation as they worked with an indomitable will to create opportunities out of crises and unlock new horizons amid a shifting landscape, and to continue advancing toward the goal of national rejuvenation.

11. Completing the Goal of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Launching a New Journey toward Becoming a Modern Socialist Country in All Respects

Securing a Decisive Victory in the Fight against Poverty

Eliminating poverty, improving the lives of the people, and gradually bringing about common prosperity are the essential aspirations of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the historic mission of the Communist Party of China. As Xi Jinping made clear, "In our quest to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects and complete the First Centenary Goal, lifting all of the rural poor out of poverty is a target of symbolic importance." He added, "All that there is the people, and the people are all that there is. The survival of the Party depends on their support." Following a people-centered philosophy of development, the Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core made the fight

against poverty a priority in national governance, elevating it to the level of a political imperative with key importance for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and completing the First Centenary Goal. Bringing the political strengths of the Party's leadership and China's socialist system to bear, the Central Committee adopted numerous unique and pioneering measures and organized the broadest and most intense campaign against poverty in human history. At the 19th National Congress in October 2017, the call was made for the whole Party and the entire nation to mobilize and strive for a decisive victory in the fight against poverty. In June 2018, the Party Central Committee and the State Council issued the Guidelines on Winning the Fight against Poverty. In March 2019 during the annual "Two Sessions," Xi Jinping sounded the charge, and called on the nation to put its utmost effort into the fight against poverty, rise to the challenge, do solid work, and implement policies with precision. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee in October, it was stated that "we must win the fight against poverty, consolidate the progress we have made in this fight, and establish long-term mechanisms for addressing relative poverty."

Xi Jinping took the issue of eliminating poverty very seriously. He visited 14 concentrated areas of extreme poverty throughout the country, and presided over 7 forums on fighting poverty in Shaanxi, Guizhou, Ningxia, Shanxi, and Sichuan. In March 2020, at the critical juncture of the battle against the Covid-19 pandemic, Xi Jinping attended a symposium on securing a decisive victory in the fight against poverty and delivered an important speech which effectively mobilized the might of the whole Party, the entire nation, and all of society to guarantee that ultimate victory would be attained. Working mechanisms were established whereby the central government was responsible for overall planning, provincial-level governments assumed principal responsibility, and municipal, county, township governments were responsible

for program implementation, while the system for making heads of Party committees and governments at each level assume the overall responsibility for poverty alleviation was strengthened. Party committee secretaries at the provincial, municipal, county, township, and village levels were charged with focusing their efforts on poverty alleviation, while Party and government officials in impoverished counties were kept in the same posts while the fight against poverty was in progress. More than three million officials from government departments at or above the county level and from state-owned enterprises and public institutions were assigned to serve as village-stationed support providers, establishing a threefold framework for poverty alleviation based upon special programs, industry initiatives, and the efforts of society. Under the firm leadership of the Party Central Committee, all sectors of society actively participated and Party members across the country led by example, enabling the targeted alleviation and eradication of poverty and ensuring that tangible efforts were made to provide real help to those who genuinely needed it. Collaboration between the eastern and western regions on poverty alleviation was deepened with a focus on equipping people with the confidence and capacity to lift themselves out of poverty and on tackling challenges in areas affected by extreme poverty. In 2020, this fight that brought together the might of the whole Party and the entire nation finally reached a decisive victory. November 23 was an extraordinary day that will go down in history, as this was the day that China's last nine impoverished counties exited poverty. After an eight-year battle, all of the country's 832 impoverished counties, 128,000 impoverished villages, and close to 100 million poor people were lifted out of poverty, thus eradicating absolute poverty and regional poverty. On February 25, 2021, a national ceremony was held to commend those involved in the fight against poverty, at which Xi Jinping solemnly declared that China had achieved a complete victory. This glorious

achievement belongs to the Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China, and to the Chinese nation.

Finally resolving the problem of absolute poverty that had plagued the Chinese nation for millennia represented a landmark achievement for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. This achievement was made possible through the ingenuity and effort of the whole Party and the entire nation and the solid work of officials and members of the public, and it demonstrated the political strengths of the Party's leadership and China's socialist system. However, shaking off the yoke of poverty was not the end, but rather the starting point of a new life and new struggles. The Party Central Committee set the explicit requirement that relevant policies be maintained for a period of time to come for counties, villages, and households that had already exited poverty. This ensured that responsibilities, policies, assistance, and oversight did not slacken once poverty alleviation targets were met, and effectively prevented people from falling back into poverty or falling in for the first time. After poverty alleviation targets were met, different localities and departments launched follow-up policies that facilitated a smooth transition from the poverty reduction strategy and its working systems, and effectively linked efforts to consolidate and build upon the outcomes of the fight against poverty with the rural revitalization strategy.

Winning the fight against poverty laid a solid foundation for realizing the First Centenary Goal, and reinforced the Party's governing position and the Chinese socialist system. The problems of hunger and destitution that had plagued the Chinese people for millennia were, on the whole, gone never to return, making the people feel much more happy, fulfilled, and secure.

Winning the fight against poverty was a historic contribution to the cause of global poverty reduction, and contributed Chinese wisdom and

experience to poverty reduction efforts worldwide. Developed countries in the West were unable to completely eradicate absolute poverty despite having centuries to do so, but China was able to complete this goal in the space of mere decades. China completed the poverty reduction targets set out in the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development 10 years ahead of schedule, thus taking the lead in global poverty reduction efforts. This tremendous achievement proved the strengths of the Party's leadership and the Chinese socialist system to the world, and will go down in the history of the development of human society.

Reaching the Great and Historic Goal of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

Ever since the strategic vision of a moderately prosperous society was introduced in the early days of reform and opening up, the Party consistently strived toward the goal of satisfying the people's desire for a better life, with generations of people working persistently toward this goal. After the 18th National Congress of the CPC and particularly during the 13th Five-Year Plan period, while confronting a complex international landscape, formidable tasks in promoting reform, development, and stability at home, and particularly the serious impacts of the Covid-19 epidemic, the Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core stayed true to the Party's founding mission and united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in forging ahead and blazing new trails, vigorously advancing various endeavors of the Party and the state. This elevated China's economic clout, scientific and technological capabilities, composite national strength, and living standards to new heights, and enabled great and historic success in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

China's economic clout skyrocketed, while the structure of the economy continuously improved. In 2020, the country's GDP reached

101.6 trillion yuan, ranking second in the world and accounting for an estimated 17 percent of the world economy. GNI per capita broke US\$10,000, making China an upper-middle income country according to World Bank standards. Between 2015 and 2020, China's grain output remained over 650 million metric tons for six years in a row. The value-added of the manufacturing sector ranked first in the world for many years running, and China led the world in output of more than 220 different industrial products. Between 2013 and 2019, China contributed to an annual average of nearly 30 percent of global economic growth, thus becoming the engine of world growth. Total retail sales of consumer goods approached 40 trillion yuan, with consumption accounting for an increasing share of the country's economic growth. Investment in key sectors including high-tech industry, agriculture, and the social domain continued to grow rapidly. Equipment manufacturing and high-tech industry rapidly expanded, the digital economy and the platform economy flourished, and the tertiary sector became the new engine of economic growth. Interconnected development was achieved between the four major regions, namely the eastern, central, western, and northeastern regions, while faster progress was made in implementing major regional strategies including the coordinated development for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Yangtze River Economic Belt Initiative, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area Initiative, the



• Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge.

Yangtze River Delta Integration Initiative, and ecological conservation and high-quality development in the Yellow River basin. The new urbanization initiative made steady advances, with permanent urban residents accounting for 60.6 percent of the population by the end of 2019. Infrastructure continuously improved, and China ranked first in the world for the scale of its high-speed rail, expressway, installed power capacity, and Internet infrastructure. In addition, China remained the world's largest trader of goods as well as the country with the largest foreign exchange reserves.

Scientific and technological innovation produced prominent effects. Investment in R&D continued to grow. In 2020, China's spending on R&D reached 2.4426 trillion yuan, representing an increase of 1.0256 trillion yuan over 2015 and ranking China second in the world. Investment in R&D reached 2.24 percent of GDP, 0.18 percentage points higher than 2015 and comparable to that in moderately developed countries, while the contribution made by advances in science and technology to economic growth hit 60.2 percent. Several landmark achievements were made in a number of basic and cutting-edge fields, while China was able to transform from a straggler to a contender and even a leader in certain fields. China led the world in the creation of intellectual property, ranking first in the world for number of patent applications through the Patent Cooperation Treaty in 2019. In 2020, China ranked 14th on the Global Innovation Index. China's education level rose to the world's upper-middle ranks. The average length of schooling among working-age population rose from 7.18 years in 2000 to 10.72 years in 2019, as basic education was consolidated and developed and higher education entered the stage of being widely accessible.

The environment improved significantly. The environment was one of the key issues for earning the people's approval with regard to the outcomes of the campaign to build a moderately prosperous society

in all respects. The 19th National Congress defined preventing and controlling pollution as one of the three critical battles for building a moderately prosperous society. Plans for this battle were drawn up at the National Conference on Ecological and Environmental Protection in May 2018. In June, the Party Central Committee and the State Council released the Guidelines on Comprehensively Intensifying Environmental Protection and Working Resolutely to Prevent and Control Pollution, launching the campaign to protect China's blue skies, clear waters, and clean lands in earnest. In 2020, the percentage of days with good or excellent air quality in cities at and above the prefecture level reached 87 percent, 5.8 percentage points higher than in 2015, while average PM_{2.5} concentration was 33 micrograms per cubic meter, a drop of 28.3 percent compared with 2015. The percentage of surface water nationwide meeting good water quality standards (Grade I–III) was 83.4 percent in 2020, 17.4 percentage points higher than in 2015, and the trunk of the Yangtze River reached Grade II standards for the first time. The energy consumption structure also continued to improve. In 2019, clean energy sources like natural gas, hydropower, wind power, and nuclear power accounted for more than 23 percent of total energy consumption, an increase of more than five percentage points over 2015, while the share of energy consumption accounted for by non-fossil fuel sources reached 15.3 percent and energy consumption per unit of GDP dropped by 13.1 percent. China thus became the world leader in the use of new and renewable sources of energy.

Reform constantly pushed deeper. Major breakthroughs were made in comprehensively deepening reform, and certain fields were transformed and reshaped in historic, holistic, and systematic ways. Rapid improvements were made to the legal system for the protection of property rights, and reforms promoting the market-based allocation of factors continued to deepen. A framework for reform of state assets and SOEs

took shape, and healthy development was secured for private enterprises and other economic entities under various forms of ownership. Reforms to streamline administration and delegate power, improve regulation, and upgrade services produced notable results, new tax and fee cuts during the 13th Five-Year Plan period totaled approximately 7.6 trillion yuan, and China's ranking for ease of doing business rose from 78th in the world in 2017 to 31st in 2019. China continued to open up to the world, advancing the "bringing in" and "going global" strategies in a coordinated manner. The system of pre-establishment national treatment plus a negative list for managing foreign investment was fully implemented, while the negative list was cut significantly and the overall tariff level was lowered to 7.5 percent. Joint efforts to advance the Belt and Road Initiative proved extremely fruitful. By the end of January 2021, China had signed 205 cooperation agreements on the initiative with 140 countries and 31 international organizations. In addition, China's stock of outbound investment rose from US\$500 billion in 2012 to US\$2.2 trillion in 2019, ranking third in the world.

Living standards rose markedly. In 2020, per capita disposable income reached 32,189 yuan, representing an increase of 31.3 percent in real terms over 2015 and an average annual increase of 5.6 percent between 2016 and 2020, which was higher than the growth rate of per capita GDP over the same period. Quality of life improved noticeably as consumption grew relatively rapidly, food, clothing, and daily necessities were in abundance, household electrical appliances became widely available, and car ownership quickly became possible for ordinary families. In 2020, the national Engel coefficient was 30.2 percent, 12 percentage points lower than in 2000. Average life expectancy rose from just 35 years in 1949 to 77.3 in 2019. China set up the world's largest social security system, and by the end of December 2020, 999 million people were covered by basic old-age insurance, 217 million were covered by

unemployment insurance, and 268 million were covered by workers' compensation. Furthermore, more than 1.3 billion people were covered by basic medical insurance, while the number of people holding social insurance cards also surpassed 1.3 billion, representing 94.6 percent of the population. Housing conditions also improved significantly, with average living space per person reaching 39.9 square meters for urban residents and 49.6 square meters for rural residents in 2020.

Cultural programs and industries thrived. Public cultural services and facilities rapidly became more accessible. By the end of 2019, the number of public libraries and museums nationwide reached 3,196 and 5,132 respectively, while television programming covered 99.4 percent of the population overall. In addition, convergent media centers had been built in 1,536 counties, county-level cities, and banners, representing a coverage rate of close to 82 percent, strengthening and expanding the capacity of mainstream media. Cultural industries developed rapidly. In 2019, the value-added of cultural and related industries reached 4.4363 trillion yuan, accounting for 4.5 percent of GDP. Further progress was made in implementing the nationwide physical fitness strategy, and the corresponding system of public services was further improved. Approximately 400 million people regularly took part in sports and exercise activities, and as of the end of 2019, there was an average of 25.3 sports venues per 10,000 people with an average of 2.08 square meters of space per person. China's cultural soft power became increasingly pronounced, core socialist values took root in the hearts of the people, and the influence of Chinese culture continued to expand.

After entering the 21st century and generally achieving moderate prosperity, the Party set the goal of comprehensively building a better moderately prosperous society for the benefit of China's hundreds of millions of citizens by the year of its centenary. This was a solemn commitment made to the people and to history. The period between the

19th National Congress and the year 2020 was the decisive phase for completing the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The Party Central Committee stressed the need to focus on key areas, address inadequacies, and shore up points of weakness, and to fight determinedly in the three critical battles against poverty, pollution, and potential risks in order to ensure that the moderately prosperous society being built earned the people's approval and stood the test of time. Through hard work, decisive progress was made on key tasks for the three critical battles.



• Beijing Daxing International Airport.

Building a moderately prosperous society fulfilled the wish held by the Chinese nation for millennia. Whether in the backward agrarian age, or in modern times when China was stuck in a state of poverty and weakness, moderate prosperity seemed like a distant and unattainable fantasy to ordinary people. This is a dream that could only be realized under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Since the very day of its founding, the Party took up the mantle of seeking happiness

for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation, and after generations of continuous struggle, the dream of moderate prosperity finally came true. Reaching this goal represented a major step forward for China's development and living standards.

Building a moderately prosperous society represented a crucial step toward the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Fulfilling the dream of moderate prosperity was a key milestone for fulfilling the Chinese Dream, and national rejuvenation would have been unthinkable without it. Reaching the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects on schedule marked the completion of the First Centenary Goal and laid down a solid foundation for achieving the second. This was an achievement of major significance in the history of the Chinese nation as China went from trailing far behind the times to catching up with the times in great strides.

Building a moderately prosperous society was a great contribution to human society. By reaching this goal, China significantly elevated the overall level of development of human society, and could now stand taller as a socialist country in the East. According to statistics from the International Monetary Fund, there were 69 countries and regions with per capita GDP of over US\$10,000 in 2019. Their total population was approximately 2.8 billion, of which China accounted for more than 1.4 billion. Therefore, by reaching the goal of building a moderately prosperous society, China nearly doubled the world population in this bracket, fully demonstrating the tremendous strength and vigor of the Chinese socialist system. The theory and practice of building a moderately prosperous society deepened understanding of the fundamental nature of socialism, opened up new horizons for the development of socialism, and enabled scientific socialism to shine in 21st-century China. China's successful efforts in building a moderately prosperous society broadened the developing countries' path in

advancing toward modernization, provided a new option for countries and nations hoping to accelerate their development while maintaining their independence, and offered Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach for addressing the problems faced by humanity.

Coming to Grips with a New Stage of Development, Applying a New Philosophy of Development, and Fostering a New Pattern of Development

With the objectives and tasks of the 13th Five-Year Plan completed and victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects in sight, China has taken a big step toward national rejuvenation, and moved into a new stage of development. Entering this new stage of development represents a major leap in China's historical advance toward national rejuvenation and a milestone in the country's development.

The Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for Economic



• The Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee.

and Social Development and Long-Range Objectives through the Year 2035 passed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee set the long-range objectives for basically achieving socialist modernization by 2035, defined the guidelines, basic principles, and major objectives for economic and social development during the 14th Five-Year Plan period, elaborated upon the key tasks in economic and social development and reform and opening up during this period, and set forth the strategic decision to create a new pattern of development that will focus on domestic circulation and feature positive interplay between domestic circulation and international circulation. The Recommendations represent a programmatic document for China as it begins a new journey toward becoming a modern socialist country in all respects and advanced toward the Second Centenary Goal, as well as the guide to action for the country's economic and social development over the next five years and even further into the future.

At the opening session of a seminar for provincial-level leading officials on studying and implementing the guiding principles of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee on January 11, 2021, Xi Jinping spoke in depth about a number of major issues concerning China's economic and social development. These remarks answered the important questions of what stage of development China is situated in, what kind of development it is pursuing, and how to go about pursuing it. Xi offered a rational analysis of the main reasons for judging that China has entered a new stage of development as well as the objectives and requirements at this stage, put forward new requirements for thoroughly implementing the new development philosophy, laid out the plan of attack for stepping up the establishment of a new development pattern, and spoke at length about strengthening the Party's overall leadership over socialist modernization efforts.

Coming to grips with a new stage of development. Having

completed the First Centenary Goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects on schedule, China now stands at a new historical starting point, and is entering a new stage of development for building a modern socialist country in all respects. In this new stage of development, China will fulfill the Second Centenary Goal and push the cause of national rejuvenation to new frontiers. Though this phase is still situated in the primary stage of socialism, it is also one in which China has arrived at a new starting point after decades of accumulation. Finally, this is the stage in which the Party will lead the people in completing the historic leap from standing up and growing prosperous to becoming strong. Building a modern socialist country and realizing socialist modernization on the whole are the requirements for China's development in the primary stage of socialism, as well as the threshold for China to move from the primary stage to a higher stage of socialism.

Applying a new philosophy of development. For high-quality development to be achieved in the new stage, it is imperative to follow a well-rounded and precise approach while comprehensively applying the new philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and shared development. The new development philosophy is an integrated theoretical system, which addresses a series of theoretical and practical questions on the goals, drivers, methods, and approaches for development, and clarifies major political questions such as the Party's development-related political stance and values as well as the development pattern and approach it will adopt. This philosophy must be implemented as a guidance system in every area and every stage of development, shifting the country's methods of development and promoting positive transformations in terms of quality, efficiency, and drivers. By doing so, China will achieve higher-quality development that is more efficient, equitable, sustainable, and secure. In this process, it is crucial to focus due attention on the issue of common prosperity.

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee, the goal of “making more substantial progress toward the goal of common prosperity for all Chinese people” was put forward. This was the first time that the need to take concrete steps toward common prosperity was highlighted in the setting of a plenary session. It was also emphasized that satisfying the people’s new expectations for a better life must remain the immutable aim of development, and that gradual yet persistent efforts should be made to address the issue of common prosperity in the process of modernization. Conscious action is needed to resolve problems such as regional disparity, urban-rural disparity, and income disparity. In the pursuit of development, public wellbeing needs to be guaranteed and improved, with initiatives in areas including employment, income distribution, education, social security, healthcare, housing, eldercare, and support for minors afforded appropriate attention. Finally, greater focus is needed on providing preferential support for rural areas, primary levels, and underdeveloped areas as well as disadvantaged people. This will promote social equity and justice, and ensure that the people are able to share more fully and fairly in the fruits of development.

Fostering a new pattern of development. The decision to foster a new pattern of development was made in light of China’s shift into a new stage of development, and reflects the country’s chosen path in the pursuit of economic modernization. This is a major strategic task with big picture implications for China’s development, and a major strategy for opening up new horizons amid a changing landscape and molding new strengths in the process of socialist modernization. At the seventh meeting of the Central Commission for Financial and Economic Affairs in April 2020, Xi Jinping introduced the objective of building a new pattern of development that is focused on domestic circulation and features positive interplay between domestic circulation

and international circulation. Comprehensive plans for fostering a new pattern of development were then made at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee. This represents a strategic move for China to take the initiative in future development, a major historic task that needs to be focused on and completed in the new stage of development, and an important step in applying the new development philosophy. The new pattern of development is not a closed domestic loop, but rather a dual-loop system composed of more open domestic circulation and international circulation. By leveraging the potential of domestic demand, China will connect the domestic and international markets more effectively, and use its domestic circulation to attract global resources and factors. China will focus on better utilizing domestic and international markets and resources while enhancing its ability to make use of resources globally, and also do better at seizing the strategic initiative in open development so as to foster new strengths in international economic cooperation and competition. The framework for fostering a new pattern of development is the overall domestic loop built upon the unified national market rather than smaller loops established by individual localities. The key in this effort is ensuring unimpeded economic circulation, while its most essential feature is that it will enable a high degree of self-reliance.

Entering a new stage of development, applying a new philosophy of development, and fostering a new pattern of development are three changes decided upon by the theoretical, historical, and practical logic of China's economic and social development, and the three are intimately connected. Entering a new stage of development clarifies the historical bearing of China's development, applying a new philosophy of development clarifies the guiding principles of China's modernization efforts, and fostering a new pattern of development clarifies the path that China has chosen in pursuing economic modernization. Understanding

the new stage of development represents the practical basis for applying the new development philosophy and fostering a new pattern of development; applying the new development philosophy provides a guide to action for coming to grips with the new stage of development and fostering a new pattern of development; and fostering a new pattern of development is the strategic choice for rising to opportunities and challenges in the new stage of development and applying the new development philosophy.

Working toward New Triumphs in Building a Modern Socialist Country in All Respects

Building a modern socialist country in all respects is the objective that the Party and the country have consistently strived toward. With the completion of the goal to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects in 2020, the four-pronged comprehensive strategy has evolved into making comprehensive moves to build a modern socialist country in all respects, deepen reform, advance law-based governance, and strengthen Party self-governance. The year 2021 marks the Party's centennial and the start of the 14th Five-Year Plan. Taking advantage of this momentum, the Party will lead the people in launching a new journey to build a modern socialist country in all respects.

China will basically achieve socialist modernization by 2035. At that time, the country's economic clout, scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength will have increased significantly, the size of the economy and per capita income of urban and rural residents will again rise to new heights, and major breakthroughs will be made on core technologies in key fields, making China a leader among innovative nations. Furthermore, objectives related to new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization will be largely complete, and a modern economic system

will have been built. The modernization of China's system and capacity for governance will also be mostly complete, with the rights of people to participate and develop as equals adequately protected and the goals of building a law-based country, government, and society largely accomplished. Efforts to turn China into a country strong on culture, education, talent, sports, and health will have come to fruition, the people will become more well-rounded and social-minded, and China's cultural soft power will have increased significantly. Environmentally friendly living habits will prevail, carbon emissions will maintain stable while slightly dropping after reaching a peak, the environment will improve on a fundamental level, and the goals of the Beautiful China Initiative will be mostly accomplished. In addition, a new pattern of opening up will take shape, while China will enjoy greater strengths in international economic cooperation and competition. Per capita GDP will rise to the level of moderately developed countries, the middle-income group will grow markedly, the people will enjoy equal access to basic public services, and disparities in urban-rural development, in development between regions, and in living standards will be reduced significantly. The Peaceful China Initiative will reach a high level of advancement, and modernization of national defense and the armed forces will be largely accomplished. Finally, the people will enjoy better lives, and substantial progress will be made in promoting well-rounded human development and common prosperity for all.

By the middle of the century, China will become a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful. At that time, new heights will be reached in every dimension of material, political, cultural and ethical, social, and ecological advancement, modernization of China's system and capacity for governance will be complete, China will become a global leader in terms of composite national strength and international

influence, the goal of common prosperity for everyone will be basically achieved, the Chinese people will enjoy happier, safer, and healthier lives, and the Chinese nation will stand tall and proud among the nations of the world.

The journey toward national rejuvenation is a relay race, with each generation passing the baton forward and working to ensure that those after them can get off to a good start. Though this race has begun long ago, there is still much distance left to cover. Standing at the historical point of convergence between the first and second centenary goals, China has embarked on a new journey toward becoming a modern socialist country in all respects. No matter what trials and tribulations it encounters on this journey, the Party will always put the people first and remain true to its founding mission, working with untiring effort and indomitable determination to push this unprecedented endeavor forward one step at a time and bring about even more miraculous achievements inspiring awe around the world.

Conclusion

The founding of the Communist Party of China in 1921 was an epoch-making event in Chinese history. It was from that point on that the Chinese people, who had been mired in hardship for so long, finally began to take hold of their destiny, and had in the Party a backbone and a guide for their pursuit of national independence and liberation, of a stronger and more prosperous country, and of their own happiness.

At its founding, the Party made realizing Communism its highest ideal and its ultimate goal, and shouldered the mission of seeking happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. In the course of these pursuits, the Party united the Chinese people and led them through arduous struggles to epic accomplishments.

During the New-democratic Revolution, confronted with the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, Chinese Communists with Mao Zedong as their chief representative developed Mao Zedong Thought by combining the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. Uniting and leading the Chinese people through 28 years of bloody struggle, they successfully blazed a Chinese revolutionary path by using rural areas to encircle the cities and seizing state power with military force. After defeating the imperialist aggression of Japan, overthrowing the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, and completing the New-democratic Revolution, the People's Republic of China was founded. This brought an end to the old China's semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and state of disunity, eliminated all the unequal treaties imposed upon China by

the great powers and all privileges enjoyed by the imperialists in China, and marked the country's great transition from a millennia-old feudal autocracy to a people's democracy.

During the period of socialist revolution and development, Chinese Communists with Mao Zedong as their chief representative united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in completing socialist revolution, establishing socialism as China's basic system, and advancing socialist development. This brought about the broadest and most profound social transformation in the history of the Chinese nation, laying down the political and institutional foundations necessary for achieving all the development and progress that China would later enjoy, and providing invaluable experience as well as the theoretical and material basis for the great initiative of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new historical period.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Chinese Communists with Deng Xiaoping as their chief representative united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in conducting a thorough review of positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC. On this basis, and by drawing lessons from the history of world socialism, they established Deng Xiaoping Theory, and devoted their efforts to freeing minds and seeking truth from facts. The historic decision was made to shift the focus of the Party and state's work onto economic development and to launch the reform and opening up drive, and it was made clear that China would follow its own path and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Chinese Communists brought the essence of socialism to light, set the basic line for the primary stage of socialism, provided sound answers to a series of fundamental questions on building Chinese socialism, and formulated the development strategy for basically achieving socialist modernization by the middle of the 21st century through a three-step approach. They thus succeeded in founding

socialism with Chinese characteristics.

After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Party Central Committee, Chinese Communists with Jiang Zemin as their chief representative united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in upholding the Party's basic theory and line, and deepened their understanding of what socialism is and how to build it, and what kind of Party to build and how to build it. On this basis, they formed the Theory of Three Represents. In the face of complex domestic and international situations and serious difficulties being experienced by socialism around the world, they safeguarded Chinese socialism, defined reform goals and basic framework of a socialist market economy, established the basic economic and distribution systems for the primary stage of socialism, opened up new prospects for reform and opening up across all fronts, and advanced the great new project of Party building, thus successfully launching socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st century.

After the 16th National Party Congress, Chinese Communists with Hu Jintao as their chief representative united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in advancing practical, theoretical, and institutional innovation in the process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. They comprehensively understood and answered major questions on what kind of development should be pursued under new circumstances and how it should be pursued, thus establishing the Scientific Outlook on Development. Taking advantage of an important period of strategic opportunity, they focused wholeheartedly on development and emphasized a people-centered, comprehensive, balanced, and sustainable approach in this regard. They put forward the goal of building a harmonious socialist society, and devoted their efforts to safeguarding and improving public wellbeing, promoting social fairness and justice, building a harmonious world, and strengthening the governance capacity and advanced nature of the Party. Through these

efforts, they successfully upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics under new circumstances.

Since the 18th National Party Congress, Chinese Communists with Xi Jinping as their chief representative have united and led the whole Party and the entire nation in a concerted effort to carry out a great struggle, develop a great project, advance a great cause, and realize a great dream. Integrating theory with practice, they have systematically addressed the major contemporary questions of what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics should be upheld and developed in the new era and how to go about doing this, thus giving shape to Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. They have advanced the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy in a coordinated manner, strengthened the Party's overall leadership, upheld and improved the Chinese socialist system, pushed forward the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, and focused on delivering to the people a greater sense of fulfillment, happiness, and security. In the process, they have solved many tough problems that were long on the agenda but never resolved, accomplished many major undertakings that were wanted but never got done, prompted historic shifts and historic achievements in the cause of the Party and the country, and enabled the Party, the country, the people, the military, and the nation to change in unprecedented ways. The Chinese nation, which endured so much for so long after the dawn of the modern age, has thus been able to achieve a tremendous leap from standing up and growing prosperous to becoming strong, and embraced the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation.

The history of the Communist Party of China is one of untiring struggle, theoretical discovery, and self-improvement. Over the last hundred years, it has faithfully fulfilled its founding mission, persevered through hardships, and made pioneering advances toward a glorious

future. Looking back at the past century and ahead toward the bright prospects of tomorrow, it is clear that the most important task is to maintain firm confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. By the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, the First Centenary Goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects will have already been reached, and by the 100th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, it is certain that the Second Centenary Goal of building a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful will also be fulfilled.

A century on from the Party's founding, China is undoubtedly thriving, but nevertheless must continue speeding ahead through all manner of challenges. It has been a long and arduous journey filled with transformative milestones, from the founding of the Party, to the founding of the People's Republic, to the launch of reform and opening up, and along the way the Party has weaved a glorious history that should make the Chinese people proud. On the new journey to build a modern socialist country in all respects, the whole Party and the entire nation must rally closely around the Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core, follow the guidance of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, remain true to the Party's founding mission, boost consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership, strengthen confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics, uphold General Secretary Xi Jinping's core position on the Central Committee and in the Party as a whole, uphold the Party Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified

leadership, fully implement the Party's basic theory, line, and policy, face challenges head on, forge ahead, and work determinedly to complete the Second Centenary Goal and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Index

"8 clarifications", 616, 617
10th Five-Year Plan, 405, 445, 446, 447, 470
11th CPC National Congress, 265
11th Five-Year Plan, 446, 459, 460
12th Five-Year Plan, 456, 462
12th National Congress of the CPC, 310, 311, 314, 318, 322, 331, 342
13th Five-Year Plan, 513, 521, 540, 542, 545, 581, 686, 690, 694
13th National Party Congress, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333, 346
14 commitments, 616, 617
14th Five-Year Plan period, 661, 695
14th National Party Congress, 362, 363, 364, 395, 437
15th National Congress of the CPC, 373, 374, 377, 378, 381, 383, 389, 390, 396, 397, 398, 401, 407, 419
16th National Congress of the CPC, 427, 428, 429, 430, 432, 434, 441, 484, 485, 486
1992 Consensus, 413, 414, 480, 585, 587, 589
19th National Congress of the CPC, 509, 572, 608, 609, 622, 625, 626, 633, 634, 637, 640, 641, 642, 644, 648, 659
2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 537, 686
21st-Century Maritime Silk Road, 595, 596

A

a country strong on talent, 700
a global health community, 679
a human community with a shared future, 591, 594, 596, 597, 613, 617, 622, 671, 672, 673, 678
A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire, 56
a strong modern socialist country, 283
 a great modern socialist country, 612, 616, 701, 706
acquire a good understanding of the Party Constitution, Party regulations, and General Secretary Xi Jinping's major policy addresses and meet Party standards, 561
across the Taiwan Strait, 479, 480, 584, 586
 both sides of the Strait, 478, 584, 585, 586, 588, 589
 both sides of the Taiwan Strait, 412, 479, 586, 587
 cross-Strait, 413, 414, 478, 479, 480, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589
adapt Marxism to the Chinese context, 43, 186
 adaption of Marxism to the Chinese context, 127
 apply Marxism in the Chinese context, 332
 adapt Marxism to the conditions in

- China, 451
- advanced socialist culture, 485, 652, 653
- Afghanistan, 607
- Africa, 219, 257, 273, 395, 417, 483, 597, 600, 604, 671, 675
- agrarian reform, 198, 203, 204, 205, 207, 222, 224
- agrarian revolution, 40, 43, 45, 52, 62, 63
- agrarian revolutionary war, 41, 43, 46, 65, 80, 91, 93, 119
- agricultural cooperative movement, 233
 - cooperative agriculture, 233
- agricultural modernization, 517, 699
- agriculture, rural areas and rural residents, 445
- Albania, 194
- All-Army Political Work Conference, 284
 - conference on military political work, 566, 567
 - Military Political Work Conference, 568
- All-China Federation of Trade Unions, 25
- alliance of workers and peasants, 27, 226, 229, 292
 - worker-peasant alliance, 185
- alliance with Russia, cooperation with the CPC, and assistance for peasants and workers, 25
- America, 7, 395
 - ethos of our time, 681
- amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness, 599
- spirit of the times, 401
- zeitgeist, 502, 673
- Anna Louise Strong, 144
- Anti-Secession Law, 478, 666
- April 12th Counterrevolutionary Coup, 36, 38
- armed independent regime of workers and peasants, 56
- armed struggle, 42, 57, 127, 130, 186
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 604
 - ASEAN, 416, 483, 674, 675
- Asia, 203, 218, 219, 257, 273, 354, 395, 418, 597, 601, 602
- Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, 354
 - APEC, 418, 480, 483, 581, 601
- Asian African Summit, 481
- Asian financial crisis, 372, 380, 384, 403, 404, 412, 446
- Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, 581, 592, 603
- atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, and artificial satellites, 278
 - nuclear weapons, intercontinental ballistic missile, and satellite, 388
- August 1st Declaration, 89
- August 7th Meeting, 44, 45, 46
- Autumn Harvest Uprising, 44, 46, 56
- B**
- Baise Uprising, 59
- Bandung, 219, 220
- Bangladesh, 607
- Bao Huiseng, 14, 16
- Barack Obama, 598
- base, 2, 29, 50, 51, 52, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 104, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 154, 158, 224, 225, 228, 232, 247, 261, 421, 437, 482
 - base area, 51, 52, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 78, 79, 80, 85, 104, 120, 123, 124, 154
- bases of resistance, 104

- resistance base areas, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 140, 142
 - resistance bases, 105
 - bases of resistance behind enemy lines, 104
 - base areas behind enemy lines, 123
 - resistance base areas behind enemy lines, 123
 - Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, 340
 - Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, 341
 - basic line, 330, 348, 358, 360, 366, 377, 703
 - basic guidelines, 329, 509, 574, 622, 629
 - basic principle, 24, 51, 162, 186, 322, 352, 368, 375, 396, 397, 398, 504, 512, 540, 567, 570, 619, 694
 - basic policy, 69, 148, 383, 599, 617, 623, 667, 671
 - basic socialist economic system, 652, 653
 - basic state policy, 320, 383, 394
 - fundamental state policy, 320, 383
 - basic system, 351, 365, 368, 703
 - basic theory, 618, 622, 704, 707
 - Battle of Menglianggu, 153
 - Battle of Pingxingguan, 102
 - battlefields in the enemy rear, 105
 - battleground behind enemy lines, 105
 - rear battlefields, 105
 - rear battlegrounds, 118
 - Beautiful China, 534, 613, 700
 - Beijing, 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 39, 183, 188, 189, 195, 197, 207, 215, 216, 228, 234, 238, 242, 254, 277, 280, 287, 289, 303, 310, 321, 329, 338, 339, 344, 345, 346, 354, 364, 374, 390, 417, 421, 429, 435, 444, 447, 460, 461, 471, 476, 479, 483, 494, 505, 515, 518, 535, 595, 596, 601, 608, 637, 656, 666, 671, 675, 681, 687, 692
 - Beijing-Hankou Railway strike, 20, 23
 - Beiping-Tianjin campaign, 171
 - Beiyang Fleet, 3
 - Belt and Road Initiative, 515, 521, 548, 581, 595, 622, 672, 675, 690
 - Bill Clinton, 354
 - "black swans", 660
 - Bo Gu, 71, 72, 75, 79
 - Boao Forum for Asia, 417, 483, 671
 - BFA, 417
 - Bond Connect, 582
 - bourgeoisie, 3, 11, 39, 41, 67, 145, 155, 180, 184, 198, 223, 241, 243, 265, 282
 - Brent Scowcroft, 354
 - BRICS, 483, 602, 672
 - "bringing in" and "going global", 394, 395, 690
 - build a moderately prosperous society
 - in all respects, 428, 432, 433, 451, 484, 541, 682, 699
 - build a modern socialist country in all respects, 699, 706
 - become a modern socialist country in all respects, 682, 695, 701
 - Bulgaria, 194
 - bureaucratism, 208, 220, 246, 247, 248, 267, 557, 632, 637, 638
- C**
- Cai Hesun, 185
 - Cai Tingkai, 68
 - Cambodia, 219

- campaign for the observance of the Three Stricts and Three Earnests, 561
- campaign to study and practice the mass line throughout the Party, 561
- campaigns against (KMT's) encirclement and suppression, 59
 - repulsion of encirclement and suppression, 63
 - resistance against encirclement and suppression, 71
- Cao Kun, 26
- capitalism, 15, 175, 185, 198, 234, 266, 300, 346, 359, 702
- Caribbean, 417, 483, 600, 675
- centenary goal, 331, 591, 612, 650, 657, 682, 683, 685, 693, 695, 696, 701, 706, 707
 - objectives by the centenary, 667
- Central Advisory Commission, 313, 332, 366
- Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, 290, 313, 324, 332, 366, 367, 376, 377, 419, 432, 450, 498, 499, 555, 558, 560, 614
- Central Committee, 16, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 45, 46, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 146, 147, 149, 150, 153, 154, 157, 159, 161, 162, 163, 166, 168, 170, 171, 172, 178, 180, 181, 193, 198, 199, 202, 205, 208, 209, 215, 217, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 232, 233, 239, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 265, 274, 275, 277, 281, 282, 283, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 317, 318, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 338, 339, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 355, 357, 360, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 372, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 409, 413, 414, 415, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 424, 428, 429, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 449, 450, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 459, 461, 462, 464, 465, 466, 468, 470, 473, 478, 479, 481, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 494, 497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 507, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 530, 532, 533, 534, 536, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 565, 568, 569, 570, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 584, 587, 588, 589, 591, 595, 597, 599, 601, 605, 608, 609, 614, 615, 617, 620, 622, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 654, 655, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 665, 668, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 689, 692, 694, 695, 697, 698, 703, 704, 706
- Central Executive Committee, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 64, 150
- central leadership, 17, 290, 306, 325, 346, 347, 638, 676

- Central Military Commission, 59, 169, 216, 217, 282, 297, 313, 321, 332, 335, 349, 367, 377, 388, 405, 406, 407, 408, 432, 471, 497, 498, 564, 568, 569, 570, 574, 614, 668
- Central People's Government Council, 183, 189
- central revolutionary base area, 60, 64, 71, 72, 73
- Central Soviet Area, 72
- Central Supervisory Commission, 39, 221
- ceremony for the founding of the PRC, 188, 192
founding ceremony, 188, 189
- Chahar People's Counter-Japanese Alliance Army, 69
- Chang'e*, 460
- changes of a kind unseen in a century, 564, 658
momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century, 658, 665, 682
profound changes of a kind unseen in a century, 658
- Chen Duxiu, 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 24, 27, 35, 39
- Chen Gongbo, 16, 17
- Chen Jiongming, 29
- Chen Shuxiang, 73
- Chen Tanqiu, 14, 16, 126
- Chen Tiejun, 47
- Chen Wangdao, 15
- Chen Yannian, 37, 185
- Chen Yi, 45, 51, 52, 85, 116, 153, 158, 170, 174, 183, 265
- Chen Yun, 126, 128, 149, 163, 245, 252, 254, 282, 290, 298, 313, 324, 325, 332
- Chengdu-Kunming railway line, 269
- Chiang Kai-shek, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 59, 60, 68, 69, 71, 72, 77, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 109, 116, 117, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 165, 174, 175, 177, 184, 191, 257
- China Association for Promoting Democracy, 165, 464
- China Democratic League, 127, 150, 165, 166, 464
- China Democratic National Construction Association, 165
- China International Import Expo, 672
- China Zhi Gong Dang, 165
- China-Arab States Cooperation Forum, 595, 671
- China-Europe freight trains, 672
- Chinese civilization, 1
- Chinese culture, 523, 527, 528, 594, 621, 691
- Chinese Dream, 142, 494, 501, 502, 503, 507, 526, 564, 567, 591, 608, 621, 650, 656, 658, 670, 693, 707
- Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers, 69
- Chinese nation, 2, 3, 5, 11, 17, 18, 40, 45, 84, 88, 94, 95, 97, 115, 117, 118, 140, 141, 155, 186, 190, 263, 318, 337, 353, 400, 405, 410, 411, 431, 461, 474, 484, 501, 503, 523, 584, 586, 587, 588, 603, 610, 611, 633, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 681, 685, 692, 693, 701, 702, 703, 705
- Chinese people, 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 17, 18, 28, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 66, 67, 70, 88, 96, 101, 102, 106, 112, 114, 117, 119, 130, 137, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 155, 160, 167, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 192, 199, 202, 203, 207, 208, 210, 222, 225, 228, 230, 238, 256, 257, 258, 263, 276, 277, 289,

- 294, 295, 310, 311, 326, 361, 362, 366,
401, 404, 412, 415, 419, 426, 427, 429,
431, 432, 435, 453, 454, 455, 458, 460,
461, 479, 501, 502, 503, 504, 508, 509,
530, 541, 586, 589, 605, 606, 610, 618,
623, 633, 650, 656, 662, 677, 680, 681,
685, 693, 697, 701, 702, 706
- Chinese path of building a strong
military, 613
path of building a powerful military
with Chinese characteristics, 670
strengthen the military through a
uniquely Chinese approach, 667
- Chinese Peasants' and Workers'
Democratic Party, 165
- Chinese People's Political Consultative
Conference, 181, 182, 183, 189, 230
CPPCC, 181, 182, 230, 231, 292, 307,
420, 464, 485, 520, 522, 555, 644, 645
- Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV), 200
- Chinese Soviet Republic, 64, 85
- Chinese united front against Japanese
aggression, 87, 89, 91, 126
people's united front, 89
- circular economy, 538
- Civil Code of the People's Republic of
China, 654
- class conflict, 93, 115
- class struggle, 17, 247, 248, 264, 289
- coal miners' strike in Kailuan, 20
- Code of Conduct for Intraparty Political
Life, 323, 555
- Code of Conduct for Intraparty Political
Life under New Circumstances, 555
- Code of Integrity and Self-Discipline for
CPC Members, 558
- Cold War, 257, 357
- collective economy, 245, 300, 303, 301,
304, 379
collectively-owned sector, 375
collectivism, 681
combat corruption, 209, 361, 425, 489,
490, 613, 633, 641
anti-corruption, 423, 424, 560, 562,
641, 646
fight against corruption, 423, 425, 489,
491, 641
- Commission for Discipline Inspection,
313, 332, 450, 614
discipline inspection commission, 424,
489, 490, 642
- commodity economy, 300, 314, 315, 316,
317, 325, 330
- Common Program, 181, 183, 189, 209
- Common Program of the CPPCC, 209
- communism, 15, 17, 19, 221, 250, 251,
252, 262, 329
- Communist International, 17, 19, 23, 48,
71, 72, 89, 90, 106, 107, 117
- Communist Manifesto, 15
- Communist Party of China, 1, 3, 13, 14,
17, 23, 35, 129, 141, 230, 265, 296, 431,
449, 490, 492, 500, 521, 524, 555, 557,
608, 612, 614, 617, 620, 623, 626, 627,
629, 640, 682, 685, 692, 694, 702, 705,
706
- CPC, 1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20,
22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31,
32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41,
42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53,
55, 57, 58, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 73,
74, 75, 78, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,
90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100,
101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108,
109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118,
119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127,

- 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136,
137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147,
148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158,
159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166,
167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 178,
179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186,
188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 198,
199, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209,
210, 214, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 223,
224, 225, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 236,
238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 248, 249, 258,
264, 265, 266, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283,
287, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 299, 306,
307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 315, 318,
322, 323, 325, 328, 331, 337, 343, 344,
345, 347, 349, 351, 352, 355, 360, 363,
364, 366, 367, 373, 374, 376, 377, 381,
389, 395, 396, 398, 401, 407, 408, 409,
413, 414, 415, 419, 424, 426, 427, 429,
430, 432, 434, 435, 436, 438, 440, 441,
444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 453, 455,
457, 462, 463, 465, 467, 468, 469, 479,
481, 484, 485, 487, 488, 490, 496, 497,
499, 502, 509, 519, 521, 522, 539, 540,
541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 549,
550, 551, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 563,
577, 584, 585, 587, 595, 604, 605, 606,
609, 614, 623, 626, 627, 631, 633, 635,
637, 640, 643, 644, 646, 648, 650, 651,
658, 659, 665, 671, 686, 694
- Communist Youth League, 29, 32
- complete the building of a moderately
prosperous society in all respects, 495,
496
- achieve moderately prosperous
society in all respects, 507
- build a moderately prosperous society
in all respects, 428, 432, 433, 451,
484, 541, 682, 699
- finish building a moderately
prosperous society in all respects,
495, 504, 508, 541
- comprehensive and strict Party self-
governance, 509
- comprehensively govern the Party
with strict discipline, 554
- comprehensively strengthen self-
governance, 557
- full and rigorous Party self-
governance, 554, 555, 561
- full and rigorous self-governance of
the Party, 539, 540, 541, 617
- full and strict Party self-governance,
557, 561, 630, 639
- full and strict self-governance, 630,
635, 638
- overall, strict self-governance of the
Party, 633
- strengthen Party self-governance, 508,
699
- strict self-governance in every respect,
613
- comprehensive deepening of reform, 507
- an all-inclusive push to deepen
reform, 546
- comprehensively deepening reform,
507, 539, 545, 546, 547, 570, 648, 650,
689
- compulsory education, 318, 445, 467, 530,
543
- concession, 88
- Conference on Dialogue of Asian
Civilizations, 672
- confidence in the path, theory, system,
and culture of socialism with Chinese
characteristics, 525, 616, 623, 625, 628,
630, 632, 706

- Confucius, 6
- consciously maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, uphold the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership, 556, 560
- consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership, 625, 628, 630, 632, 706
- Constitution of the Communist Party of China (CPC Constitution, Party Constitution, Party's Constitution), 19, 24, 27, 39, 49, 134, 137, 243, 244, 312, 313, 323, 329, 366, 376, 377, 431, 432, 449, 451, 487, 500, 501, 509, 559, 591, 614, 615, 620, 621, 622, 623, 626, 633, 639, 668, 671
- Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 228, 230, 231, 232, 309, 321, 322, 463, 485, 550, 551, 614, 618, 623, 624, 665
- construction in the Third-Line Region, 268, 269
- consultative democracy, 520, 521, 522, 547, 548, 621
- contract land to households, 299, 300
- cooperative medical system, 468
- cooperatives, 233, 235, 253, 303
- coordinated development, 393, 515, 687
- coordinated development for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, 515
- coordinated regional development, 443, 545
- core socialist values, 464, 526, 527, 617, 621, 691
- country of innovators, 459
- innovative nations, 699
- Covid-19, 662, 672, 676, 678, 681, 682, 686
- Covid-19 epidemic, 686
- Covid-19 pandemic, 662, 672, 682
- CPC Regulations on Disciplinary Action, 558
- CPC Regulations on Internal Oversight, 555, 562
- CPC's First National Congress, 1, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26, 64
- CPC's Second National Congress, 18, 19
- criterion for truth, 284, 285, 287, 288
- criterion for testing truth, 284, 289
- criticism and self-criticism, 216, 422, 559, 632
- cross the Chishui River four times, 76
- Crossing-the-Yangtze Campaign, 176
- cross-Strait relations, 413, 414, 478, 479, 480, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589
- relations across the Taiwan Strait, 413
- cultural and ethical standards, 312
- cultural and ethical advancement, 325, 348
- cultural and ethical progress, 312, 399, 400, 401, 461, 464, 527
- cultural and ideological advancement, 325, 351
- cultural-ethical standards, 399, 400
- culture and ideology, 327
- cultural industry, 466, 528
- Cultural Revolution, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270, 274, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287, 292, 293, 295, 297, 303, 324
- cybersecurity, 525, 598
- czarist Russia, 2, 11
- Czechoslovakia, 194

D

- Daqing, 259, 261, 269, 443
- Daqing spirit, 261
- Davos, 593, 594, 673
- December 1st Movement, 149
- December 9th Movement, 87, 88
- December meeting, 162
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on a Number of Major Issues Concerning the Building of a Harmonious Socialist Society, 441
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Deepening Reform of Party and State Institutions, 643
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Economic Structural Reform, 315
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Law-Based Governance of China, 549
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Major Issues concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform, 546, 595
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Several Issues Concerning the Improvement of the Socialist Market Economy, 438
- Decision of the Party Central Committee
 - on Issues Concerning the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economy, 368
- Decision of the Party Central Committee
 - on Major Issues Concerning Agriculture and Rural Work, 379
- Decision of the CPC Central Committee
 - on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Modernizing the State Governance System and Capacity, 651
- Decision of the Party Central Committee
 - on Several Important Issues Concerning Strengthening Party Building, 419
- Decision of the Party Central Committee
 - on Strengthening and Improving Party Conduct, 424
- Decision on Certain Major Issues Concerning Deepening Cultural Reform and Promoting the Vigorous Development and Flourishing of Socialist Culture, 464
- Decision on Major Issues Concerning Rural Reform and Development, 457
- Decision on Major Issues concerning Strengthening and Improving Party Building under the New Circumstances, 487
- Decision on Strengthening the Party's Connection with the People, 350
- Decision on Strengthening the Party's Governance Capacity, 484
- Decision to Further Carry out the Policy of Economic Improvement and Rectification and Deepen Reform, 355
- decision-making power for enterprises, 302
- democratic centralism, 19, 39, 42, 49, 229, 244, 289, 291, 313, 323, 420, 487, 519
- democratic parties, 125, 145, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167, 183, 230, 231
- other political parties, 136, 189, 198, 241, 292, 322, 521
- democratic revolution, 4, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19, 25, 27, 41, 43, 49, 62, 129, 130, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 143, 144, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 180, 183, 185, 196, 207, 223,

- 228, 240, 332, 702
 - Deng Benyin, 29
 - Deng Enming, 14, 16
 - Deng Jiaxian, 263
 - Deng Pei, 22
 - Deng Xiaoping, 59, 147, 157, 170, 176, 243, 245, 252, 254, 255, 258, 266, 270, 274, 275, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 292, 297, 298, 300, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 313, 316, 317, 318, 319, 325, 326, 329, 332, 336, 337, 338, 340, 342, 345, 346, 349, 351, 352, 354, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 365, 367, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 391, 419, 420, 427, 432, 433, 451, 452, 492, 495, 500, 618, 620, 703
 - Deng Xiaoping Theory, 290, 362, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 419, 420, 427, 432, 433, 451, 452, 492, 495, 500, 618, 620, 703
 - Deng Zhongxia, 13, 185
 - Denmark, 194
 - developed countries, 257, 273, 285, 353, 655, 686, 688, 700
 - developing countries, 270, 273, 353, 415, 417, 458, 482, 483, 590, 591, 597, 600, 601, 603, 611, 674, 675, 693
 - developing nations, 483
 - development in the cultural sphere, 182
 - cultural advancement, 525
 - cultural development, 213, 244, 260, 261, 399, 401, 436, 437, 442, 464, 465
 - Diaoyu Island, 482, 483, 606
 - discipline enforcement, 559
 - strengthen discipline, 324
 - discipline inspection, 39, 424, 489, 490, 548, 558, 562, 642
 - inspection tours, 449, 562, 642
 - dissolution of the Soviet Union, 352, 353, 357
 - collapse of the Soviet Union, 409, 415
 - Donald Trump, 598
 - Dong Biwu, 12, 14, 16, 138
 - Dong Zhentang, 185
 - Dongfanghong-1*, 270
 - DPRK, 194, 200, 201
 - Korea, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 216, 218, 219, 225, 353, 358, 675
 - Dr. Henry Kissinger, 272
 - drastic social and political changes in East Europe, 352
 - drastic changes in eastern European nations, 357
 - upheaval in Eastern Europe, 409, 415
 - dream of building a powerful military, 564, 670
 - dream of making the military strong, 564
 - Du Bincheng, 166
 - Duan Dechang, 185
 - Duan Qirui, 30
 - Dwarkanath Shantaram Kotnis, 112
- E**
- early communist party organizations, 13, 15
 - Eastern Europe, 257, 273, 395, 409, 415, 674
 - ecological advancement, 449, 496, 497, 500, 501, 612, 628, 700
 - ecological conservation, 471, 533, 544, 615, 619, 688
 - eco-civilization, 534, 535, 537
 - ecological civilization, 613, 652, 653
 - economic development, 126, 182, 192, 199, 213, 222, 224, 226, 228, 233, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 249,

- 254, 264, 268, 283, 297, 298, 301, 306,
311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320, 330, 331,
333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 346, 351, 356,
357, 363, 370, 372, 375, 376, 386, 390,
394, 395, 402, 408, 421, 427, 435, 436,
437, 440, 445, 446, 453, 455, 456, 466,
468, 510, 512, 513, 516, 517, 526, 529,
534, 540, 581, 600, 611, 655, 661, 703
develop the economy, 65, 121, 274,
275, 360, 361, 430
economic globalization, 357, 383, 384,
394, 395, 590, 593
economic growth slowing down and
the economic structure undergoing
difficult structural adjustments as
it assimilated previous stimulus
packages, 512
economic rectification, 333, 344, 355
education campaign emphasizing study,
political integrity, and rectitude, 422
educational campaign to maintain the
advanced nature of Party members,
485
eight imperialist powers, 3
Eighth Five-Year Plan, 372
Eighth National Congress of the CPC,
53, 238, 239, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247,
249
Eighth Route Army, 80, 95, 101, 102, 103,
104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114,
115, 120, 121, 139, 142
Eighth Route Army of the National
Revolutionary Army, 95, 101
eight-point decision, 557, 574, 637, 638
emancipate the mind, 285, 288, 289, 293,
294, 362, 495, 498
emancipate thinking, 242
free up the mind, 703
“Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from
Facts and Unite as One in Looking to
the Future”, 288
emerging industries, 459, 516
emerging markets, 483
emerging market economies, 590
energize the central region, 443
Engels, 69, 214
environmental protection, 268, 320, 390,
392, 469, 470, 471, 491, 512, 515, 533,
534, 538, 539, 544, 548, 551, 689
era-defining spirit, 261
ethnic minority areas, 204, 392, 399, 401
areas with large ethnic minority
populations, 260
areas with concentrations of ethnic
minorities, 467, 522
ethnic minority groups, 97, 398, 399
ethnic minorities, 124, 198, 231, 467,
522
Europe, 7, 12, 257, 273, 352, 395, 409, 415,
597, 598, 599, 672, 674
European Union, 482
EU, 415, 598, 674
- F**
faithfully follows the Party’s command,
is capable of winning battles, and
maintains excellent conduct, 565
family planning, 320, 390
Fang Zhimin, 72, 185
Far East, 71, 170, 219
February 7th Massacre, 21, 29
Feng Xuefeng, 90
Feng Yuxiang, 26, 30, 31, 69
feudalism, 3, 6, 11, 18, 42, 62, 175, 184,
208, 223, 702
Fifth Five-Year Plan, 320

- Fifth CPC National Congress, 35, 39, 40
- Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 542
- Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee, 638, 661, 667, 694, 695, 697, 698
- fight against poverty, 542, 679, 682, 683, 684, 685
 - war on poverty, 506
 - fight poverty, 506
 - battle against poverty, 543
 - campaign against poverty, 683
- fight against the Covid-19 epidemic, 676, 680
 - battle against the Covid-19 pandemic, 683
- figures without party affiliation, 150, 164, 166, 167, 183
- financial crisis, 372, 380, 384, 402, 403, 404, 412, 446, 452, 453, 455, 458, 467, 476, 483
- Finland, 194
- First Five-Year Plan, 217, 222, 225, 226, 232, 322
- First Front Red Army, 79, 80, 81, 82
- First Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, 498, 564
- First Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee, 614
- Five Heroes of Langya Mountain, 121
- Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, 218, 273, 343
- five-sphere integrated plan, 496, 507, 510, 533, 541, 612, 616, 705
- five-year plan, 217, 222, 225, 226, 232, 243, 244, 256, 264, 268, 275, 319, 320, 321, 322, 343, 355, 356, 357, 372, 402, 405, 407, 445, 446, 447, 456, 459, 460, 462, 470, 513, 521, 540, 542, 545, 554, 561, 562, 581, 639, 661, 686, 690, 694, 695, 699
- fixed output quotas for each household, 255
 - contract production quotas to households, 300
 - fix farm output quotas on a household basis, 300
 - fixed output quotas based on the household, 300
- foreign policy of peace, 270, 343, 652
- forestall and defuse major risks, 650
- Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), 417
- Four Cardinal Principles, 294, 330, 347, 360
- four modernizations, 251, 256, 289, 311, 324, 331
- four-pronged comprehensive strategy, 508, 539, 540, 541, 546, 554, 616, 699, 705
- Fourth Five-Year Plan, 268, 275
- Fourth Front Red Army, 59, 61, 78, 81, 84
- Fourth National Congress of the CPC, 25
- Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351
- Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 539, 550
- Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, 651, 668, 683
- France, 2, 3, 14, 174, 219, 257, 304, 415, 417, 672
- free trade zone, 511, 548, 649, 675
 - free trade area, 416, 483
- freer trade, 476
 - liberalization of trade, 582

functional zoning, 535

G

G20, 483, 537, 602, 672

G20 Hangzhou Summit, 537, 602

Gang of Four, 266, 276, 277, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 289, 290

Gao Gang, 183

GDP, 334, 404, 431, 439, 446, 447, 449, 459, 470, 477, 516, 521, 528, 530, 563, 686, 688, 689, 690, 691, 693, 700

Ge Zhenlin, 120

general requirements for Party building, 617

general requirements for strengthening the Party, 622

Geneva, 219, 594

George H. W. Bush, 354

Germany, 3, 9, 118, 134, 194, 459

global governance system, 590, 592, 601, 603, 672

global partnerships, 597

Global War against Fascism, 119, 120, 138, 140, 141

glorious tradition, 3, 179, 323, 569

governance of China, 625

China's governance, 483, 550, 654

national governance, 192, 412, 419, 484, 540, 541, 549, 573, 625, 654, 683

state governance, 397

Great Britain, 2, 3, 118, 174, 219, 250, 339

great cause, 38, 141, 425, 434, 445, 554, 610, 705

great dream, 610, 705

Great Leap Forward, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256

great new project of Party building, 376, 421, 425, 484, 610, 620, 622, 659, 704

great production campaign, 121, 122, 123

great project, 127, 128, 610, 705

great undertaking, 577, 595

Great Revolution, 1, 23, 27, 29, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 50, 56, 92, 93

great spirit of finding strength in unity, facing difficulty undaunted, working with tenacity and perseverance, and having the courage to prevail, 403

great spirit of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea, 202

great struggle, 42, 185, 192, 230, 504, 554, 610, 705

green development, 470, 536, 537, 538, 539

"grey rhinos", 660

Grigory N. Voytinsky, 13

Gu Bai, 86

Gu Wenchang, 326

Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, 515, 687

Guangzhou Uprising, 44, 47

Guangzhou-Hong Kong Strike, 28, 32, 34

guiding ideology, 93, 137, 190, 287, 297, 377, 433, 493, 615, 618, 620

fundamental guidelines, 308

fundamental guiding thought, 240, 255

guiding principles, 92, 247, 274, 285, 290, 326, 327, 367, 402, 440, 485, 503, 505, 526, 540, 580, 602, 620, 638, 659, 695, 698

guiding thought, 295, 296, 335, 512, 570, 620, 622

Gulf of Aden, 474, 577

Gulf War, 406

Guo Shushen, 59

Gutian Meeting, 53, 54, 55

H

Han Zheng, 614

Hankou, 10, 21, 30, 34, 45, 46, 67, 95, 149, 212

Hans Miller, 111

harmonious socialist society, 441, 442, 485, 704

harmonious world, 481, 482, 704

He Chang, 86

He Guoqiang, 450

He Long, 45, 58, 81

He Qifang, 123

He Shuheng, 14, 16, 86

He Xiangning, 115, 117

Healthy China initiative, 531, 532

hegemony, 257, 273, 343

hegemonism, 338, 415, 417, 673

Henk Sneevliet (alias Maring), 17

high-quality economic development, 534

high-quality development, 649, 661, 663, 672, 688, 696

Ho Hau Wah, 411

holistic approach to national security, 617, 621, 659

homeland security, 605

Hong Kong, 2, 20, 28, 97, 114, 115, 117, 166, 305, 306, 339, 340, 341, 358, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 454, 475, 476, 477, 478, 484, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 613, 628, 663, 664, 665, 678, 687

"Hong Kong independence", 580

Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, 484, 613

household contract responsibility system, 299, 300, 314

household contract system, 379

Hu Delin, 120

Hu Fucai, 120

Hu Jintao, 366, 377, 428, 432, 435, 436, 447, 450, 464, 471, 472, 477, 478, 479, 481, 482, 485, 486, 494, 497, 704

Hu Yaobang, 297, 308, 310, 313, 327, 344

Hu Zongnan, 117, 153, 154

Hua Guofeng, 276, 283, 290, 297

Huai-Hai campaign, 169, 170, 171, 174

Huang Gonglue, 185

Huang Jiguang, 202

Huang Ju, 432

Huang Wenxiu, 636

human right, 549

Hundred-Regiment Campaign, 109, 112

Hung Hsiu-chu, 587

Hungary, 194

I

ideals and convictions, 37, 82, 561, 567, 634, 656

ideals and beliefs, 82, 84, 464

ideology, 11, 13, 54, 91, 160, 294, 313, 326, 526, 561, 615

imperialism, 3, 7, 11, 18, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 42, 175, 184, 191, 198, 207, 223, 702

important period of strategic opportunity, 430, 462, 471, 591, 704

improve Party conduct and uphold clean governance, 424

cultivate good Party conduct and promote integrity, 489

improve Party conduct and build integrity, 424

In the summer of 1988, the government introduced reforms to relax state control over prices, 334

- independence and initiative, 84
 - independence, 3, 11, 24, 42, 45, 84, 93, 106, 107, 141, 193, 225, 226, 257, 273, 285, 298, 343, 384, 478, 580, 588, 589, 611, 666, 694
 - self-reliance, 125, 226, 263, 286, 289, 296, 298, 698
- India, 194, 218, 225, 353, 607
- Indonesia, 194, 219, 220, 353, 603
- industry and commerce federations, 292
- informatization, 387, 407, 473, 699
 - informatized, 473, 566, 570
 - IT application, 525
 - application of information technology, 590
- innovation-driven development strategy, 515, 516
- innovative, coordinated, green, open, and shared development, 513, 540, 696
- institution building, 534, 613, 633
- integrated urban-rural development, 548, 649
- integrity and self-discipline, 423, 489
- intellectuals, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 96, 97, 123, 126, 161, 198, 213, 215, 216, 227, 242, 253, 267, 282, 292
- international financial crisis, 452, 453, 455, 458, 467, 476, 483
- International Labor Day, 20, 166
- International Monetary Fund, 304, 603, 693
- international order, 273, 601
- Internet, 516, 525, 688
- intraparty democracy, 163, 244, 324, 450
 - democracy within the Party, 323
- intraparty political life, 558, 560
 - intraparty political activities, 323, 422, 540, 560, 562, 626
- Israel, 353
- J**
- Japan, 2, 3, 9, 12, 14, 16, 17, 67, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 111, 115, 118, 119, 126, 138, 140, 141, 144, 304, 354, 415, 459, 482, 675, 702
- Japanese militarism, 114
- Jia Qinglin, 432, 450
- Jiang Guangnai, 68
- Jiang Zemin, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 363, 364, 366, 367, 373, 374, 377, 379, 386, 387, 392, 394, 397, 398, 401, 406, 410, 411, 414, 419, 421, 423, 425, 426, 429, 431, 432, 704
- Jiang Zhujun, 177
- Jiang Zhuying, 326
- Jiao Yulu, 262
 - Jiao Yulu spirit, 262
- Jinggang Mountains, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 62, 63
- Jinggang Mountains spirit, 52
- Jiu San Society, 165
- K**
- Kazakhstan, 416, 675
- Kinmen, 257
- KMT Revolutionary Committee, 165, 166
- KMT-CPC cooperation, 24, 25, 27, 39, 40, 91, 242
- Kong Fansen, 422
- Koo Chen-fu, 413
- Kuomintang, 17, 23, 24, 125, 135, 195, 210, 272, 584, 702
- Kyrgyzstan, 416, 675

L

- landlord class, 3, 62, 63, 184, 198, 204
- Lankao, 262
- Laos, 219
- large-scale development of the western region, 392, 393, 442, 443
- large-scale shelterbelts in northwest, north, and northeast Chin, 390
- Latin America, 257, 273, 417, 483, 597, 600, 675
- Law of the People's Republic of China on Agrarian Reform, 204
- Law of the People's Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 663
- law-based country, 551, 700
 - country under the rule of law, 375, 397, 550
 - rule of law country, 396
- law-based governance, 375, 396, 397, 462, 485, 488, 518, 519, 539, 550, 551, 553, 573, 580, 581, 582, 645, 654, 699
- law-based government, 551
- law-based society, 553, 654
- leading Party members' group, 431, 555, 624, 639, 642
- "Leftist", 49, 73, 89, 249, 251, 267, 275, 281, 282, 284, 287, 289, 292, 293
- "Left", 69, 70, 71, 78, 79, 133, 251, 266, 285, 359
- left-wing cultural movement, 69, 70
- Lei Feng, 262, 326, 488
- Lei Feng's spirit, 262
- Leng Yun, 111
- Lenin, 69, 214, 236
- let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, 242, 253, 275, 400
- Li Changchun, 432, 450
- Li Da, 16
- Li Dazhao, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25, 29, 30, 37, 185
- Li Du, 68
- Li De (Otto Braun), 72, 75
- Li Fuchun, 265
- Li Gongpu, 166
- Li Hanjun, 16
- Li Jishen, 96, 167, 183
- Li Keqiang, 450, 498, 614
- Li Lanqing, 377
- Li Lisan, 20
- Li Mingrui, 59
- Li Peng, 332, 366, 377
- Li Ruihuan, 366, 377
- Li Xiannian, 265, 282, 283, 313
- Li Zhanshu, 614
- Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, 169, 170, 171
- Liberation Army, 55, 156, 157, 161, 168, 177, 183, 189, 217, 408, 545, 572, 576
- Libya, 474, 484
- Lien Chan, 479, 584
- Lin Biao, 149, 158, 169, 172, 266, 281, 282, 289, 293, 324
- Lin Boqu, 25, 126
- Lin Xiangqian, 21
- line of resisting Japan on all fronts, 94
 - line of resisting Japanese aggression on all fronts, 97, 98
- Liu Bocheng, 45, 77, 78, 81, 147, 157, 170
- Liu Huaqing, 366
- Liu Renjing, 16
- Liu Shaoqi, 20, 89, 116, 128, 134, 136, 137, 153, 159, 183, 229, 239, 243, 245, 252, 254, 266, 291

- Liu Yazhi, 115, 147
 Liu Yunshan, 498
 Liu Zhenhuan, 29
 Liu Zhidan, 61, 185
 Long March, 66, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84
 long march, 179
 Long March Spirit, 84
 Longzhou Uprising, 59
 Lu Xun, 69, 70, 124, 132
 Lu Xun Art Academy, 124, 132
 lucid waters and lush mountains are
 invaluable assets, 533, 621
 Lugou Bridge Incident, 94
 July 7th Incident, 94, 95
 lunar exploration, 460, 517
 Luo Gan, 432
 Luo Jianfu, 326
 Luo Ronghuan, 158, 169, 172
 Luo Shengjiao, 202
 Luo Yinong, 35
 Luochuan Meeting, 98, 104, 106
 Lushan Meeting, 250
- M**
- Ma Baoyu, 120
 Ma Ying-jeou, 586
 Ma Zhanshan, 68
 Macao, 97, 114, 305, 306, 338, 341, 409, 411, 412, 454, 475, 476, 477, 478, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 628, 665, 678, 687
 macro regulation, 317, 365, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 439, 440, 446, 452, 649
 major country diplomacy with Chinese
 characteristics, 591, 617, 676
 make progress while maintain stability,
 511, 516
- Mao Anying, 201
 Mao Dun, 70
 Mao Zedong, 12, 14, 16, 20, 25, 26, 32, 33, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 89, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 106, 107, 108, 112, 121, 122, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152, 154, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 188, 189, 190, 194, 198, 200, 201, 214, 216, 217, 225, 228, 229, 234, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252, 254, 255, 257, 260, 262, 266, 269, 271, 273, 274, 276, 281, 282, 284, 285, 288, 289, 290, 294, 295, 296, 297, 326, 337, 350, 377, 378, 427, 428, 432, 433, 451, 452, 492, 500, 618, 620, 702, 703
 Mao Zedong Thought, 130, 134, 137, 138, 186, 190, 214, 282, 288, 289, 290, 294, 295, 296, 297, 350, 377, 378, 427, 432, 433, 451, 452, 492, 500, 618, 620, 702
 Mao Zemin, 126
 Mao Zetan, 86
 March 1986 High-Tech Program, 317, 387
March of the Volunteers, 70, 183
 Marriage Law of the People's Republic of
 China, 206, 207
 Marx, 12, 69, 214, 236
 Marxism, 1, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 42, 56, 69, 82, 92, 93, 107, 124, 127, 130, 131, 133, 137, 138, 186, 190, 213, 214, 216, 240, 247, 276, 281, 284, 288, 294, 295, 296, 310, 326, 327, 332, 350, 361, 366, 368, 375, 377, 378, 422, 427, 432, 433, 450, 451, 452, 492, 500, 526, 618, 619, 620, 622, 653, 702

- Marxism-Leninism, 7, 42, 107, 124, 133, 137, 190, 214, 240, 294, 295, 296, 377, 378, 432, 433, 451, 452, 492, 618, 620
- mass line, 93, 296, 561
- material progress, 351, 399, 400
 - material advancement, 700
- materialist dialectics, 540
- May 20th Movement, 156
- May 21st Incident, 40
- May 30th Movement, 27, 28
- May 4th Movement, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 129
- May 4th spirit, 11
- Meeting of Seven Thousand, 254, 255, 256
- Message to Compatriots in Taiwan, 338, 479
- middle-income group, 403, 545, 700
- migrant worker, 468, 520, 529, 530
- Mikhail Borodin, 24
- Mikhail Gorbachev, 344
- military strategy, 98, 103, 152, 335, 407, 473, 566, 667
- military transformation with Chinese characteristics, 406, 473
- military-civilian integration, 570, 646
- mixed ownership economy, 438
 - mixed-ownership economic entities, 548
- moderate prosperity, 331, 365, 372, 392, 405, 429, 430, 506, 541, 542, 691, 692, 693
 - comparatively well-off, 311, 312
 - moderately prosperous lives, 373, 376
 - moderately prosperous society, 356, 429, 430, 431, 434, 437, 441, 447, 449, 462, 465, 468, 495, 496, 505, 506, 539, 540, 541, 542, 545, 591, 608, 612, 616, 657, 683, 685, 686, 688, 689, 691, 692, 693, 694, 696, 699, 704, 706
- modern corporate structure, 369, 372, 380, 381, 382
- modern economic system, 700
 - modernized economy, 613
- modernization, 203, 217, 256, 258, 261, 266, 279, 280, 286, 288, 294, 298, 307, 317, 318, 322, 326, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 342, 343, 355, 358, 360, 362, 373, 375, 377, 383, 385, 386, 399, 402, 404, 405, 408, 422, 426, 431, 432, 433, 446, 459, 460, 473, 493, 497, 522, 534, 541, 611, 612, 613, 643, 645, 648, 651, 652, 654, 667, 668, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 705
- modernization of national defense and the armed forces, 203, 497, 667, 668, 700
 - modernization of national defense and the military, 613
 - national defense and military modernization, 564, 575
- modernize China's system and capacity for governance, 616, 654
 - modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, 643, 645, 648, 651, 652, 654, 700, 705
- Mongolia, 9, 193, 194, 393, 471
- mopping-up operations, 112, 118, 120, 121
- movement against the "three evils", 208, 209
- movement to resist Japanese aggression and save the nation, 67, 69, 87, 88, 89
- Movement to Suppress Counter-Revolutionaries, 203
- multilateralism, 482, 671, 672, 673, 674

- multiparty cooperation and political consultation system under the leadership of the CPC, 167, 182, 307, 521
 multipolarity, 590, 671
 mutual-aid and cooperative movement, 233
 Myanmar, 194, 607
N
 Nanchang Uprising, 44, 45, 51, 55
 Nanjing Massacre, 102, 527
 Nanniwan, 121
 Nansha Islands, 337, 606
 national bourgeoisie, 8, 41, 67, 155, 162, 180, 185, 198, 209
 national capitalist, 8, 129, 236
 National Commission of Supervision, 644, 646, 649
 national defense and military reform, 549, 570, 572
 national independence, 1, 3, 4, 5, 83, 141, 142, 181, 203, 228, 702
 China's independence, 126
 National People's Congress, 228, 229, 230, 231, 256, 447, 462, 485, 663
 NPC, 229, 231, 266, 274, 293, 298, 306, 307, 321, 333, 338, 340, 341, 343, 356, 389, 396, 397, 400, 413, 445, 462, 475, 478, 485, 502, 518, 519, 520, 527, 550, 555, 565, 578, 579, 580, 587, 618, 623, 624, 643, 646, 654, 663, 664, 671
 National Revolutionary Army, 30, 96
 national security, 199, 272, 393, 550, 551, 607, 615, 628, 646, 659, 661, 663, 664, 670
 national spirit, 141, 502, 657
 ethos of our nation, 681
 ethos of the People's Republic of China, 262
 nationwide War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, 80, 86, 93, 94, 108, 115, 127, 128
 negative list, 559, 690
 neighborhood diplomacy, 599, 600
 Netherlands, 601
 New Culture Movement, 5, 6, 12
 new democracy, 137, 185, 186, 213
 new-democratic revolution, 9, 43, 129, 130, 134, 136, 137, 138, 143, 144, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 185, 187, 196, 223, 228, 702
 new era, 494, 507, 508, 510, 513, 525, 528, 546, 547, 553, 557, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 574, 575, 577, 600, 601, 608, 611, 613, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 622, 623, 625, 627, 630, 632, 635, 636, 639, 648, 650, 651, 654, 667, 668, 670, 671, 673, 705
 New Fourth Army, 96, 105, 108, 110, 114, 116, 120, 121, 139, 142
 new normal, 512, 513, 516, 540
 new path of industrialization, 456
 new industrialization, 699
 new pattern of development, 694, 695, 697, 698, 699
 new philosophy of development, 513, 516, 540, 613, 617, 694, 695, 696, 698, 699
 new stage of development, 126, 367, 451, 650, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699
 new type of international relations, 592, 617
 new model of major country relations,

415, 598
 new urbanization, 515, 521, 688
 New York, 316, 592
New Youth, 6, 12, 14
 Nie Er, 70, 183
 Nie Rongzhen, 172, 265, 282
 Nikita Khrushchev, 246
 Ninth Five-Year Plan, 372, 402, 405
 Ninth National Congress of the CPC, 266
 non-public enterprises, 316
 non-public sector, 375, 439, 457
 private sector, 212, 333, 439, 457, 468, 512
 Norman Bethune, 111, 112
 Northeast Asia, 599
 Northeast United Resistance Army, 85
 Northern Expedition, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36
 Northern Shaanxi College, 124
 Northern Warlords, 4, 26, 30, 41, 185

O

October 10th Agreement, 147, 148, 150
 October Revolution, 7, 8, 12, 56
 "On Coalition Government", 134
 "On Contradiction", 92
 "On Practice", 92
 "On Protracted War", 98, 99, 100
 "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", 180, 181
 "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership", 308
 "On the Ten Major Relationships", 239, 240, 241, 242, 245
 one central task and two basic points, 330, 360
 One Country, Two Systems, 337, 338, 341, 412, 475, 477, 497, 577, 578, 579,

580, 582, 583, 613, 615, 617, 652, 653, 663, 665
 one-China principle, 413, 414, 478, 589
 open economy, 383, 395, 458, 517, 548
 opening up, 261, 280, 285, 290, 293, 304, 305, 310, 318, 319, 322, 324, 325, 326, 329, 330, 332, 333, 343, 346, 347, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 367, 368, 373, 375, 377, 383, 384, 385, 394, 397, 399, 404, 405, 422, 434, 437, 446, 448, 450, 458, 459, 460, 500, 505, 507, 510, 541, 548, 581, 582, 586, 595, 596, 649, 650, 695, 697, 700
 opening to the outside, 304, 318, 359, 360, 391
 Opium War, 2, 195, 339
 organizational line, 266, 290, 636
 organizational reform, 309
 reform in government institutions, 485, 507
 institutional reform, 644, 645, 646, 647
 original aspiration, 37, 608, 610
 founding aspiration, 62, 184
 Outline Land Law, 159
 overseas Chinese, 97, 117, 161, 189, 306, 454, 484, 607, 628
 oversight in the Party, 449
 internal oversight, 560, 562
 intraparty oversight, 642
 internal scrutiny, 642
 oversight within the Party, 540
 overthrow local despots and distribute land, 62
 ownership of the means of production, 236, 238, 330

P

Pacific War, 114, 118, 119

- Pakistan, 194, 607
 Pan Hannian, 90
 Paris Agreement, 537
 Paris Peace Conference, 9, 11
 Paris Peace Treaty, 11
 partnership, 381, 416, 482, 599, 601, 673
 Party and state oversight systems, 562, 642, 652, 653
 Party branch established in every company, 47
 Party branches, 27
 Party building, 54, 64, 92, 127, 128, 130, 137, 186, 288, 312, 351, 376, 378, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 426, 427, 433, 434, 486, 487, 488, 491, 493, 547, 548, 554, 556, 557, 560, 561, 613, 614, 615, 617, 622, 628, 646, 660, 661, 668
 strengthen the Party, 91, 131, 134, 163, 348, 421, 441, 484, 498, 505, 630, 631
 Party committee, 57, 274, 306, 308, 309, 313, 396, 420, 424, 449, 469, 486, 489, 529, 532, 554, 556, 624, 637, 639, 642, 647, 684
 Party conduct, 324, 325, 423, 424, 425, 489, 505, 609, 637, 640, 641
 Party consciousness, 323, 561, 641
 Party spirit, 422, 567
 Party consolidation, 160, 161, 221
 Party rectification, 324
 Party's 17th National Congress, 447, 448, 449, 450, 455, 463, 487
 Party's 18th National Congress, 492, 493, 494, 495, 500, 501, 503, 505, 507, 508, 509, 510, 515, 518, 522, 526, 533, 534, 541, 554, 558, 559, 562, 574, 588, 599, 601, 607, 608, 615, 621, 641, 658, 686, 705
 Party's general line for the transitional period, 223, 224, 232
 path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, 366, 374, 448, 495, 502, 523, 621
 patriotic and democratic movement, 127
 patriotic united front, 181, 293, 398
 patriotism, 11, 141, 165, 216, 261, 263, 402, 464, 502, 526, 681
 patriotic, 4, 69, 70, 72, 102, 114, 115, 117, 127, 142, 164, 165, 181, 189, 213, 215, 293, 398, 412, 636
 patriotic spirit, 70
 Pavel Mif, 71
 peace and development, 342, 377, 415, 497, 592
 Peace Negotiations in Chongqing, 144
 Chongqing Negotiations, 146
 peaceful development, 192, 203, 479, 480, 481, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 591, 613, 675
 peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems, 414, 478
 peacekeeping, 474, 577, 604
 Pearl River Delta, 318, 444, 535
 peasant association, 22, 26, 33, 34, 50, 159
 peasant movement, 20, 22, 25, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35
 Peking University, 6, 10, 13, 215
 Peng Dehuai, 55, 59, 95, 96, 154, 200
 Peng Pai, 22, 26, 185
 Peng Xuefeng, 121
 Peng Zhen, 149
 people become masters of this country, 230
 people run the country, 613, 617
 running of the country by the people, 398, 462, 485, 518
 people feel much more happy, fulfilled,

- and secure, 685
- people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong, 475
- people of Macao administer Macao, 475
- people's army, 45, 47, 51, 55, 103, 106, 126, 203, 409
- people's armed forces, 106, 112, 142, 147, 149, 152, 153, 155, 203, 267, 453, 566, 617, 621, 652, 653, 667, 670
- people's commune, 250, 251, 252, 314, 379
- People's Commune Movement, 249, 250, 256
- people's congress, 167, 229, 230, 232, 307, 420, 462, 463, 520, 642, 644, 645
- people's democracy, 190, 193, 228, 288, 485, 496, 703
- people's democratic governance, 190
- people's democratic dictatorship, 175, 180, 208, 217, 248, 294
- people's organization, 161, 167, 183, 230, 231, 283, 292, 314, 420, 643, 644, 645, 647
- People's Republic of China, 177, 181, 182, 183, 185, 188, 189, 190, 195, 204, 206, 223, 228, 229, 230, 231, 261, 262, 272, 280, 290, 295, 304, 321, 322, 333, 341, 353, 386, 388, 397, 416, 447, 462, 482, 519, 527, 598, 605, 612, 618, 623, 624, 654, 655, 663, 702, 706
- PRC, 177, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 204, 212, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 228, 251, 263, 264, 271, 293, 294, 295, 336, 376, 386, 388, 391, 406, 410, 453, 472, 484, 652, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 669, 703
- people's war, 62, 97, 100, 120, 142, 162, 174, 677
- people-centered, 616, 619, 681, 682, 704
- petty bourgeoisie, 11, 41, 67, 180
- pilot free trade zone, 548, 649
- "ping-pong diplomacy", 271
- planned economy, 244, 302, 316, 367, 370, 373, 405
- pointless formalities, 557, 632, 637, 638
- pointless formalities, bureaucracy, hedonism, and extravagance, 638
- Poland, 194
- policy of "adjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" the national economy, 297
- policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend", 242, 253, 275
- policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards" , 252
- Political Bureau of the Central Committee, 39, 71, 79, 240, 265, 287, 308, 327, 332, 333, 334, 345, 349, 367, 486, 505, 555, 614, 637, 639
- political culture, 395
- political development, 230, 241, 398
 - enhance the Party's political building, 613
 - political advancement, 462, 497
 - political progress, 517, 518
 - political work, 31, 32, 55, 348, 351, 352, 420, 566, 567, 568, 569, 617, 633, 647
 - reinforce the Party's political foundations, 627, 631, 633
 - reinforcement of the Party's political foundations, 630
- political discipline, 558, 568, 631, 632
- political economy, 378, 619

- political environment, 302, 540, 560, 563, 568, 569, 631
- political ecosystem, 610, 670
- political judgment, understanding, and implementation, 632
- political risks, 558
- political rules, 625
- poverty alleviation, 380, 399, 506, 542, 544, 545, 641, 679, 684, 685
 - eliminate poverty, 329, 542
 - poverty reduction, 542, 545, 685, 686
 - reduce poverty, 544
- power politics, 415, 417, 592
- pragmatism, 66, 261, 563
 - be pragmatic, 561, 681
- primary stage of socialism, 329, 330, 366, 375, 378, 429, 451, 495, 696, 703, 704
- primary-level Party organizations, 221, 421, 486, 487, 488, 501, 544, 636, 637, 677, 680
- primary-level self-governance system, 322
 - system of community-level self-governance, 524
 - system of primary level self-governance, 463
- principal contradiction in society, 611, 616, 621, 682
- private businesses, 316, 439, 677
 - private enterprises, 209, 234, 545, 690
 - private sector of the economy, 333
- procuratorate, 293, 307, 309, 423, 485, 552, 555
- proletariat, 1, 8, 17, 19, 27, 39, 40, 43, 47, 98, 129, 175, 243, 265, 282, 294, 295
- promote citizens' knowledge of the law, 322
- promote legal knowledge, 554
- popularize legal knowledge, 554,
- promote clean and honest government, and resolutely oppose corruption, 350
- combat corruption and promote integrity, 425
- combat corruption and uphold political integrity, 449
- fight corruption and uphold integrity, 423
- punish corruption and uphold integrity, 489
- promote harmony, security, and common prosperity with neighbors, 599
- promotion of law-based governance in all respects, 507
- comprehensive moves to advance law-based governance, 699
- comprehensive advancement of law-based governance, 539
- comprehensively advance law-based governance, 549, 550
- promote law-based governance in all areas, 507, 519, 539
- prosperity for all, 359, 541, 697, 700
 - common prosperity, 391, 393, 398, 482, 594, 595, 599, 616, 682, 696, 697, 700, 701
- public ownership of the economy, 304
 - public economy, 333, 439
 - public sector, 375, 438, 439, 457, 562, 641
- public services, 512, 544, 691, 700
- Pudong, 356, 357, 384, 444, 486
- purify, improve, and reform itself, 498, 642
- put people first, 436, 441
 - people-centered, 616, 619, 681, 682, 704
- Puyi, 66

Q

Qatar, 385

Qian Sanqiang, 263

Qian Xuesen, 263

Qiao Shi, 332, 366

Qinghai-Tibet Railway, 393, 405, 442, 443, 460

Qiu Shaoyun, 202

Qu Qiubai, 70, 86, 185

R

railway workers and coal miners' strike
in Anyuan, 20

real economy, 452, 521

reality of the Chinese context, 301

context of the essential reality, 451

national conditions, 128, 181, 329, 351, 550, 675

Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development and Long-Range Objectives through the Year 2035, 694

recover Hong Kong, 339

Hong Kong's return, 340, 410, 582

return of Hong Kong, 338, 410, 411, 477

Rectification Movement, 127, 130, 131, 133, 134

Rectification Campaign, 248

rectification of conduct, 220

Red Army, 29, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 95, 96, 101, 110, 138

Red Boat, 18, 634

"Red Boat spirit", 18

Red Flag Canal, 262

"Red Rock Spirit", 178

reform and opening up, 274, 280, 285, 289, 290, 294, 297, 306, 310, 313, 316, 318, 328, 330, 334, 342, 343, 347, 348, 352, 356, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363, 367, 368, 370, 385, 391, 394, 402, 404, 420, 422, 423, 437, 446, 448, 456, 457, 465, 491, 495, 500, 503, 504, 505, 510, 511, 547, 649, 650, 686, 695, 703, 704, 706

reform and strengthen the armed forces, 569

strengthen the armed forces through reform, 667

reform economic system, 298

economic reform, 63, 241, 244, 299, 302, 315, 334, 356, 363, 365, 368, 369, 385, 440, 511

economic structural reform, 288, 316, 322, 333

reforms to the national economic structure, 438

Reform Movement of 1898, 3

reform of the land system, 205

land reform, 159, 160, 161, 548

reform of the political system, 307

political reform, 646

political structural reform, 322

political restructuring, 395

reform of the political structure, 497

reform, development, and stability, 373, 660, 686

regional ethnic autonomy, 181, 231, 232, 322, 398, 519, 522, 523

rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, 17, 18, 141, 184, 187, 202, 501, 502, 584, 586, 597, 658, 660, 682, 693

Ren Bishi, 81, 122, 136, 154

- Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan, 33
- Republic of China, 4, 5, 165
- Republic of Korea, 353, 675
- resist US aggression and aid Korea, 199, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 216, 225
- Resolution of the Party Central Committee on Important Issues Concerning Further Promoting Socialist Cultural-Ethical Progress, 400
- Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party, 130, 133, 261, 293
- Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, 261
- Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Socialist Cultural and Ideological Advancement, 327
- return marginal farmland to forests, 392, 470
- return of Macao, 341, 411, 412
Macao's return, 341, 579
- revitalize the old industrial bases in northeast China, 443
- Revolution of 1911, 4, 5, 6, 9, 33, 41
- revolutionary base, 29, 48, 50, 52, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 72, 80, 137, 306, 401
- revolutionary base area, 52, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 72, 137, 401
- revolutionary heritage, 84
- Richard Nixon, 271
- right approach to justice and the pursuit of interests, 600
- uphold justice while pursuing shared interests, 621
- Right deviationist, 108
- Rightist, 251, 255, 291
- right-wingers, 27
- right wings, 27
- Rightists, 246, 248, 291
- role models, 233, 326, 391, 527
- Romania, 194
- Ruan Xiaoxian, 86
- Ruijin, 64
- rule of virtue, 401, 402
- ruling party, 208, 244
- governing party, 489, 498, 614
- political party in power, 324
- rural poor populations would have their basic living needs met and have access to compulsory education, basic medical services, and housing, 543
- rural reform, 301, 302, 314, 315, 379, 380, 445, 457, 512
- rural revitalization, 685
- Russia, 3, 8, 56, 353, 415, 416, 417, 482, 598, 673
- Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), 13
- S
- Sanwan Reorganization, 47, 50, 55
- Saudi Arabia, 353
- Scientific Outlook on Development, 434, 436, 437, 442, 446, 449, 451, 452, 471, 472, 484, 487, 488, 491, 492, 493, 495, 500, 618, 620, 704
- scientific socialism, 15, 236, 247, 312, 378, 504, 611, 619, 693
- Second Five-Year Plan, 243, 639
- Second Opium War, 2
- Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the CPC, 178,

- 179, 181
- Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, 136, 308
- seeking truth from facts, 84, 93, 125, 131, 133, 250, 252, 281, 282, 284, 288, 289, 291, 296, 362, 703
- self-defense war on the China-Viet Nam border, 337
- self-employed, 303, 316, 439
- self-reform, 619, 633, 635
- semi-colonial and semi-feudal, 2, 8, 19, 56, 98, 129, 185, 190, 223
- semi-colonial, semi-feudal, 702
- seminar on literature and art, 525
- sense of community among the Chinese nation, 621
- separate land ownership rights, contract rights, and management rights, 548
- September 18th Incident, 66, 67, 68, 69, 86
- September letter from the Central Committee, 53
- September Meeting, 131
- serve the people, 214, 472, 488
- set things to rights, 275
- restore order, 283, 285
- set things right, 283, 285, 293, 294, 297, 310
- Seventh Five-Year Plan, 319, 321, 343, 355, 356, 357, 554
- Seventh National Congress of the CPC, 107, 134, 135, 136, 137, 221
- severe acute respiratory syndrome, 434
- SARS, 434, 435, 437, 446, 474, 476
- Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Revolutionary Base Area, 96
- Shafick George Hatem, 112
- Shanghai, 1, 6, 10, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 67, 68, 69, 71, 88, 90, 101, 149, 156, 164, 166, 177, 195, 196, 197, 272, 302, 316, 318, 356, 357, 358, 381, 382, 384, 416, 417, 418, 426, 444, 461, 476, 483, 511, 582, 586, 587, 602, 603, 604, 634, 649, 671, 672
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization, 416, 417, 483, 604, 671
- Shanghai-Hong Kong Stock Connect, 582
- Shen Junru, 90, 166, 167
- Shenzhen, 305, 306, 318, 319, 356, 358, 477, 582, 649
- Shenzhen-Hong Kong Stock Connect, 582
- Shenzhou*, 388, 460
- Shi Wenbin, 22
- Silk Road, 595, 596, 672
- Silk Road Fund, 592, 603
- simultaneously promote material progress and cultural-ethical progress, 399
- sincerity, pragmatism, affinity, and good faith, 600
- Singapore, 353, 358, 413, 586
- Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, 2, 3
- Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, 194
- Sino-US Joint Communiqué, 272, 341
- Sixth Five-Year Plan, 319, 320, 321
- Sixth National Congress of the CPC, 48, 49, 57
- Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, 509, 540, 555
- Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, 107
- social development, 267, 319, 320, 346, 356, 368, 372, 386, 391, 392, 393, 400, 405, 417, 427, 434, 437, 442, 443, 444,

- 446, 447, 452, 456, 457, 463, 466, 475,
496, 497, 504, 510, 513, 522, 528, 537,
543, 581, 604, 615, 661, 679, 695, 698
- social governance, 526, 532, 613, 621, 652,
653
- social revolution, 633
- social reform, 315
- social security system, 369, 382, 468, 531,
690
- socialism with Chinese characteristics,
279, 290, 302, 310, 327, 328, 331, 332,
333, 361, 362, 365, 375, 377, 378, 401,
402, 419, 425, 428, 431, 432, 441, 442,
448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 492, 493, 494,
495, 496, 498, 500, 501, 503, 504, 505,
507, 508, 510, 524, 526, 546, 554, 555,
608, 611, 612, 615, 616, 617, 619, 622,
623, 625, 629, 636, 659, 667, 671, 682,
703, 704, 705, 706
- socialist concept of honor and disgrace,
464, 473
- socialist cultural and ethical progress,
312
- socialist cultural-ethical development,
 399, 400
- socialist culture and ideology, 327
- socialist culture with Chinese
characteristics, 375
- culture of socialism with Chinese
 characteristics, 525, 611, 621
- socialist democracy, 293, 307, 310, 312,
322, 395, 396, 397, 398, 463, 485, 517,
518, 519, 520, 613
- socialist development, 228, 238, 239, 240,
242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250,
251, 254, 255, 258, 261, 264, 267, 278,
332, 449, 504, 703
- development of socialism, 220, 244,
 330, 331, 368, 433, 437, 449, 541, 546,
 615, 618, 619, 693
- socialist market economy, 363, 365, 367,
368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376,
379, 380, 382, 396, 397, 401, 405, 419,
420, 421, 423, 431, 437, 447, 465, 489,
496, 653, 704
- socialist modernization, 186, 280, 289,
290, 293, 296, 297, 305, 308, 310, 312,
321, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330, 357, 362,
365, 367, 373, 375, 376, 377, 395, 405,
429, 434, 450, 491, 494, 495, 504, 510,
612, 616, 695, 696, 697, 699, 703
- socialist revolution, 129, 130, 223, 240,
245, 278, 290, 295, 703
- socialist transformation, 196, 223, 224,
232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 245, 246,
330
- soft landing, 334, 371
- soft power, 464, 496, 691, 700
- Somali, 474
- Song Xueyi, 120
- Soong Ching Ling, 69, 90, 96, 114, 117,
183, 230
- South Asia, 599
- South China Sea, 416, 483, 605, 606
- South Lake, 17, 634
- Southeast Asia, 402, 416, 599
- Southern Anhui Incident, 116, 117
- southern talks, 361, 362
- remarks on the southern tour, 367
- South-North Water Diversion Project,
460
- South-South cooperation, 601, 675
- sovereignty, security, and development
interests, 566, 577, 591, 605, 666, 667,
674
- Soviet, 11, 24, 30, 31, 47, 48, 49, 53, 58, 64,

- 65, 66, 84, 85, 89, 92, 106, 118, 138, 174, 194, 195, 219, 239, 240, 241, 244, 246, 249, 251, 257, 258, 264, 271, 273, 342, 344, 353
- Soviet Russia, 11
- Soviet Union, 31, 48, 84, 85, 106, 118, 174, 194, 195, 219, 239, 241, 244, 246, 249, 257, 258, 264, 271, 273, 342, 344, 353
- special economic zones, 305, 306, 318, 319, 383
- spirit fostered in China's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, 142
- spirit of determination forged in the fight against the Covid-19 epidemic, 676
- spirit of the fight against Covid-19, 680
- spirit of earthquake relief, 454
- spirit of the Iron Man, 262
- spirit of the Northeast United Resistance Army, 87
- spirit of the Silk Road, 595, 600
- spirit of the Soviet area, 66
- spirit of Tibet fostered since 1950, 399
- Stalin, 246
- Standing Committee of the NPC, 230, 306, 338, 397, 413, 445, 462, 475, 520, 527, 550, 555, 580, 663, 664
- Standing Committee of the Central Committee Political Bureau, 245, 313, 498, 555
- state of Manchukuo, 66
- state-owned enterprises, 129, 269, 316, 369, 684
- state-owned sector, 375, 439, 512
- stay true to our Party's original aspiration and founding mission, 635
- stay true to the Party's founding mission, 635, 686
- remain true to the Party's founding mission, 706
- strategic goal, 387, 429, 431, 442, 541
- strategic objective, 331, 356, 405, 441
- strategic partnership, 482, 483, 598, 599, 600, 674
- strategy of invigorating China through science and technology, 386
- strengthen Party organizations, 67, 486
- strengthen Party's organizational structure, 54, 92
- strengthen the Party organizationally, 636
- consolidate Party organizations, 42
- strengthen the armed forces through science and technology, 407
- strengthen the armed forces through technological improvements, 408
- strengthen the army politically, 53
- enhance political loyalty of the military, 566
- enhance the military's political loyalty, 567
- enhance political loyalty of the armed forces, 667
- strengthen the military through political education, 670
- strengthen the Party ideologically, 53
- improve the Party ideologically, 561
- improving the Party's theoretical competence, 567
- strong culture in China, 464, 497
- struggle against the US in support of Viet Nam, 257
- study session, 216, 486
- group study session, 525

- Su Yu, 152, 153, 158, 170
 Su Zhaozheng, 22, 28, 185
 subjectivism, 92, 130, 131, 247, 248
 subprime mortgage crisis, 452
 Sun Chuanfang, 30
 Sun Yat-sen, 4, 12, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 96
 supervisory, 221, 490, 644, 646
 supervision, 209, 307, 322, 323, 424, 438, 489, 512, 518, 520, 534, 547, 553, 557, 560, 562, 563, 569, 574, 576, 613, 633, 640, 641, 642, 646
 supply-side structural reform, 513, 514, 515, 516, 521, 548, 621, 663
 surround the cities from the countryside and take political power by force, 52, 56
 sustainable development, 389, 390, 436, 444, 451, 469, 472, 602, 603
 Sweden, 194
 Switzerland, 194
 system of people's congresses, 230, 321, 398, 462, 519
 system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, 500, 555, 616, 617, 621, 623
 system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, 550, 616, 621
 system of Chinese socialist rule of law, 652, 653
 system of the CMC's chairperson assuming overall responsibility, 668, 669

T
 Tai'erzhuang campaign, 101
 Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, 3, 77
 Taiwan, 2, 41, 97, 140, 165, 198, 199, 218, 219, 242, 257, 271, 272, 337, 338, 342, 344, 358, 412, 413, 414, 415, 444, 454, 478, 479, 480, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 628, 665, 666
 Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, 165
 "Taiwan independence", 413, 414, 415, 478, 479, 588, 589, 590, 665, 666
 Tajikistan, 416, 675
 Tan Pingshan, 14, 25
 Tan Zhenlin, 170, 265
 Tan Zhitang, 14
 Tanaka Kakuei, 272
 Tao Xingzhi, 90
 targeted eradication of poverty, 684
 targeted poverty reduction, 542
 targeted alleviation of poverty, 684
 ten major principles of operation, 162, 174
 ten major relationships, 240, 241
 Teng Daiyuan, 55, 59
 Tenth Party Congress, 266
 Terrorism, 551
 Thatcher, Margaret, 339, 340
 theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, 366, 487, 618, 621
 Theory of Three Represents, 425, 426, 427, 429, 432, 433, 434, 451, 452, 492, 495, 500, 618, 620, 704
 Three Represents, 426, 433, 434, 486, 492
 think in big-picture terms, 556, 560, 625, 628, 630, 706
 thinking on the armed forces, 619
 thinking on military development, 667, 668
 Third Five-Year Plan, 264, 268
 Third International, 17
 Third National Congress of the CPC, 23

- Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, 280, 299
- Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 533, 539, 546, 565, 570, 595, 650
- Third Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee, 643, 644, 646, 648
- third world, 273
- three critical battles against poverty, pollution, and potential risks, 692
- Three Gorges Project, 404, 460
- Three Principles of the People, 24
- three thirds system, 124
- three-step development strategy, 328, 330, 376
- Tian Han, 70
- Tibet, 41, 192, 193, 198, 211, 212, 218, 259, 393, 398, 399, 422, 443, 524, 605, 666
- Tong Meng Hui (Chinese Revolutionary League), 12
- township and village enterprises, 315
- trade union, 20, 34, 35, 206, 588
- trade war, 662
- traditional culture, 527, 532, 594, 621
- Tung Chee-hwa, 410
- Twenty-One Demands, 9
- two big-picture tasks, 391
- both the domestic and international situation, 591
 - domestic and international imperatives, 591
 - in both domestic and international terms, 658, 659, 661
 - two situations—the first is the overall strategic situation for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and the second is the situation with regard to the momentous changes of a kind unseen in a century sweeping the globe, 658
- Two Centenary Goals, 591, 612, 621, 650
- “two musts”, 179
- remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in work while preserving plain living and perseverance, 179, 428
- “two whatevers”, 281, 282, 284, 289, 290
- ## U
- UN Charter, 272
- UN Security Council, 594, 604
- unilateralism, 592, 671, 673
- united front, 19, 23, 27, 41, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 104, 106, 107, 115, 116, 119, 126, 127, 130, 137, 141, 152, 161, 165, 182, 186, 230, 231, 241, 292, 378, 615, 646
- United Nations, 138, 191, 272, 354, 389, 481, 490, 537
- United States, 3, 12, 118, 145, 174, 191, 194, 199, 218, 219, 249, 257, 271, 272, 273, 304, 342, 344, 354, 459, 482, 598
- US, 118, 140, 145, 152, 155, 164, 191, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 207, 216, 218, 225, 257, 271, 272, 273, 315, 341, 342, 344, 352, 354, 385, 395, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 446, 452, 482, 597, 598, 662, 673, 674, 687, 690, 693
- uphold the position of General Secretary Xi Jinping at the core of the Central Committee and of the Party as a whole, and upholding the Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632
- urbanization, 439, 456, 463, 512, 517, 699

- US-China economic and trade friction, 662
- Uzbekistan, 416, 675
- V**
- V. A. Nikolsky, 17
- Viet Nam, 194, 219, 257, 271, 337
- Vladimir Putin, 598
- W**
- Wan Yongcheng, 86
- Wang Daohan, 413
- Wang Dongxing, 283
- Wang Hebo, 22
- Wang Huning, 614
- Wang Jiaxiang, 75, 79
- Wang Jingwei, 40, 41, 44, 108
- Wang Jinmei, 14, 16
- Wang Jinxi, 261
- Wang Ming, 71, 106, 107, 108
- Wang Qishan, 498
- Wang Yang, 614
- War of Liberation, 84, 155, 156, 161, 163, 164, 165, 168, 173, 180
- War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, 16, 67, 80, 86, 92, 94, 97, 101, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115, 119, 128, 129, 134, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 184, 527
- national war of resistance, 92, 102, 108, 142
- War of Resistance, 16, 17, 67, 80, 84, 86, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 105, 106, 109, 113, 114, 115, 119, 128, 129, 130, 134, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 149, 184, 197, 527
- warlords, 4, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 48, 50
- Wayaobu Meeting, 89, 92
- Wei Baqun, 185
- Wei Jianxing, 367, 377
- Wen Jiabao, 432, 450
- Wen Yiduo, 166, 412
- Wenchuan, 453, 474
- West Route Army, 84
- Westernization Movement, 3
- west-to-east electricity lines, 393
- transmission of electricity from western to eastern regions, 443
- West-East Electricity Transportation, 460
- west-to-east natural gas lines, 393
- transmission of natural gas from western to eastern regions, 443
- West-East Natural Gas Transportation, 460
- Whampoa Military Academy, 26, 38
- White terror, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 48
- win-win cooperation, 458, 515
- mutually beneficial cooperation, 482, 581, 592, 599
- workers and peasants revolutionary army, 50, 51
- workers' movement, 11, 13, 20, 22, 23, 25, 29, 35
- working class, 5, 8, 10, 11, 17, 20, 22, 180, 185, 216, 223, 226, 229, 242, 292, 431
- World Expo, 461
- World Health Organization, 435
- World Internet Conference, 604
- World Trade Organization, 384, 446
- World War I, 7, 8, 9, 145, 194, 203, 270, 346
- World War II, 145, 194, 203, 270, 346
- Wu Bangguo, 432, 450
- Wu Guanzheng, 432
- Wu Peifu, 21, 26, 30

Wu Wenjun, 388

X

Xi Jinping, 450, 494, 497, 498, 499, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 508, 509, 524, 533, 539, 541, 542, 543, 547, 549, 554, 556, 557, 559, 560, 561, 563, 564, 566, 570, 572, 578, 579, 582, 586, 587, 589, 591, 592, 593, 595, 596, 598, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604, 608, 609, 614, 615, 617, 618, 619, 620, 623, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 640, 647, 649, 650, 655, 656, 658, 659, 660, 661, 663, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 686, 695, 697, 705, 706

Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, 615, 618, 619, 620, 623, 634, 635, 636, 659, 661, 705, 706

Xi Zhongxun, 61, 154, 305

Xi'an Incident, 89, 90, 91

Xia Minghan, 40

Xia Yan, 70

Xiang Jingyu, 185

Xiang River Battle, 74

Xiang Ying, 22, 85, 96, 116

Xiao Chunü, 37, 38

Xiao Yedan (Yedan the Younger), 77

Xiaogang Village, 299

Xibaipo, 158, 159, 178, 180, 428

Xie Zichang, 61

Xinjiang, 41, 126, 192, 259, 393, 398, 524, 605, 666

Xiong Xiong, 37

Xiongan New Area, 649

Xu Jiexiu, 83

Xu Jishen, 185

Xu Kexiang, 40

Xu Xiangqian, 59, 61, 81, 265, 282

Y

Yan'an, 99, 106, 107, 121, 123, 124, 125, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 140, 146, 147, 148, 153, 154, 158, 221, 422, 486

Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, 132

Yan'an Rectification, 422

Yan'an Spirit, 125

Yang Gensi, 202

Yang Hansheng, 70

Yang Hucheng, 90, 91

Yang Jingyu, 111, 185

Yang Ximin, 29

Yangtze River, 31, 36, 116, 122, 148, 158, 175, 176, 269, 318, 357, 384, 404, 444, 515, 535, 687, 688, 689

Yangtze River Delta Integration, 688

Yangtze River Economic Belt, 515, 687

Yao Yilin, 332

Ye Jianying, 47, 154, 265, 276, 282, 283, 313, 338

Ye Ting, 29, 32, 45, 47, 96, 116, 117, 185

Yellow River, 84, 157, 158, 210, 688

Yi He Tuan, 4

Yu Zhengsheng, 498

Yu Zisan, 164

Yuan Longping, 388

Yuan Shikai, 4

Yugoslavia, 416

Yun Daiying, 185

Yushu, 454, 474

Z

Zhang Boli, 680

Zhang Dejiang, 498

Zhang Dingyu, 680

- Zhang Fuqing, 636
 Zhang Gaoli, 498
 Zhang Guimei, 636
 Zhang Guotao, 16, 17, 78, 79, 81
 Zhang Lan, 183
 Zhang Liming, 636
 Zhang Naiqi, 90
 Zhang Side, 122
 Zhang Tailei, 47, 185
 Zhang Xueliang, 90, 91
 Zhang Yunyi, 59
 Zhang Zuolin, 30, 37, 39
 Zhang Wentian, 75, 78, 79, 128
 Zhao Bosheng, 185
 Zhao Leji, 614
 Zhao Shangzhi, 121
 Zhao Shiyan, 35, 37, 185
 Zhao Yiman, 67, 87
 Zheng Derong, 636
 Zhong Nanshan, 636, 680
 Zhou Baozhong, 67
 Zhou Enlai, 29, 35, 45, 58, 71, 75, 78, 79, 90, 91, 95, 110, 114, 117, 122, 134, 136, 154, 176, 180, 189, 216, 219, 220, 230, 242, 243, 245, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 266, 268, 274, 276, 337
 Zhou Fohai, 16, 17
 Zhou Wenyong, 47
 Zhou Yang, 70
 Zhou Yiqun, 58
 Zhu Boru, 326
 Zhu De, 45, 50, 51, 52, 55, 60, 71, 78, 81, 95, 96, 103, 122, 134, 136, 138, 153, 176, 183, 189, 229, 245, 252, 254, 276
 Zhu Rongji, 366, 377
 Zou Taofen, 90, 115
 Zunyi Meeting, 75, 76, 130, 133
 Zuo Quan, 121, 185

First Edition 2021

ISBN 978-7-5117-3977-3

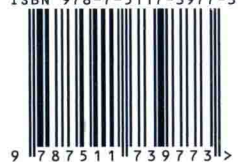
© Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2021
Published by the Central Compilation and Translation Press
Block B Hongru Building, B-5 Chegongzhuang Street
Xicheng District, Beijing 100044

www.cctphome.com
cctp@cctphome.com

Printed in the People's Republic of China

A CONCISE HISTORY OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

ISBN 978-7-5117-3977-3



定价: 190.00元

[General Information]

书名=中国共产党简史 英文版=A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CHINA

页数=742

SS号=15131537